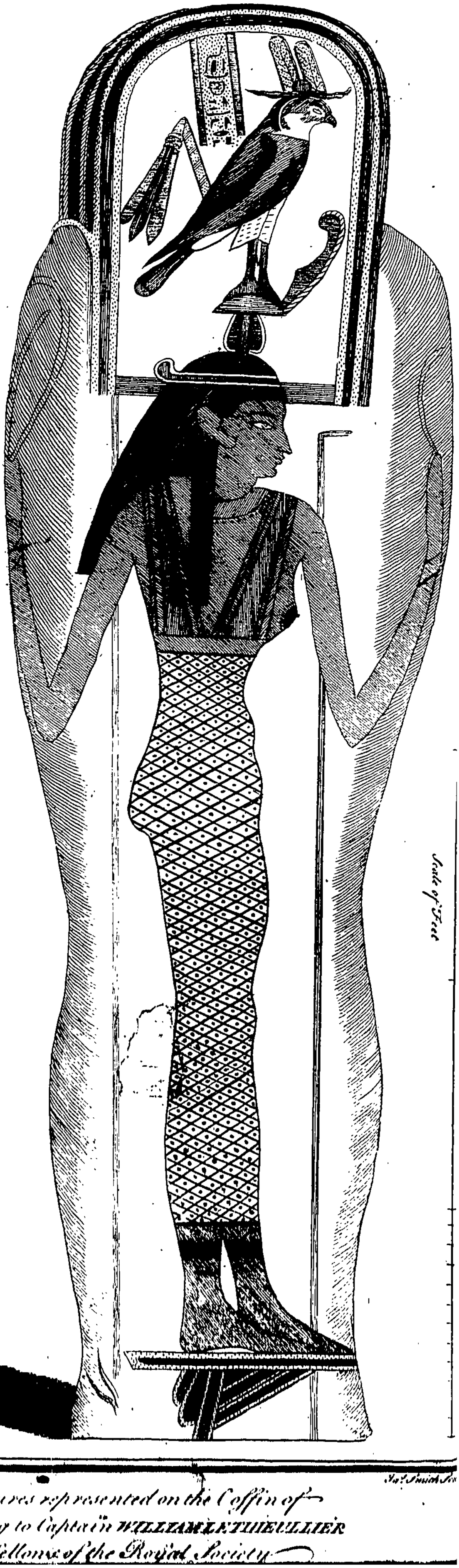




Scale of Feet

This Print of the Hieroglyphical Figures represented on the Coffin of the Antient Egyptian Mummy belonging to Captain WILLIAM LETHIELLIER *is humbly Inscribed to the President & Fellows of the Royal Society*

The COMPLEAT

HISTORY

AND

ANTIQUITIES

Of the ANTIENT

Egyptians, Babylonians, Romans, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Grecians and *Carthaginians.*

CONTAINING, An

ACCOUNT

OF THE

ORIGINAL and *FIRST FOUNDERS*

OF EACH

KINGDOM,

The REVOLUTIONS it has undergone, and the Great and Famous MEN They have produced;

LIKEWISE

The various WARS and COMMOTIONS by which these *NATIONS* have been Enlarged or Diminished; the *CURIOSITIES* either of *Art* or *Nature*, for which They have been most Remarkable;

AS ALSO, THE

RELIGION, MANNERS, LAWS and CUSTOMS,

WHICH,

At different PERIODS of TIME, have prevailed in them; with many curious Particulars relating to the several *Countries* treated of in this HISTORY.

Extracted from the most eminent WRITERS of those different NATIONS; and Methodically Digested: To which are annexed, proper TABLES, INDEXES, *&c.* Also Curious Prints of *Egyptian Mummies, Deities, Hieroglyphicks*, &c. to render this WORK the most Authentick and Compleat of any Thing ever hitherto published.

By *PAUL CHAMBERLEN*, Esq;

LONDON:

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MDCC XXXVIII.

PREFACE.

CUSTOM *has made it such a general Rule, to usher in every Book with a* Preface, *or* Introduction, *separate from the Body of the Work, that it is looked upon, by the Generality of Readers, as in some Measure imperfect, and naked, if it is sent into the World without having one of these, if not both, prefixed to it; and yet, we must own, we cannot help thinking, that an Undertaking which is truly valuable in itself, and tolerably executed, carries its own Recommendation and Credentials along with it, and does not stand in Need of any of those extraneous and borrowed Supports and Assistants.*

It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to comply with this Custom; and we shall acquiesce therewith, lest our Readers should, at the first Dash, be prejudiced against the following Sheets, for the Want of those ornamental Helps, and Outworks; and think them forced upon the Publick, without our being able to say any Thing for them, in the same Manner as those Friendless Children, that are dropp'd, and put upon the Parish, because their Parents are either unable to maintain, or ashamed to own them.

That they may not then entertain so mean an Opinion of this our present Undertaking, we will venture to assure them that it is entirely the Reverse; since there is not a Reader in the Three Kingdoms, *let his Circumstances be what they will, but who may find something therein, to inform his Understanding, improve his Mind, and both agreeably and usefully pass away an Hour. It is not only one single History, but a compleat Body of History, of all the most antient, powerful, and celebrated Nations in Antiquity; filled with the most remarkable Events, and Transactions, and the most surprizing Revolutions, that ever drew the Attention of an astonished World.*

What makes our Work yet the more valuable is, the great Relation it has to, and the Connexion it has with, the History of the Jews, GOD'S *chosen People; and that many of the most remarkable Events therein, we shall find foretold by the Prophets, with the utmost Exactness, several Ages before they came to pass; which shews how sovereign an Arbiter and Disposer of Kingdoms and Empires the* ALMIGHTY *is, and would, if maturely weighed, and reflected on, be a sovereign Antidote against the wild and destructive Ambition of those Pests of Mankind, called* Conquerors, *and an effectual Remedy to mortify the Pride of the most haughty and insolent.*

In Effect, where is the Monarch who can ever hope to equal Alexander the Great, *in the Extent and Rapidity of his Conquests, and the false and vain Glory arising from thence. And what was the Consequence thereof? After being deservedly looked upon as the Scourge and Pest of Mankind, for his horride Ravaging and Devastation of half the Globe; meerly to satisfy his own frantick Ambition, and Lust of Power; he was snatched away in the Midst of his Career, and in the Flower of his Age, if not by Poison, as is averred by many, by a drunken Surfeit and Debauch, which was worse, and was not able to secure the least Part of his vast Dominions for his own Family; nay, which was yet more terrible, and which ought to be an instructive Lesson and Warning to a certain Princess, who would be a second* Alexander, *if she had it in her Power, as if it was highly criminal in the Sight of the* ALMIGHTY, *to be related to such a Monster in any Degree, not one of his Kindred died a natural Death, but all came to some violent End; insomuch that he was the last of his Family.*

First, his natural Brother, Aridæus, *or* Philip, *was murdered by* Alexander's *Mother* Olympias; *who was herself murdered in her Turn, by the Orders of* Cassander. *Then the same* Cassander *caused the young* Alexander, *the Son of the Great Conqueror, by* Roxana, *to be barbarously put to Death, with his Mother* Roxana; *and* Polysperchon, *to follow this villainous Example, causes* Hercules, *another Son of* Alexander the Great, *to be murdered, with his Mother* Barsina; *as if the having admitted of that Monarch's Embraces had been a Crime so heinous, as was not to be expiated with less than Death.* Antigonus, *in the same Manner, causes the innocent* Cleopatra, Alexander's *Sister, to be butchered; and* Thessalonica, *the only Sister, and indeed the only Relation of the Conqueror, that remained, was inhumanly stabbed by her own Son* Antipater, *though she earnestly implored, and conjured him by the Breasts which he had sucked, to spare her Life.*

Who now would covet to purchase the Name of a great Conqueror *at so great a Price, as the Ruin and Extermination of his own Family, and that by the Hands of those who had all been his own Subjects and Servants? For, all, but* Aridæus *who fell by Orders of* Olympias, *were murdered by those who had been Officers of* Alexander; *if we except* Thessalonica, *who died yet more cruelly, by the Hands of her own*

Son,

ose Father had likewise been an Officer of Alexander the Great. *Now all this was revealed by to the Prophet* Daniel, *so long before, as in the Time of* Belshazzar, *the last* Assyrian *Monarch, dson to the Great* Nebuchadnezzar, *the most powerful and haughty King of the* Assyrians.

And now we have mentioned this last Monarch, who was also a great Conqueror, and one of the most olent, haughty and impious Princes that ever lived; let us see what Fate befell him and his Successors, and leave our Readers to judge, whether they would be content to be Possessors of all his Grandeur and Power, at the same dear Rate. *After having reigned about thirty-six Years, and enjoyed all Manner of Greatness and Prosperity; being puffed up too much with his prodigious Riches and Power, and ascribing all the Merit thereof to himself; according to the just Decree of* GOD, *which had been revealed to him a Year before, in Order to give him Time to reform; his Understanding was taken from him on a sudden, and he was reduced to the Level of Beasts, and even used as such, being driven from the Society of Men, and exposed to all the Hardships they undergo, even to eating Grass; and being condemned to suffer all the Inclemencies of the Weather: And all this was he forced to endure for the Term of seven Years. Now was all his Grandeur and Power sufficient to counterballance so tedious and mortifying a Penance? And did not he suffer more Torment in those dreadful seven Years, than would more than counterpoise the Happiness of all his Life before. But, this was not all; our Readers will find that his Son and Successor,* Evil-Merodach, *was put to Death by his own Relations, after a short Reign: His Son-in-Law,* Nerigliſſar, *who succeeded, was slain in Battle, in his fourth Year.* Laborosoarchod, *the Son of the latter, and a very wicked Prince, was put to Death by his own Subjects, after a Reign of but nine Months: And* Belshazzar, *the Grandson of* Nabuchadnezzar, *was slain by the Army of* Cyrus, *as we read in Scripture, and the Kingdom translated from the* Assyrians, *to the* Medes, *and* Persians.

Having mentioned Cyrus, *indisputably the greatest of* Conquerors, *next to* Alexander the Great, *and the most virtuous of all Princes, (at least of all Heathen Princes) who was honoured so far by* GOD, *as to be mentioned by Name by his Prophets, near four Hundred Years before he was born; What were the Fruits of all his Conquests, even though he was the Instrument of the* ALMIGHTY, *to execute his Vengeance upon the* Assyrians? *Why, after having fulfilled his Commission, he left his vast Empire to his Son* Cambyses, *who was no better than a frantick Madman, and Tyrant; (through the Fault of his Father, in not giving him a good Education) and who, after a short Reign of seven Years, and five Months, wherein he caused his only Brother* Smerdis, *who was a far more deserving Prince, to be murdered, whereby he made Way for an Impostor, of the same Name; and after having killed one of his Sisters, who was also his Wife, by a Kick in the Guts, at the same Time that she was big with Child by him, he was killed by his own Sword, which falling accidentally out of the Scabbard, wounded him in the Thigh, and left his vast Dominions to that very Impostor.*

A Thousand other excellent moral Reflections will naturally arise from the Perusal of our History, which will afford admirable Lessons to Readers of all Stations. Who would be vain of Riches, Honours, or Power, after the melancholy Catastrophe of Darius Codomannus, *the last of the* Persian *Monarchs? Where is the Monarch in* Christendom, *who can ever hope to vye with him in any of these? Add to this, that he was an excellent Prince, endued with many Virtues, more than most Sovereigns in* Europe *can boast of; and what was the End of all? Before his Death, he saw himself reduced to beg a Draught of Water of a poor Soldier, for which he had it not in his Power to make any Retribution.*

Who would scorn Poverty, or complain thereof, when he beholds Aristides *not only content therewith, but proud thereof; and yet endued with all the Virtues and Qualifications that ought to render a Man great and powerful! Being an admirable Patriot, an excellent Statesman, a great General, and a Man of the utmost Integrity. Who would not be fired, with the Love of his Country, when he sees* Leonidas, *one of the Kings of* Sparta, *with three Hundred of his Subjects, and Fellow-Citizens, devote themselves to certain Death, for the Safety of theirs?*

But it would greatly exceed the Bounds we have prescribed ourselves in this Preface, should we enumerate the numberless Advantages that may be drawn from a serious Perusal of this Work; besides its being infinitely entertaining. To sum up all, in few Words; we shall here see all Manner of Virtues displayed, in a most advantagious Light; and all Manner of Vices painted in their true Colours; all Sorts of Encouragements to pursue the one, and as many Dissuasions to deter us from the other; with innumerable admirable Reflections upon the Whole, from which our Readers may reap great Benefit, by forming their Conduct accordingly, in whatever Station of Life Providence has placed them.

The COMPLEAT HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

Of the ANTIENT *Egyptians, Babylonians, Romans, Aſſyrians, Medes, Perſians, Grecians* and *Carthaginians.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Situation of Egypt; *of what is moſt remarkable in its three principal Parts,* Thebais, Delta, *and* Heptanomis; *particularly of the City of* Thebes, Memnon's *Statue, the* Phœnix, *the City of* Alexandria, *the famous* Pharos, *or* Watch-Tower, *the Trade of the* Egyptians *to the* Eaſt-Indies, *the* Alexandrian *Library, the City of* Memphis, Grand Cairo, *and* Joſeph's *Well,* &c.

BEING about to give the Publick an accurate and inſtructive Account of the Tranſactions of the ſeveral Nations, enumerated in our Title Page, many Reaſons determined us to begin our Work with thoſe of the *Egyptians*; not only, as they were one of the moſt antient and moſt learned People in the Univerſe; (as their Country ſerved, firſt, as a kind of Nurſery to the Children of *Iſrael*, then was as a rigorous Priſon, or rather a burning Furnace to that choſen Nation; and became afterwards a Scene of the moſt aſtoniſhing and tremendous Miracles ever wrought upon Earth,) but as we often find them brought upon the Stage in the Chronicles of the Kings of *Iſrael*, and *Judah*: For if the Study of Holy Writ be infinitely more valuable than any other, as muſt be allowed by all, that Hiſtory muſt certainly next deſerve the Preference, which has the moſt Relation to, and Affinity with that of the *Jewiſh* Nation; and in this Reſpect, none we think can exceed, if any can come up to, the Hiſtory of *Egypt.*

This Kingdom contained formerly, within a very narrow Compaſs, a prodigious Number of Towns, and an incredible Number of Inhabitants; *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, mention eighteen Thouſand of the one, and ſeven Millions of the other. It is bounded on the *North*, by the *Mediterranean*; on the *South*, by *Æthiopia*; on the *Weſt*, by *Cyrene*, and the Deſarts of *Libya*; and on the *Eaſt*, by Part of *Arabia*, the *Red Sea*, and the *Iſthmus* of *Suez*. The River *Nile*, which is the greateſt Wonder in it, (though it abounds with other Curioſities), and to which it entirely owes its extraordinary Fertility, in Subordination to the Divine Providence, runs through the whole Extent of the Country, from *North* to *South*; which is about two hundred Leagues. Its Breadth is pretty unequal, being in ſome Places not much above half a Day's

Journey

Journey, from the Banks of the *Nile*, to the Foot of the Ridge of Mountains, with which it is incloſed on the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, and which likewiſe run the whole Length of the Kingdom. On the *Weſtern* Side the Plain grows wider in ſome Places, and extends to twenty-five or thirty Leagues; the greateſt Breadth of the Country is from *Alexandria* to *Damiata*, which does not much exceed fifty Leagues, or a hundred and fifty Miles; it is called, in Scripture, the Land of *Ham*, and *Mizraim*.

The Country called *Egypt*, by the Antients, may be divided into three principal Parts; *Upper*, *Lower*, and *Middle Egypt*: The *firſt*, which was otherwiſe called *Thebais*, was the moſt *Southern* Part, and lay upon the Confines of *Æthiopia*. The *Second*, included what the *Greeks* called *Delta*, and all the Country as far as the *Red Sea*, and along the *Mediterranean*, to Mount *Caſius*, or *Rhinocolura*, a Town ſo called, becauſe the King of *Perſia* there cut off the Noſes of all the Inhabitants. The *third*, was otherwiſe called *Heptanomis*, from the ſeven *Nomi*, or Diſtricts which it contained; and was famous for ſeveral Rarities, each of which deſerves a particular Examination, and ſhall be taken Notice of in its proper Place. *Egypt* was at firſt divided into ſeveral *Dynaſtis*, or Principalities; according to *Manetho*, who was an *Egyptian* High-Prieſt, and Keeper of the ſacred Archives, there were thirty of them, but under the great *Seſoſtris* all *Egypt* became one Kingdom, which was divided into thirty-ſix Governments or *Nomi*; ten whereof were in *Thebais*, ten in *Delta*, and ſixteen in the Country interjacent.

Upper Egypt neither abounded with ſo many famous Cities, or Curioſities, as either of the other two; but, to make amends, it had one called *Thebes*, from whence the whole Country derived the Name of *Thebais*, which might vye with the nobleſt Cities in the Univerſe, not excepting either *Babylon* or *Nineveh*. It was founded by *Buſiris*, one of the moſt ancient *Egyptian* Monarchs; and celebrated in Hiſtory, and immortalized by *Homer*, for its Hundred Gates, whence it acquired the Sirname of *Hecatompylos*: It was alſo called *Dioſpolis* by the *Greeks*, to diſtinguiſh it from another *Thebes*, which was ſituated in *Bœtia*, and was likewiſe famous for the Birth of the Great Generals *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*; as alſo for that of *Pindar*, that immortal Poet, for whoſe Memory *Alexander the Great* ſpared his Deſcendants, when he took and ſack'd that City. The *Egyptian Thebes* was not ſo productive of Heroes, and Great Men; but it has been celebrated both by the *Greeks* and *Romans* for her Grandeur and Magnificence, though they beheld only its Ruins, ſo auguſt were its Remains. It was no leſs populous than large; and 'tis ſaid, could at once ſend out two hundred Chariots of War, and ten thouſand Fighting Men, at each of her Gates.

Authors are divided about its modern Name, *Leo* aſſures us it is now called *Theres*, but *Sanſon* thinks it is *Minia*; and *Thevenot*, a very credible Author, and great Traveller, avers it is now named *Sayd*: He adds, that divers Temples and Palaces, ſtill almoſt entire, and adorned with innumerable Columns and Statues have been diſcovered there. One Palace eſpecially is admired, whoſe Remains ſeem to have ſubſiſted, only to eclipſe the Glory of the proudeſt Structures. Four Walks, which extend farther than the Sight can reach, and embelliſhed on each Side with the Figures of the Monſter called *Sphinx*, of a moſt remarkable Size, and a Subſtance altogether as extraordinary and uncommon, ſerve as Avenues to four Portico's of an aſtoniſhing Height: Beſides, thoſe who have given the Deſcription of this ſtupendous Edifice, had not Time to ſurvey the whole, and are not ſure, that they beheld above one half; however, what they did ſee was altogether amazing. A Hall, which in all Probability, ſtood in the middle of this ſtately Palace, was ſupported by a hundred and twenty Pillars, twelve Yards each in Circumference, of a proportionable Height, and intermix'd with curious Obelisks, which ſo many Ages had not been able to demoliſh. Painting, as well as Sculpture, had there diſplay'd all her Art and Riches. Even the Colouring itſelf, which is the moſt liable to decay, and ſooneſt feels the Power of Time, ſtill held, amidſt the Ruins of this ſurprizing Structure, and retained its original Beauty, and Livelineſs; ſo well did *Egypt* know how to give an Air of Immortality to all her Works. *Strabo*, who was upon the Spot, deſcribes an *Egyptian* Building, very much reſembling this, whereof we have been treating.

The ſame Author ſpeaking of the Curioſities of *Thebes*, mentions a very famous Statue of *Memnon*, whereof he had ſeen the Remains. It is ſaid, that in the Morning, when the Beams of the Riſing Sun firſt ſhone upon this Statue, an articulate Sound might be heard iſſuing from thence, reſembling that of a Harp. *Strabo* affirms that he was an Ear-witneſs thereof, but ſeems to queſtion whether the Sound came from the Statue; however that be, it was a Notion pretty generally received as true, by the antient Heathens, and was aſcribed to the Power of Magick; as may be ſeen from the celebrated *Roman* Satyriſt:

Dimidio magicæ reſonant ubi Memnone *Chordæ.*
Juven.

In *Engliſh* thus render'd by the incomparable Mr. *Dryden*.

Where Memnon's *Statue Magick Strings inſpire*
With vocal Sounds, which emulate the Lyre.

Having thus mentioned what was moſt obſervable in *Upper Egypt*, we ſhall next proceed to treat of *Lower Egypt*, whoſe Shape reſembling a Triangle, as does alſo the *Greek* Letter Δ, gave Occaſion to its being commonly called *Delta*. It forms a kind of Iſland, beginning at the Place where the *Nile* is divided into two large Branches, through which it diſcharges its Waters into the *Mediterranean*. The moſt *Eaſtern* of theſe is called the *Peluſian* Branch, as that on the *Weſtern* Side, is called the *Canopick*, from *Peluſium*, and *Canopus*, two Towns ſituated near them, much about where *Damiata* and *Roſetto* now ſtand. Between theſe two large Branches are five ſmaller, not ſo famous in Hiſtory; however, from theſe ſeven Mouths the *Nile* derived the Epithet of *Septemfluus*, by which it is known in the *Latin* Poets. This Iſland *Delta*, is the beſt cultivated, the moſt fruitful, and the richeſt Country in *Egypt*. Its chief Cities in ancient Times

were

were *Heliopolis*, *Heracleopolis*, *Naucratis*, *Sais*, *Tanis*, *Canopus*, *Peluſium*, *Buſiris*, and *Bubaſtus*, and in latter Times *Alexandria*, *Nicopolis*, &c. It was in the Country of *Tanis*, called alſo *Rameſes*, and in Scripture the Land of *Goſhem*, that the *Iſraelites* had their Abode, and were made to undergo ſuch a ſevere, rigorous, and even intolerable Servitude.

Heliopolis, which is, in *Greek*, The *City of the Sun*, was ſo called from a magnificent Temple there dedicated to that glorious Luminary; and is the ſame with *On*, in Scripture, of which *Potipherah*, *Joſeph*'s Father-in-Law, was Prieſt, or Prince. *Herodotus*, *Tacitus*, and *Pliny*, mention a Circumſtance relating to this Temple, which would be prodigiouſly aſtoniſhing, but that it has the Misfortune not to be true: It is concerning the *Phœnix*. The credulous Ancients believed, that but one of theſe Birds were exiſtent at a Time in the whole World; that it was produced in *Arabia*; lived between five and ſix hundred Years, and was about the Bigneſs of an Eagle. Its Head was ſaid to be adorned with a ſhining, and moſt beautiful Creſt; the Feathers of its Neck to be of the Colour of Gold; thoſe of its Body Purple; its Tail white, intermingled with Carnation, and its Eyes ſparkling like Stars. When it was old, and found its End approaching, it was ſaid to build a Neſt, to fill it with Aromatick Spices, and then to die. From the Bones and Marrow of that deceaſed *Phœnix* a Worm was ſaid to be produced, of which another *Phœnix* was believed to be formed, the firſt Care of which was to celebrate the Funeral of its Parent. To that End, the young Bird was ſaid to make up a Ball, in the Shape of an Egg, with Myrrh, and Abundance of other Perfumes, as heavy as it could carry, which it often tries beforehand. Having thus done, it makes a Hole therein, depoſites its Parents Remains in it, and carefully cloſes it with Myrrh and other Perfumes. This being accompliſhed, the grateful Bird was ſaid to take up this precious Load on its Back, to fly therewith to this Temple of the *Sun* in *Heliopolis*, and there to burn it on the Altar conſecrated to that Pſeudo-Divinity.

Herodotus and *Tacitus* call ſome of the Circumſtances of this Fact in Queſtion, but ſeem to imagine it true in the main; which ſhews to what Abſurdities, even Men of the beſt Senſe, among the ancient Heathens, were weak enough to give Credit. However, *Pliny*, in the very Beginning of his Account thereof, inſinuates plainly enough, that he looks upon the whole as fabulous; and all modern Authors concur in the ſame Opinion. Nevertheleſs this Tradition, of the Exiſtence of a *Phœnix*, having obtained pretty generally amongſt the Ancients, tho' grounded upon an evident Falſhood, and monſtrous Abſurdity, has given Riſe to the Cuſtom, introduced into almoſt all Languages, of giving the Name of *Phœnix*, to whatever is ſingular or uncommon in its Kind. *Juvenal*, ſpeaking of the Difficulty, of finding a Woman accompliſh'd in every Reſpect, calls her *Rara Avis in terris*; and *Seneca* ſays a good Man, like a *Phœnix*, is not formed above once in five hundred Years.

Whilſt we are upon this Head, it may not be amiſs, to take Notice here of another vulgar Error which formerly obtained; and which, tho' exploded, has been frequently introduced, as if true, into the Writings not only of Poets, but even of Orators, and which is more, of Philoſophers: This is what is reported of *Swans*, that they never ſing but juſt before they die, at which Time they make a moſt melodious Harmony. *O mutis quoque Piſcibus donatura Cygni, ſi libeat, ſonum! O thou, who if thou pleaſeſt, canſt give the Voice of a Swan even to mute Fiſh!* ſays *Horace*, when he invokes the Aid of the Muſe *Melpomene*: And *Cicero* compares the excellent Speech, made by *Craſſus* in the Senate Houſe, a few Days before his Death, to the ſweet Melody of a dying *Swan*. That great Philoſopher *Socrates* uſed alſo to ſay, that good Men ought to imitate *Swans*, who perceiving by a ſecret Inſtinct, and a Kind of Divination, how advantagious Death is, take leave of Life with Joy, and die ſinging. We hope this ſhort Digreſſion will not prove unacceptable to our Readers, and return to our Subject.

It was at *Heliopolis* an Ox was worſhipped as a God, under the Name of *Mnevis*. It was there, likewiſe, that *Cambyſes*, King of *Perſia*, the unworthy Son of that excellent Prince, the great *Cyrus*, exerciſed his ſacrilegious Rage, burning the Temples, demoliſhing the Palaces, and deſtroying the moſt pretious Monuments of Antiquity. However, ſome Obelisks are ſtill to be ſeen that eſcaped his Fury, and have been brought from thence to *Rome*, to which City they are an Ornament even to this Day.

Sais was the Burying Place of the Kings of *Egypt*; it was here that *Cambyſes* cauſed the Body of *Amaſis* to be taken out of its Tomb, and after having expoſed it to a thouſand Indignities, in his own Preſence, ordered it to be thrown into a Fire, and burnt; which was a Thing equally contrary to the Cuſtoms both of the *Perſians* and *Egyptians*. In this City, likewiſe, there was a Temple dedicated to *Minerva*, who is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Egyptian* Goddeſs *Iſis*, which had this Inſcription: *I am whatever has been, is, or ſhall be; and no Mortal hath ever yet pulled off my Veil.* It was alſo in this City that *Apries*, called *Pharaoh-Hophra* in Scripture, met with an untimely End; being led Captive thither, after having been defeated by *Amaſis*, one of his Subjects, and there ſtrangled in his own Palace.

Alexandria, though built much later than any of the Cities beforementioned, being founded by *Alexander the Great*, from whom it took its Name, almoſt vy'd in Magnificence with the ancient Cities of *Egypt*. It is believed to have been built pretty near the Place where the famous *No*, ſo much threatened in Scripture by the Prophets *Ezekiel* and *Nahum*, ſtood before: It was about four Days Journey from *Grand Cairo*, and was formerly the chief Mart of all the *Eaſtern* Trade. The Merchandize was unloaded at *Portus Muris*, or *Myos Hormos*, a Town on the *Weſtern* Coaſt of the *Red Sea*; from whence it was brought upon Camels, to a Town of *Thebais* named *Coph*, and thence convey'd down the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, whither Merchants reſorted from all Parts of the *Weſt*, to deal in that advantagious Commerce.

In Effect, it is very well known, that the *Eaſt India* Trade, has at all Times proved the Means of enriching ſuch as have been concern'd therein: This was the chief Fountain of the vaſt Treaſures

Solomon

Solomon acquired, and what enabled him to build the Magnificent, and never-yet-equal'd Temple of *Jeruſalem*. His Father, the great King *David*, contributed greatly to his getting this Trade into his Poſſeſſion, by his Conqueſt of *Idumea*, or *Edom*, whereby he rendered himſelf Maſter of *Elath*, or *Eloth*, and *Eziongeber*, two Towns, ſituated on the *Eaſt* Side of the *Red Sea*. From theſe two Ports *Solomon* ſent Fleets to *Ophir*, which brought him back immenſe Riches; inſomuch that in one Voyage he got four hundred and fifty Talents of Gold, which amounts to three Millions, two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds Sterling. As the *Syrians* recovered *Idumea* out of the Hands of the *Jews*, they likewiſe deprived them of this Commerce, which they enjoy'd for ſome Time; from them it came to the *Tyrians*, whoſe Merchandize was convey'd to *Tyre*, by the Way of *Rhinocolura*, or *Rhinocorura*, a Sea-Port Town in the *Mediterranean*, lying between the Confines of *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*. From thence they diſtributed it all over the *Weſtern* Parts of the World, whereby they enriched themſelves prodigiouſly, during the Time that the *Perſian* Empire flouriſhed; they enjoying the full Poſſeſſion of this Commerce under the Favour and Protection of the *Perſian* Monarchy. But when the *Ptolomies* had made themſelves Maſters of *Egypt*, they ſoon drew all this Trade into their Kingdom, by building *Berenice*, and other Ports on the *Weſtern* Side of the *Red Sea* belonging to *Egypt*; from thence their Merchandize was convey'd by the Canal which kept open Communication between the two Seas to *Alexandria*, which was thereby made the greateſt Mart in the Univerſe. There it continued for a great many Ages after; and from that Time, all the Commerce by Sea, which the *Weſtern* Parts of the World had with *Perſia*, *Arabia*, *India*, and the *Eaſtern* Coaſt of *Africa*, was carried on wholly through the *Red Sea*, and the Mouths of the *Nile*; until a Way was found, a little above two hundred Years ago, to ſail to thoſe Parts, by the Way of the *Cape of Good Hope*. After this Diſcovery, the *Portugueſe*, in a Manner, engroſs'd this Trade for ſome Time; but it is ſince got chiefly into the Hands of the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; the laſt of which have entirely gain'd the Monopoly of the *Spice* Trade, by an inhuman Barbarity and Treachery, which neither does Honour to their Country, nor ours; ſince the tamely reſigning it to them will be an eternal Blemiſh to the one, and the Villainy by which it was acquired to the other.

To return from whence we have digreſſed, a Watch-Tower was built near *Alexandria*, for the Advantage of Trade, in an Iſland called *Pharos*, which was joined to the City by a Mole; by the Command and Direction likewiſe of its great Founder, and ſerved it for an Harbour. This Tower was called by the ſame Name as the Iſland; and at the Top thereof was kept a Fire, to light ſuch Ships as ſailed by Night, near thoſe dangerous Coaſts, which were full of Sands and Shelves: From thence all other Towers deſigned for the ſame Uſe, have received their Name, as the *Pharo di Meſſina*. The famous Architect *Soſtratus* built this Tower, by the Order of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, whom it coſt eight hundred Talents, or eight hundred thouſand Crowns; accordingly it was reckoned one of the ſeven Wonders of the World. Some have extolled that Prince, for his uncommon Modeſty, in ſuffering the Architect to put his Name in the Inſcription placed on the Tower; which was very ſhort, and plain, according to the Manner of the Ancients, being no more than this: *Soſtratus* the *Cnidian*, Son of *Dexiphanes* to the *protecting Deities, for the Benefit of ſuch as ſail the Seas*. And certainly *Ptolomy* muſt have ſet very little Value upon that kind of Immortality, of which Princes are generally very fond, ſince he took no Care to have his Name ſo much as mentioned, in the Inſcription of a Work, ſo likely to render it Immortal. But what *Lucian* has advanced upon this Head, if true, takes off greatly from the Merit of *Ptolomy*'s Modeſty. He informs us, that *Soſtratus*, in order to get the whole Glory of that noble Structure, cauſed the Inſcription with his own Name to be carved in Marble, which he afterwards covered over with Lime, and thereupon put the King's Name. The Lime in proceſs of Time mouldered away; and inſtead of procuring the Architect the Honour wherewith he had flattered himſelf, ſerved only to diſcover to future Ages his vile Fraud, and ridiculous Vanity.

As the *Eaſtern* Commerce brought great Riches to *Alexandria*, ſo Riches did not fail to introduce Luxury and Licentiouſneſs, as they do every where; inſomuch that the *Alexandrian* Voluptuouſneſs became a Proverb. The Arts and Sciences were likewiſe induſtriouſly cultivated there; as is apparent from that ſtately Edifice, call'd the *Muſæum*, where the learned uſed to meet, and were maintained at the publick Coſt; and the famous Library, which was conſiderably augmented by *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and by the Munificence of the Kings his Succeſſors, conſiſted at laſt of ſeven hundred thouſand Volumes; but, unfortunately, when the *Alexandrians* took up Arms againſt *Cæſar*, Part of this Library, conſiſting of four hundred thouſand Volumes, which was in the Quarter called *Bruchion*, and had been the Work of ſo many Kings, was burnt; what an irreparable Loſs was this to the Commonwealth of Learning?

Having now given an Account of what is moſt curious in *Lower Egypt*, we ſhall next proceed to enumerate what was moſt remarkable in *Middle Egypt*; or *Heptanomis*, which abounded more with Curioſities than either of the other two. The famous City of *Memphis* was the Capital of this Part of *Egypt*, and was an hundred and fifty *Stadia*, or above ſeven Leagues in Circumference: It ſtood at the Extremity of *Delta*, on the *Weſt* Side of the *Nile*, where the River divides itſelf into ſeveral Streams. On the *South* of the City was raiſed a high Mole, and on the Right and Left, were dug deep Moats to receive the River; which where lined with Stone-Work, and near the City, were fortified with ſtrong Cauſeys; the whole deſigned to ſecure it from the Inundations of the *Nile*, and the Irruptions of the Enemy. A City ſo advantagiouſly ſituated, and of ſuch Strength, that it in a Manner commanded the *Nile*, and conſequently the whole Country, became immediately the Reſidence of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, and their Court; and it kept Poſſeſſion of this Honour, till it was forced to reſign it to its Rival *Alexandria*, built, as we have before obſerved, by *Alexander the Great*. It was adorned with many beautiful Temples, eſpecially that

that of the God *Apis*, who was honoured in this City in an extraordinary Manner. We ſhall treat thereof hereafter, as well as of the Pyramids, which ſtood near this City, and have rendered it ſo celebrated in Hiſtory.

Almoſt over-againſt *Memphis*, to which it ſeems to have ſucceeded, on the *Eaſtern* Side of the *Nile*, was built *Grand Cairo*; a City likewiſe of vaſt Extent, whoſe Caſtle is one of the greateſt Curioſities in *Egypt*. It ſtands on a Hill, without the City, is founded upon a Rock, and is ſurrounded with Walls of a prodigious Height and Thickneſs. The Way up to the Caſtle is hewn out of the Rock, and is of ſuch an eaſy Aſcent, that Horſes and Camels loaden can go up without Difficulty. But the moſt extraordinary Thing in the Caſtle is *Joſeph*'s Well; ſo called, either becauſe the *Egyptians* are pleaſed with aſcribing whatever is moſt remarkable in their Country to that great Man, or becauſe they really have ſuch a Tradition amongſt them. However that be, this is at leaſt a Proof, that it is a Work of great Antiquity; and, in Effect, it is worthy of the Magnificence of the moſt powerful *Egyptain* Monarchs. This Well conſiſts, as it were, of two Stories, cut in the Heart of the Rock, to a prodigious Depth. The Deſcent of the firſt Story is by Stairs ſeven or eight Foot broad, to the Number of two hundred and twenty; yet ſo contrived, that the Oxen employ'd to draw up the Water, can go down with all the Eaſe imaginable. This Well is ſupplied from a Spring, which is almoſt the only one in the Country; and the Water is drawn from the ſecond Story, where the Well is, in Buckets, by a Wheel, which Oxen are turning continually: This done, it is convey'd by a little Canal into a *Reſervoir*, or large Baſon, which makes, as it were, a ſecond Well, from whence it is drawn up to the Top in the ſame Manner, and then convey'd in Pipes to every Part of the Caſtle. As this Well is reckoned by all the Country to be of great Antiquity, and muſt be confeſſed to have all the Magnificence which was ſo natural to the old *Egyptains*, we thought it might very well deſerve a Place amongſt the many Curioſities of *Ancient Egypt*. *Strabo* mentions an Engine not unlike that uſed in this Well, which by the Means of Wheels, and Buckets, threw up the Water of the *Nile*, to the Top of a very high Hill; with this Difference, however, that Slaves, to the Number of an hundred and fifty, were there employ'd to turn the Wheels inſtead of Oxen.

CHAP. II.

Of the Obelisks, Pyramids, Labyrinth, Lake *of* MOERIS, *the Celebrated River* Nile, *and its wonderful Properties; and the famous* Canal *of* Communication *between the* Red Sea *and the* Mediterranean.

WE ſhall now proceed to give an Account of the ſeveral Curioſities for which this Part of *Egypt* is famous; each of which deſerve a particular Examination; and we ſhall begin with the *Obelisks*, ſo much celebrated in Hiſtory, ſome of which both on Account of their Beauty and Height, are, to this Day, the principal Ornaments of *Rome*. In Effect, the *Roman* Power, when at the greateſt Height, deſpaired of coming up to the *Egyptians* in this Reſpect; wherefore the Emperors contented themſelves with borrowing what they could not parallel; and tranſported to *Rome* ſome of thoſe ſtupendous Works of Art, where they are ſtill the Delight and Admiration of the Curious; *Egypt* ſeeming to have placed her chief Glory in raiſing Monuments for Poſterity.

Obelisks are quadrangular, or ſquare, high Spires, or Pyramids, of one ſingle Stone, leſſening gradually from the Baſe, till they terminate at laſt in a Point. Their Uſe was generally to ſerve for Ornaments to ſome publick Place, or Square; and they were frequently full of hieroglyphical Inſcriptions, which were myſtical Characters and Images, under which the *Egyptians* uſed to conceal the Myſteries of their Religion, and Theology. The great *Seſoſtris* erected two of theſe, in the City of *Heliopolis*, which were of an exceeding hard Stone, brought from the Quarries of *Syene* in the Extremity of *Egypt*, towards *Ethiopia*. Each of theſe were an hundred and twenty Cubits high, that is, ſixty Yards, or an hundred and eighty Foot. The Emperor *Auguſtus*, having reduced *Egypt* into a *Roman* Province, cauſed theſe two Obelisks to be tranſported to *Rome*, one whereof was broken in Pieces; but he durſt not venture to remove a third, which was of a prodigious Size: It was believed to have been made in the Time of *Rameſes*; and it is ſaid twenty thouſand Men were employ'd about it; the Emperor *Conſtantius*, however, being more daring than *Auguſtus*, ordered it to be tranſported to *Rome*. Two of theſe Obelisks are ſtill to be ſeen there, as well as another of an hundred Cubits, or fifty Yards in Height, and eight Cubits or four Yards in Diameter. *Caius Cæſar* had it brought from *Egypt*, in a Veſſel of ſo ſtrange a Form, that *Pliny* ſays the like had never been ſeen before.

The whole Country of *Egypt* abounded with Obelisks of this Nature; they were, for the moſt Part, cut in the Quarries of *Upper Egypt*, where ſome are now to be ſeen half finiſhed. But what is moſt wonderful is, that the ancient *Egyptians* had the Contrivance, to dig a Canal even in the very Quarry, through which the Water of the *Nile* ran, at the Time when it overflowed; from thence afterwards they raiſed up the Columns, Obelisks, and Statues, on Rafts or Floats, proportioned to their Weight, in order to convey them into *Lower Egypt*; and as the whole Country was full of Canals, there was ſcarce any Place, whither thoſe

vaſt Bodies might not be carried with Eaſe, whoſe Weight would have made all other Sorts of Engines give Way under them.

Next to the Obelisks the famous *Pyramids* certainly demand our Attention, thoſe ſtupendous Structures, which have ſo long been the Admiration of the World. A Pyramid is either a ſolid, or a hollow Body, having a large, and generally a ſquare Baſe, from which it leſſens gradually to the Top, till it ends, in Appearance, in a ſharp Point. Of theſe there were three in *Egypt*, more famous than all the reſt, one of which was deſervedly reckoned amongſt the Wonders of the World; they did not ſtand very far from the City of *Memphis*. We ſhall ſpeak here only of the largeſt of the three, which was built upon a Rock, like the others, had a ſquare Baſe, leſſened gradually to the Top, to which whoever would aſcend muſt go up by Stairs made on the outſide. It conſiſted of Stones of an uncommon Size; the leaſt of them at the Bottom being thirty Foot long, proportionable every Way, all wrought with wonderful Art, and full of Hieroglyphicks It is affirmed by ſeveral ancient Authors, that each Side was eight hundred Foot broad, and as many high. The Top of theſe Pyramids, which to any one at Bottom ſeemed but a Point, was a fine even Square, comprized of ten or a dozen Maſſy Stones, and about ſixteen or eighteen Foot over every Way.

A learned *French* Gentleman, Member of the Academy of Sciences, who took the Pains to go to the Place in 1693, on Purpoſe to meaſure this Pyramid, affirms that the Dimenſions thereof are as follow. The Side of the Square Baſe 110 Fathoms or 220 Yards. The Fronts being equilateral Triangles, the Superficies of the Baſe is 12100 Square Fathoms. The perpendicular Height 77 Fathoms three Quarters; and the ſolid Contents 313590 Cubical Fathoms.

It is ſaid a hundred thouſand Men were conſtantly employed about erecting this Stately Structure; who were relieved every three Months by the ſame Number. Ten whole Years were ſpent in hewing out the Stones, either in *Arabia* or *Ethiopia*, and in conveying them to *Egypt*; and it required twenty more to build this immenſe Fabrick, whoſe Inſide contained innumerable Rooms and Apartments. It coſt ſixteen hundred Talents, which is four Millions, five hundred thouſand *French* Livres, or about three hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, only in Garlick, Leeks, Onions, and ſuch Kind of Fare, for the Subſiſtence of the Workmen; an immenſe Sum, equal to about ſix Millions Sterling at preſent, whence one may form a Judgment, how infinite the Expence of the whole muſt have been.

Such were the famous *Egyptian* Pyramids, whoſe Shape and monſtrous Size have enabled them to triumph both over Time and the different *Barbarians*, under whoſe Power they have fallen; a Fate, which the Temple of *Belus* at *Babylon*, though a more lofty and magnificent Structure, could not eſcape. Would one think that theſe vaſt Pyramids were built only for Tombs? and that all this Buſtle, all this Charge, and all the Labour of ſo many Thouſands, ended in procuring a Prince, in theſe vaſt and immenſe Piles of Building, a little Vault not much above ſix Foot in Length, and about three Foot in Depth and Breadth! Yet this was the Caſe; and there is ſtill to be ſeen, in the middle of the largeſt, an empty Sepulchre, cut out of one entire Stone, of the abovementioned Dimenſions. How vainly do ſome Men ſtrive to eternize their Memory, whilſt the very Efforts they make to that End, ſerve but to render it more apparent, what little contemptible Creatures they really are. To rear ſuch a ſtupendous Structure, for an empty inſignificant Animal, who had it not in his Power to enjoy (if a dead Carcaſe can be ſaid to enjoy any Thing) even that ſcanty Portion, was ſuch a monſtrous Piece of Vanity and Folly, as render'd the Perſon guilty of it, yet more contemptible, than he would have been otherwiſe; but when we conſider, that the Monarchs, who were at the Charge of erecting theſe Pyramids, had it not in their Power to be buried there, nor ever lay in theſe their deſigned Sepulchres, it makes them altogether inexcuſable, and proves them guilty beſides of groſs Stupidity: For the publick Hatred which they incurred, by Reaſon of their unparallel'd Cruelty to their Subjects, in impoſing ſuch heavy Toils upon them, made it neceſſary to bury them in obſcure and unknown Places, that the People might not wreak their Fury and Vengeance upon their dead Bodies.

This laſt Circumſtance, of which Hiſtorians have taken particular Notice, teaches us what Judgment to form of theſe ſo highly extolled, and ſo much boaſted of Works of the Ancients. It is but juſt to obſerve and eſteem the noble Genius of the *Egyptians* for Architecture; which induced them to aim at the Grand, and the Magnificent in every Thing; and to be intent upon real Beauties, before they could have any Models upon which to form their Taſte; and this without ever ſwerving from a noble Simplicity, in which the greateſt Perfection of Art conſiſts. But what Opinion ought we to have of thoſe Princes, who eſteemed it ſomething great, and took a vain Pride, in raiſing immenſe but uſeleſs Structures, by innumerable Hands, and at an infinite Expence, with the ſole View of rendering their Name immortal; and who did not ſcruple to deſtroy thouſands of their Subjects, in order to ſatisfy their Thirſt after this empty Glory? They differed widely from the ancient *Romans*, who ſought indeed likewiſe to immortalize themſelves; but then it was by ſuch Actions as were really Heroick, and by ſuch Works as were both magnificent, and calculated for the Benefit of the Publick.

Pliny gives us a juſt Notion of theſe Pyramids in a few Words, when he calls them a fooliſh and uſeleſs Oſtentation of the Riches of the *Egyptian* Kings: He obſerves alſo, that by a juſt Puniſhment of their Vanity, their Memory, which they meant to eternize by theſe ſtupendous Structures, is buried in Oblivion; Hiſtorians not being agreed amongſt themſelves, about the Names of thoſe Princes, who were at the Charge of erecting theſe vain-glorious Works. In ſhort, as *Diodorus Siculus* has very well remarked, the more the Skill and Ingenuity of the Architects is to be extoll'd, and admired in theſe Pyramids, the more blameable and contemptible is the Vanity and Cruelty of thoſe Monarchs, who harraſs'd their Subjects about ſuch laborious and uſeleſs Undertakings.

But what is moſt to be admired in theſe ancient Monuments, is the certain and ſtanding Evidence they

they afford us, of the early Skill of the *Egyptians* in Aſtronomy; that is, in a Science, which ſeems incapable of being brought to Perfection, but by a long Series of Years, and a great Number of Obſervations. When the *French* Gentleman meaſured the great Pyramid, whereof we have been treating, he found that the four Sides faced exactly the four Quarters of the World; and conſequently ſhewed the true Meridian of the Place. Now, as there is ſcarce any Reaſon to queſtion, but that this, ſo exact a Situation, was deſignedly choſen, by the Builders of this enormous Pile, above three thouſand Years ago, it follows, that there has been no Alteration in the Heavens, with Regard to the Poles of the Earth, during that Length of Time, and conſequently that there has been no Alteration in the Meridians.

The *Egyptian Labyrinth*, of which we ſhall next treat, was yet more ſurprizing than the Pyramids, as we are aſſured by *Herodotus*, who was an Eye-witneſs thereof: It was alſo like them, a ridiculous Piece of Oſtentation and Vanity, deſigned to perpetuate the Memory of its twelve Founders, in which, nowever, like them alſo, it has failed. It was ſituated at the moſt *Southern* Part of the Lake of *Mœris*, whereof we ſhall ſpeak preſently, near the City of *Crocodiles*, or *Arſinoe*. It was not ſo properly one ſingle Palace, as a magnificent Pile of twelve Palaces, regularly diſpoſed, which had a Communication with each other. Fifteen hundred Rooms intermixed with Terraſſes, were ranged round twelve Halls, in ſuch an intricate Manner, that whoever went to view them, was in danger of being loſt therein, and of not finding the Way out again. Under this prodigious Pile of Building, were ſubterraneous Structures, of an equal Magnitude, and every Way proportionable thereto, which were deſigned for the Burying Place of the *Egyptian* Monarchs; and alſo, (who can ſay it without Confuſion, and deploring the Blindneſs of Man!) for keeping the ſacred Crocodiles, to which the *Egyptians*, tho' a Nation ſo enlightned in other Reſpects, were ſo infatuated as to pay divine Worſhip.

Whoever was deſirous of viewing the Apartments of this Labyrinth, were obliged, as may be eaſily judged, to uſe the ſame Precaution, to which *Ariadne* inſtructed *Theſeus* to have Recourſe, when he went to engage the *Minotaur* in the *Cretan* Labyrinth; which was built in Imitation of this, but was neither ſo large, nor ſo full of Mazes.

Notwithſtanding the great Magnificence of this Labyrinth, and the Pyramids, the nobleſt and moſt wonderful of all the Works of the Kings of *Egypt* was the Lake of *Moeris*; and accordingly *Herodotus* prefers it vaſtly before them, as being of far greater Uſe and Advantage to the Country in general; the principal End for which all great Works ſhould be calculated. As *Egypt* was more or leſs fertile, according as it was more or leſs overflowed by the *Nile*; and as it proved equally fatal to the Lands, whether the Inundation was too high or too low; therefore, one of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, named *Moeris*, out of a beneficent Intention to prevent theſe two Misfortunes, and to remedy, as far as lay in his Power, the unequal Riſing of the Waters, in different Years, bethought himſelf of calling in Art to the Aſſiſtance of Nature; which he did by making the artificial Lake, which afterwards bore his Name. Authors are not agreed about the Circumference of this Lake; *Herodotus*, and after him *Diodorus Siculus*, from whom *Pliny* does not differ much, ſays, it was three thouſand ſix hundred *Stadia*, that is, a hundred and eighty Leagues round; and Monſ. *Boſſuet*, in his univerſal Hiſtory, aſſerts the ſame as an undoubted Truth; one is aſtoniſhed, ſays he, to read, what, however, is certain, that the Lake of *Mœris* was a hundred and eighty Leagues in Compaſs. But there ſeems to be no manner of Probability in this Account, which *Herodotus* relates, only upon the Credit of the People of the Country, who were very apt to magnify every Thing belonging to them. It is obvious to any Man of Learning and Underſtanding, what Reaſon there is to queſtion the Truth of this Account; wherefore we thought it more adviſable to follow what we find in ſome modern Memoirs, concerning the Extent of this Lake, eſpecially as it is conformable to what we find in *Pomponius Mela*. According to theſe Memoirs then, this Lake was between thirty and forty Miles in Circumference, and in Depth three hundred Foot. Two Pyramids, on each of which was a Statue like a *Coloſſus*, ſeated on a Throne, raiſed their Heads three hundred Feet high in the Midſt of the Lake; whilſt their Foundations were as many Foot deep under the Water; a certain Sign that they were erected before the Cavity was fill'd up with Water; and a Demonſtration that, notwithſtanding the vaſt Extent of this Lake, it was the Product of human Labour, and that during the Reign of one Prince.

This Lake had a Communication with the *Nile*, by the Means of a large Canal, four Leagues in length, and fifty Foot wide; which was opened, or ſhut, as was alſo the Lake, according as there was Occaſion, by large Sluices; to open or ſhut which, coſt fifty Talents, or about eight thouſand Pounds Sterling. As this Lake was well ſtor'd with Fiſh, the Grant of the Privilege of fiſhing therein, brought the King in immenſe Sums; but its greateſt Uſe was with Regard to the overflowing of the *Nile*. When it roſe too high, and was likely to be attended with fatal Conſequences, the Sluices were open'd, and the Waters having free Paſſage into the *Lake*, cover'd the Lands no longer than was neceſſary to enrich them. On the contrary, when the Overflowing was too low, and the People were apprehenſive of a Famine, a ſufficient Quantity of Water was let out of the Lake, to ſupply the Occaſions of the Lands, whereby the Irregularities of the *Nile* were corrected: And *Strabo* obſerved, that, in his Time, when *Petronius* was Governour of *Egypt*, notwithſtanding the Inundation of the *Nile* was but twelve Cubits, there was a very great Plenty; and even when it roſe but to eight Cubits, the Country hardly felt any Want; undoubtedly, becauſe the Waters of the Lake ſupplied the Deficiency of thoſe of the Inundation, by the Means of Drains and Canals.

Having thus enumerated the Curioſities of *Upper*, *Lower*, and *Middle Egypt*, we ſhall proceed to one, which is the greateſt Wonder of all the whole Country, but cannot be juſtly appropriated

appropriated to any particular Part, (as it runs through them all three, and is not confined to any of them, we mean the *Nile*. As there ſeldom falls any Rain in *Egypt*, this River, which waters the whole Country by its regular Overflowings, ſupplies that Defect, by bringing thither, as a yearly Tribute, the Rains of other Countries. This made the Poet ſay very juſtly, that by Reaſon of the *Nile*, the Country watered by it, by which he means *Egypt*, never prays to *Jupiter* for any Rain.

Te propter nullos Tellus tua poſtulat Imbres,
Arida nec pluvio ſupplicat Herba Jovi.

To render ſo beneficent a River as uſeful and advantagious as poſſible, the *Egyptians* cut numberleſs Canals all over the Country, of an incredible Length and Breadth. The *Nile* brought Fruitfulneſs every where with its wholeſome Waters; and at the ſame Time united the Towns with one another, join'd the *Mediterranean* with the *Red Sea*, maintain'd Trade at Home, and fortified the Kingdom againſt the Enemy; inſomuch that *Egypt* was at once obliged to it for her Subſiſtence, and Protection. The Fields were delivered up to it, but the Towns raiſed with immenſe Labour; and ſtanding like Iſlands in the midſt of the Waters, look'd down with Joy upon the Plains, at once overflowed, and enriched by the *Nile*.

This is a general Idea of the Nature and Effects of this River, ſo famous amongſt the Ancients, and ſo much celebrated in Hiſtory. But as its uncommon and aſtoniſhing Properties have rendered it, in all Ages, the Object of the Curioſity and Admiration of the learned, it ſeems to require a more particular Account, wherein we ſhall be as conciſe as poſſible. *Firſt*, For the Head of the *Nile*, it was unknown to the Ancients, who erroneouſly placed it in the Mountains of the *Moon*, in the tenth Degree of *South* Latitude; whereas our modern Travellers have diſcovered that it riſes from two Sources, which lie in the twelfth Degree of *North* Latitude, and the ſixtieth of Longitude. This cuts off above three hundred Leagues of the Courſe the Ancients aſcribed to this River; in Effect it was ſo little known to them, that *Caput Nili quærere*, to ſeek the Head of the *Nile*, grew into a Proverb, to expreſs an impracticable Undertaking: And it is ſaid that *Cæſar* would have been better pleaſed with diſcovering the Source of the *Nile*, than with the Conqueſt of *Rome*. This famous River then riſes at the Foot of a great Mountain, in the Kingdom of *Goyam*, in *Abyſſinia*, from two Springs, or Eyes, to ſpeak in the Language of the Country, the ſame Word in *Arabick*, ſignifying both an *Eye* and *Fountain*. Theſe Springs, according to Father *Lobo*, a *Portugueſe* Miſſionary, are about thirty Paces from one another, and are each of them as large as an ordinary Well, or a Cart Wheel; ſo inconſiderable is one of the moſt famous Rivers in the World at its Riſe. The *Nile*, however, is increaſed by numberleſs Rivulets which run into it, and contribute greatly to the enlarging its Stream, till being become a conſiderable River, it paſſes through *Ethiopia*, with innumerable Turnings and Windings, and flows at laſt into *Egypt*.

But before it enters that Country, it paſſes by the *Cataracts*, a Place ſo called from the prodigious Falls of Water there, which from all Ages have attracted the Admiration of the Curious, and are not be parallel'd in the whole World, unleſs it be by that formed by the *Rhine*, near *Schaffhauſen*, in *Switzerland*. When the *Nile*, which at firſt glides ſmoothly along the vaſt Deſarts of *Ethiopia*, comes to this Place, the River being pent up and reſtrained in its Courſe, by the Narrowneſs of the Channel, and other Obſtacles, which it meets in its Way, grows on a ſudden rapid and violent, contrary to its Nature, foaming and raging with the utmoſt Impetuoſity, to find its Waters confined, like the Ocean in a Storm; till, at laſt, having overcome all Impediments, it ruſhes forward, and precipitating itſelf from the Top of ſome Rocks, it falls to the Bottom from an immenſe Height, with ſuch a prodigious Noiſe, that Travellers aver it may be heard to the Diſtance of three Leagues: Nay, which is more incredible, Hiſtory informs us, that the People who inhabit the Country round about, and are called *Catadupi*, are in a manner deafened by the horrid Uproar; and that a Colony of the *Perſians*, who were ſettled there by their Monarchs, when they ſubdued that Country, not being able to bear the intolerable Din, which utterly deprived them of their Hearing, and abſolutely ſtunn'd them, were forced to be tranſplanted and removed to a more quiet Settlement. Thoſe who live upon the Spot, having acquired the Dexterity by long Practice, endeavour to divert Travellers by a Sight, rather calculated to excite Terror in them, than to entertain them. Two of them getting into a little Boat, the one to guide it, and the other to throw out the Water, after being toſſed with the Violence of the Surges, for a conſiderable Time, which they humour by artfully turning their little Wherry, ſo as to prevent the Waves breaking into it, ſuffer themſelves, at laſt, to be hurried away by the impetuous Torrent, through the narrow Paſſages of the Rocks, as ſwift as an Arrow; and whilſt the Spectator terrified to the laſt Degree, expects them to be loſt in the rapid Flood, the *Nile*, reſtored to its natural Courſe, ſhews them again at a Diſtance, on a ſmooth and calm Water.

The Ancients, being ignorant of the true Cauſe of the *Nile*'s overflowing its Banks, every Year, at a certain Seaſon, aſſigned ſeveral trifling Reaſons for a Fact ſo uncommon and remarkable; as may be ſeen in *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Seneca*; but it is now well known, and univerſally agreed, that the Inundations of the *Nile* proceed from the great and continual Rains, which fall about that Seaſon in *Ethiopia*, through which that River flows before it comes into *Egypt*. Theſe continual Rains ſwell the *Nile*, to ſuch a Degree, that it firſt overflows *Ethiopia*, and then *Egypt*; and that which was before but a large River, becomes like a Sea, and lays the whole Country under Water. *Strabo* obſerves that the Ancients knew no otherwiſe, but by Gueſs, that the Inundations of the *Nile* were cauſed by the prodigious Rains, which fall, at ſtated Times, in great Profuſion, in *Ethiopia*, but adds, that divers Travellers have ſince been Eye-witneſſes thereof. *Ptolomy*, ſirnamed *Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, who was very inquiſitive into every Thing that related

related to the Arts and Sciences, or the Secrets of Nature, of which this was one of the greateſt, having ſent thither proper Perſons, on Purpoſe to examine into, and aſcertain the Cauſe, of ſo extraordinary and remarkable a *Phænomenon*.

Herodotus, *Diodorus Siculus*, and divers other Authors who treat of this Subject, ſay the *Nile* begins to riſe in *Egypt* about the Summer Solſtice, that is about the Middle of *June*, and continues increaſing till the End of *September*; that it decreaſes gradually during the Months of *October* and *November*; and afterwards returns to its proper Channel, and reſumes its wonted Courſe. This Account agrees pretty well with what we read, in all the Relations of modern Travellers, and is anſwerable to the natural Cauſe of the Inundations, namely the great Rains which fall in *Ethiopia*. Now according to the concurrent Teſtimony of ſuch as have been upon the Spot, theſe Rains begin to fall in the Month of *April*, and continue falling for five Months, that is, till the End of *Auguſt*, or Beginning of *September*; wherefore, the Increaſe of the *Nile* in *Egypt*, muſt neceſſarily commence about three Weeks, or a Month, after the Rains have begun to fall in *Abyſſinia*; accordingly, all Travellers obſerve in their Accounts that the *Nile* begins to riſe in the Month of *May*, but that it is by ſuch ſlow degrees, that it does not as yet overflow its Banks: The Inundation does not happen till the latter End of *June*, and laſts the three following Months, as we are aſſured by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*. *Strabo*, however, together with *Pliny* and *Solinus*, differ herein from the Authors before mentioned, by ſhortning the Continuance of the Inundation conſiderably; for they will have it, that the *Nile* goes off the Lands, after the Space of three Months, or a hundred Days. What adds to the Difficulty of reconciling this Contradiction between theſe Authors is, that *Pliny* ſeems to ground his Opinion upon the Teſtimony of *Herodotus*: *In totum autem revocatur* Nilus *intra ripas in Libra, ut tradit* Herodotus, *centeſimo Die*. The juſt Height of the Inundation, according to *Pliny*, is ſixteen Cubits, or twenty-four Foot; when the River riſes but twelve or thirteen, a Famine enſues; and when it exceeds ſixteen, there is the ſame Danger. The Emperor *Julian*, in a Letter to *Ecdicius*, Prefect of *Egypt*, takes Notice that on the twentieth of *September*, in the Year 362, the Height of the *Nile*'s overflowing was fifteen Cubits; the Ancients, however, neither entirely agree with one another, nor with the Moderns, about the Height of the Inundation, but the Difference is not very conſiderable: It may proceed, either from the Difference between the ancient and modern Meaſures, which it is hard to reduce to a fix'd and certain Standard; or from the Careleſsneſs of the Perſons who made their Obſervations thereof; and of the Hiſtorians; or from the real Difference of the *Nile*'s Increaſe, which is not ſo great when it approaches near the Sea. As the Wealth of *Egypt* depended almoſt entirely upon the Height of the Inundation of the *Nile*, all the Circumſtances and different Degrees of its Increaſe and Decreaſe have been carefully remarked; and by a long Series of regular Obſervations for many Years ſucceſſively, it was found, that from the Inundation itſelf might be diſcovered, what Sort of a Harveſt the enſuing Year was likely to produce. For this End, the *Egyptian* Monarchs had a Column erected at *Memphis*, upon which the various Degrees of the *Nile*'s Increaſe were mark'd; and from thence Notice was given to all the reſt of *Egypt*, to what Height it roſe; by this Means the People knew before-hand what they were to hope or fear from the next Harveſt. *Strabo* mentions a *Well*, that was made for the ſame Purpoſe, on the Banks of the *Nile*, near the City of *Syene*. As great Part of the Wealth of *Egypt* conſiſted in the Produce of her Land, it was no wonder the Kings, whoſe Revenues aroſe in a great Meaſure from thence, as we may ſee by the Hiſtory of *Joſeph*, were very careful in having the Increaſe and Decreaſe of the River, upon which the Fertility of the Lands abſolutely depended, obſerved with the utmoſt Exactneſs.

The ſame Cuſtom is ſtill retained to this Day at *Grand Cairo*; where in the Court-yard of a Moſque there is a Pillar, upon which the Degrees of the *Nile*'s Increaſe are mark'd, and common Cryers proclaim daily in all Parts of the City how high it riſes. The Tribute paid to the *Grand Signior*, for the Lands, is ſettled according to the Height of the Inundation; and the Day it riſes to a certain Height is kept as a great Feſtival, with Fire-works, Feaſting, and all other Demonſtrations of publick Rejoicing: And, even in the moſt ancient Times, the Overflowing of the *Nile* was always attended with an univerſal Joy throughout all *Egypt*; it being the Source of all her Wealth and Felicity.

The *Egyptians* attributed the Inundation of the *Nile* to their God *Serapis*, and the Pillar upon which the Increaſe thereof was mark'd, was religiouſly kept in the Temple of that Idol; and the Emperor *Conſtantine the Great* having ordered it to be removed into the Church of *Alexandria*, they gave out that the *Nile* would never riſe more, becauſe *Serapis* was incens'd at the Affront done him, in removing that Pillar; they were miſtaken however, for the River roſe and overflowed as uſual the following Years. *Julian the Apoſtate*, a zealous Encourager and Protector of Idolatry, cauſed the Pillar to be replaced once more in the Temple of *Serapis*; but it was afterwards taken again from thence, by the Command of the Emperor *Theodoſius*.

The divine Providence, in bleſſing *Egypt* with ſo beneficent a River, did not intend that the People ſhould indulge themſelves in Idleneſs, or enjoy ſo great a Happineſs without taking any Pains. There is no great Difficulty in conceiving that, as the *Nile* could not overſpread all the Country of itſelf, it was neceſſary to uſe great Labour to facilitate the Overflowing of the Lands; and numberleſs Canals were to be cut, in order to convey the Waters to all Parts. The Villages, which ſtood very thick upon high Ground, by the River Side, had each of them their Canals, which were opened at proper Times, to give the Water Paſſage into the Country. The moſt diſtant Villages had Canals alſo; even to the utmoſt Limits of the Kingdom; by which Means, the Waters were ſucceſſively convey'd to the moſt diſtant Places: It was not permitted to cut Trenches to receive the Waters till the River was at a cer-

tain Height, nor yet to open them all together; becauſe then ſome Lands would be overflowed too much, whilſt others would not receive ſufficient Benefit from the Inundation. They began, therefore, with opening them firſt in *Upper Egypt*, after which they are opened in *Lower Egypt*, according to a Roll, or Book, wherein all the Meaſures were ſet down with the utmoſt Exactneſs. By this Means the Water was husbanded with ſuch Care, that it overſpread all the Lands; notwithſtanding the Countries overflow'd by the *Nile* are of ſuch vaſt Extent, and ſo deep, and the Number of Canals is ſo very great, it is thought not a tenth Part of all the Waters, which flow into *Egypt*, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, ever reach the Sea. But as there were Abundance of high Lands, which could not partake of the Benefit of the *Nile*'s Inundation, notwithſtanding all theſe Canals, they were ſupplied therewith by the Help of ſpiral Pumps, which were work'd by Oxen, and forced the Water into Pipes, which convey'd it to thoſe Lands; *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeaks of ſuch an Engine, invented by *Archimedes*, in his Travels into *Egypt*, which was called *Cochlea Ægyptia*.

There is not any Country in the Univerſe where the Soil is more fruitful than in *Egypt*, and this its extraordinary Fertility is entirely owing, under divine Providence, to the *Nile*: For whereas other Rivers, when they overflow Lands, impoveriſh them, and exhauſt their Goodneſs, the *Nile*, by bringing with its Waters an excellent rich Slime, fattens, and enriches the Ground, in ſuch a manner, that it ſuffices to make good what the foregoing Harveſt had impaired. The Husbandman never tires himſelf there, with holding the Plough, or breaking the Clods of Earth; as ſoon as the *Nile* is retired within its Channel, he has nothing more to do than to turn up the Soil, and temper it with a little Sand, in order to qualify its great Rankneſs; this done, he ſows it with little or no Trouble, and almoſt without any Expence, and within two Months it is covered with all Sorts of Grain and Pulſe. The *Egyptians* generally ſow in *October* and *November*, as the Waters run off the Land, and their Harveſt is in the *March* and *April* following. But what is yet more, the ſame Land bears in one Year three or four different Sorts of Crops. *Firſt*, they generally ſow Lettice and Cucumbers; then Corn; and after Harveſt divers Sorts of Pulſe, which are peculiar to *Egypt*; and of which there is ſuch Plenty, and ſo excellent are they in their kind, that they might alone ſuffice for the Suſtenance of the Inhabitants. As the Heat of the Sun is exceſſive there, and very ſeldom any Rain falls, it is eaſy to judge that the Earth would ſoon be parched, and the Corn and Pulſe burnt up, by ſo intenſe and ſcorching a Heat, were it not for the Canals and Reſervoirs with which *Egypt* abounds; and which, by Drains made from thence, ſupply a ſufficiency of Water to moiſten and refreſh the Fields and Gardens.

The *Nile* contributes no leſs to the Feeding of Cattle, which is another Source of Riches to *Egypt*, than to the fertiliſing her Corn-Fields. They begin to turn them out to Graſs in *November*, and keep them there till the latter End of *March*; and it is not to be expreſſed how rich their Paſtures are, nor how fat the Flocks and Herds, which the Mildneſs of the Climate ſuffers them to keep out Night and Day, grow in a little while. During the Time that the Country is overflow'd, they are fed with Hay and cut Straw, Barley and Beans. *Corneille le Bruyn*, in his Travels, ſpeaking of this Country, ſays, one cannot help taking Notice here, of the admirable Providence of God, in ſending, at a fix'd and certain Seaſon, ſuch a vaſt Profuſion of Rain in *Ethiopia*, in order to water *Egypt*, where a Shower ſcarce ever falls; and, by that Means, rendering a Soil otherwiſe the moſt ſandy and dry imaginable, one of the richeſt, and moſt fertile Countries in the Univerſe.

Another remarkable Circumſtance relating to this celebrated River, is, that, according to the Teſtimony of the Inhabitants, about the Beginning of *June*, and for the four following Months, that is, during the Time that the Inundation covers the Country, the *North-Eaſt* Wind blows conſtantly, and keeping back the Waters which otherwiſe would flow too faſt, hinders them from diſcharging themſelves into the Sea, the Way thither being, in a manner, barred up, if we may uſe that Expreſſion, by thoſe Winds. The *Ancients* have taken Notice of this remarkable Circumſtance; and the great *Julius Cæſar* had like to have been convinced of the Truth thereof to his Coſt; when purſuing *Pompey* into *Egypt*, after the Battle of *Pharſalia*, with a very ſmall Body of Forces, he found himſelf engaged in a dangerous War with the *Egyptians*, and expoſed to the Fury of the tumultuous and inſolent *Alexandrians*; at the ſame Time that he was detained within their City, by the continual blowing of the *Eleſian* or *North-Eaſt* Winds, which would not ſuffer his Veſſels to leave the Port of *Alexandria*.

The ſame divine Providence, whoſe Ways are as wonderful as unſearchable, and whoſe Diſpenſations are infinitely various, diſplay'd its unbounded Goodneſs and Almighty Power, after a quite different Manner in *Paleſtine*, or the *Holy Land*; by rendering it ſurprizingly fruitful, not by Rains which fell during the whole Courſe of the Year, as it is uſual in other Countries, nor by a peculiar fertilizing Inundation, like that of the *Nile*, but by ſending fix'd and certain Rains at two ſtated Seaſons; and this only proviſionally, on Condition of the *Iſraelites* being obedient to God, that they might be made more ſenſible of their continual Dependance upon him. The Almighty himſelf informs them of this Difference, by the Mouth of *Moſes*, to the End they might conſtantly reflect upon it; and be conſcious that if they were afflicted with a Famine, their own Sins were the Occaſion thereof; *The Land whither thou goeſt in to poſſeſs it, is not as the Land of* Egypt, *from whence ye came out, where thou ſoweſt thy Seed, and wateredſt it with thy Foot, as a Garden of Herbs: But the Land whither ye go to poſſeſs it is a Land of Hills and Valleys, and drinketh Water of the Rain of Heaven.* Deut. xi. 10, 11. Having thus premiſed, *God* promiſes to give them Rain in due Seaſon, the *firſt Rain*, and the *latter Rain*, on Condition of their Obedience; and, at the ſame Time, he threatens to ſhut up the Heavens, and with-hold the Rain,

Rain, in Caſe of their Diſobedience. Accordingly we ſee in the Reign of *Ahab*, King of *Iſrael*, the *Jews* were afflicted with a ſevere Famine for three Years ſucceſſively, on Account of their groſs Sins and Idolatry.

It is hardly poſſible for any Country to yield a more delightful Proſpect, than *Egypt* affords at two Seaſons of the Year, for which it is likewiſe indebted to the *Nile*. For on aſcending a high Hill, or one of the largeſt Pyramids, in the Months of *July* and *Auguſt*, the Eye is entertained with the View of a vaſt Sea, out of which numberleſs Towns and Villages ſeem to riſe, with divers Cauſeys leading from one Place to another: the whole beautified with Groves and Fruit-trees, whoſe Tops only can be ſeen, which renders it agreeable beyond Expreſſion. To make it yet more ſo, this Proſpect is bounded with Mountains ſhaded with Woods, which terminate the Horizon at a Diſtance, and wherein the Eye loſes itſelf with Pleaſure. On the contrary, in Winter, that is, in the Months of *January* and *February*, when it is Winter every where elſe, the whole Country ſeems one beautiful verdant Meadow, whoſe green Carpet, enamell'd with Flowers, at once raviſhes the Sight, and delights the Smell; whilſt, on every Side, Flocks and Herds may be ſeen diſperſed over all the Plain, with infinite Numbers of Husbandmen, Gardeners, Shepherds, and Herdſmen. To add to the Charms of this Scene, the Air is then perfumed by the ſweet Odours, iſſuing from vaſt Quantities of Flowers, on the Orange and Lemon Trees, which are then in Bloſſom; beſides this, it is ſo pure, that it is hardly poſſible to breath one more wholeſome, or agreeable: Inſomuch that Nature, which is then in a manner dead in all other Climates, ſeems to be alive only in this delicious Abode; and the whole, to a Stranger, uſed to more *Northern* Countries, looks like Enchantment.

Whilſt we are upon the Advantages which *Egypt* gained by the *Nile*, we muſt by no means omit the Canal, whereby there was a Communication opened between the *Red Sea*, and the *Mediterranean*; as that was not one of the leaſt Benefits which accrued to the Kingdom from that River. This Deſign, according to ſome, was firſt formed by *Seſoſtris*, and according to others by *Pſammeticus*; but whether the one or the other begun the Work, *Necbao*, Succeſſor to the latter, laid out immenſe Sums in it, and employed therein a vaſt Number of Hands; inſomuch that it is ſaid, above a hundred and twenty thouſand *Egyptians* periſhed in the Undertaking: 'Tis added, that the Reaſon of his deſiſting from this Enterprize, was, his being terrified by an Oracle, which told him it was opening a Door, for the *Barbarians* to enter and invade *Egypt*; for the antient *Egyptians*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans*, gave that Name to all Foreign Nations. This great Work, however, was again taken in Hand by *Dardus*, the firſt *Egyptian* Monarch of that Name, but he gave it over likewiſe, becauſe he was told, that the *Red Sea*, lying higher than *Egypt*, muſt neceſſarily drown the whole Country. Notwithſtanding all theſe Diſcouragements, the Canal was at laſt finiſhed under the *Ptolomies*, who kept it open or ſhut, according as there was Occaſion, by the means of Sluices; in the ſame Manner as that which kept open the Communication between the *Nile*, and the Lake of *Moeris*. It began from *Delta*, near the City of *Bubaſtus*; was a hundred Cubits, that is 150 Foot wide, ſo that two Veſſels might paſs each other with Eaſe, deep enough to carry Ships of any Burthen; and above a thouſand *Stadia*, that is, above fifty Leagues in length. This Canal was of vaſt Advantage for the promoting Trade; but at preſent it is in a manner quite filled up, inſomuch that ſcarce any Remains thereof are to be ſeen; whether through the Indolence and Negligence of the *Turks*, who are at preſent in Poſſeſſion thereof, or from whatever other Cauſe, we ſhall not pretend to determine.

CHAP. III.

Of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the ancient Egyptians; *of their early and wonderful Progreſs in moſt Kinds of Learning; of their Form of Government; of their excellent Method of Educating their Princes, and of adminiſtring Juſtice; Of their admirable Laws; of the Privileges of their Prieſts, and of their Religion,* &c.

HAving thus given ſome Account of the Country in general, and whatever was curious or remarkable therein, we ſhall next proceed to treat of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants: And certainly, in all prophane Hiſtory, we muſt meet with no People, whoſe Manners and Cuſtoms better deſerve our Obſervation; ſince *Egypt* was always look'd upon, by the *Antients* in general, as the moſt celebrated School for Wiſdom and Politicks, and the Source from whence all Nations derived their Arts and Sciences; *God* himſelf having given her a glorious Teſtimony, by the Mouth of St. *Stephen*, when, in ſpeaking of *Moſes*, he ſays, *he was learned in all the Wiſdom of the* Egyptians; a Commendation to which nothing can be added. In Effect, the *Egyptians* employ'd their nobleſt Labours, and their fineſt Arts on the Education of Mankind, and on cultivating their Minds: Accordingly, the *Greeks* being ſenſible thereof, ſaw without Regret, her greateſt Men, as *Homer*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato*, nay, even their greateſt Law-givers, as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, with Numbers more, whom it is not neceſſary to name, travel into *Egypt*, there to finiſh their Studies, and to draw from that Fountain, whatever was moſt excellent in every Kind of Learning.

The *Egyptians* were the firſt Nation who rightly underſtood the Rules of Government; from a Gravity and Seriouſneſs, natural to them, they diſcerned, very ſoon, that the true End of Policy was to render Life eaſy, and the People happy. Accordingly, notwithſtanding the *Egyptian* Crown was Hereditary, their Monarchs formed their Conduct, after a manner vaſtly different, from that which is uſually obſerved by the Sovereigns of other Kingdoms; where the Prince generally makes his Will a Law, and the ſole Rule of all his Actions is his own Arbitrary Pleaſure. In *Egypt* it was not ſo; Kings there were under greater Reſtraints from the Laws than the meaneſt of their Subjects. They had

had particular Rules preſcribed them, which had been digeſted into order by one of their Predeceſſors, and compoſed Part of thoſe Books, which were called *ſacred* by the *Egyptians*; inſomuch that every Point of their Behaviour being ſettled and regulated by antient Cuſtom, they never endeavoured to live in any manner differently from their Anceſtors.

Neither any Slave, nor Stranger was admitted into the immediate Service of the Prince; this Employment being judged of too great Importance, to be intruſted with any other Perſons, than thoſe who were the moſt diſtinguiſh'd by their Birth, and had received the moſt excellent Education; to the end that, as they had the Liberty of approaching his Perſon Day and Night, he might not hear any Thing, from Men ſo qualified, which was unbecoming the Royal Dignity; nor have any Sentiments inſtill'd into him, but ſuch as were noble and generous. Happy were it for Princes now-a-Days, were the ſame Conduct obſerv'd towards them! For, as *Diodorus Siculus* remarks very juſtly, Kings are very ſeldom ſeen to fly into any vicious Exceſs, when they do not find, any of thoſe who approach their Perſons, will either approve of their Irregularities, or ſtoop to be the Miniſters of their Paſſions: 'Tis to be feared the Courts of many *Chriſtian* Princes would be very thin, were all ſuch Peſts to be baniſhed thence, ſince therein the whole Race of Sycophants, Flatterers, and oppreſſive Miniſters would be included.

What would be reckoned a prodigious Tyranny now-a-Days, the Kings of *Egypt* ſuffered, without the leaſt Uneaſineſs, not only the Quality and Quantity of Victuals and Drink to be aſſigned; but even permitted all their Hours, and almoſt every Action of their Life to be under the Regulation of the Laws. For Inſtance, at Break of Day, when the Mind is to be ſuppos'd to be moſt diſencumber'd from Cares, and the Thoughts moſt clear, they read their Letters; in order to form a more juſt Judgment of the Affairs which were to come under their Conſideration and Deciſion. The next Thing, as ſoon as they were dreſs'd, was to go to the Temple, and offer up their Devotions. There, ſurrounded by their whole Court, and the Victims, which were daily ſacrificed, being placed before the Altar, they aſſiſted at the Prayer, pronounced aloud by the Pontiff; wherein he implor'd of the Gods Health, and all other Bleſſings for their Sovereign, becauſe he governed his People with Clemency and Juſtice, and made the Laws of his Kingdom, the Rule and Standard of his Actions. The Pontiff then enter'd into a large Detail of his Virtues, and obſerv'd that he was religious to the Gods, and affable to Men; that he was temperate, juſt, magnanimous, ſincere, an Enemy to Lies, liberal, and Maſter of his Paſſions, never puniſhing ſo much as Crimes deſerved, and yet rewarding Services beyond what any one could think they merited. He next mentioned the Faults which Monarchs might happen to commit; but, at the ſame Time, ſuppoſed that they were never guilty of any, but through Surprize or Ignorance; and loaded with Execrations thoſe Miniſters, who gave them ill Counſel, and either ſuppreſs'd or diſguis'd the Truth. Such was the *Egyptian* Method of inſtilling Inſtruction into their Sovereigns, and it was hardly poſſible to invent a better; it was thought that Reproaches would ſour their Tempers; and that the moſt effectual Way to inſpire them with the Love of Virtue, was to point out their Duty to them, in Praiſes beſtow'd agreeably to the Senſe of the Laws, and delivered with Gravity and Reverence before the Gods. After Prayers and Sacrifices were ended, the Counſels and Actions of great Men were read to the King, out of the ſacred Books; that their Maxims might inſpire him with the Deſire of governing his Subjects conformable to them, and of maintaining thoſe Laws, which had render'd his Predeceſſors and their People ſo happy.

We have already obſerved, that the Kings of *Egypt* were limited by the Laws, both as to the Quantity and Quality of their Victuals and Drink. Accordingly their Table was not loaded with a Profuſion of Dainties, which ſerve only to enervate and vitiate the Mind, as is the Faſhion generally with moſt modern Princes; it was only covered with the moſt common Food, becauſe Eating and Drinking were never deſigned in *Egypt*, to pleaſe the Palate, and indulge a ſenſual Appetite, but only to ſatisfy the Wants of Nature. In ſhort, ſo plain and temperate was the King's Diet, that as *Diodorus Siculus* juſtly obſerves, any one would have ſworn, the Rules by which his Servants were governed in providing it, had rather been the Directions of ſome able Phyſician, who was particularly ſtudious and careful of his Prince's Health, than the Dictates of any Lawgiver. The ſame Simplicity was viſible in all the King's other Expences: and we read in *Plutarch*, of a Temple at *Thebes*, on one Side of whoſe Pillars was an Inſcription, full of Imprecations againſt the Monarch who had firſt introduced Luxury, and expenſive Living into *Egypt*.

The principal Duty of Princes, and the Virtue moſt eſſentially neceſſary to their high Office, and wherein they moſt reſemble the *Almighty*, is the doing Juſtice to all Men. Accordingly, the Kings of *Egypt* apply'd themſelves particularly to the Diſcharge of this Duty; being fully perſuaded, that not only the Repoſe of private Perſons, but the Happineſs of the State depended upon this Care; ſince the Kingdom would rather be a Sanctuary for licenſed Robbers, than a well governed State; were the Weak to be without Protection, whilſt the Rich were ſupported, by their Wealth and Credit, in the Commiſſion of all Manner of Crimes and Outrages, with Impunity.

To the End, therefore, that Juſtice ſhould be exactly and impartially adminiſtered, thirty Judges were ſelected out of the principal Cities, in order to form a Body, fit to determine the Affairs of the whole Kingdom. This we ſuppoſe to have been the *dernier Reſort*, the higheſt Court of Judicature, from which there was no Appeal, like the *Houſe of Lords* with us; for it is not to be imagined, but there were inferior Judges to adminiſter Juſtice in every Province, ſince otherwiſe it muſt have been highly inconvenient, not to ſay intolerable, for the meaner ſort of People to be obliged always to repair to the Capital, for the Redreſs of any Grievance, or the Recovery of any Debts. The King in filling up the Vacancies, which happened from Time to Time, among the Judges, choſe Men who had the beſt Reputation for their Honeſty, and Integrity, and placed at their Head the Perſon who was the moſt diſtinguiſhed for his Knowledge in the Laws, and for his Zeal for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and who was, at the ſame Time, the firſt in the Eſteem of the Publick.

Each of theſe Magiſtrates had a handſome Income aſſigned him, by the Royal Bounty; to the End that not being incumbered with Domeſtick Cares, they

they might apply their whole Time to the ſeeing the Laws put in Execution; and being thus honourably ſubſiſted by the Prince's Generoſity, they adminiſtered Juſtice *Gratis* to the People in general, who have a natural Right to it, and amongſt whom it ought to have a free Circulation: And indeed the Poor have in ſome Meaſure, a better Title to the due Diſpenſation of Juſtice than the Rich, becauſe the helpleſs Condition of the former, expoſes them to the Wealthy, and therefore calls loudly for the Protection of the Laws; whilſt the latter find a ſtrong Support within themſelves.

As nothing is more likely to captivate the Favour of the Audience, and dazzle the Eyes of the Underſtanding, by moving the Paſſions, than the inſidious Glare of falſe Eloquence, the *Egyptian* Judges were juſtly apprehenſive of its dangerous and powerful Influence; therefore, in order to guard againſt Surprize, all Affairs were tranſacted in their Aſſemblies, by Writing. The Truth could not be laid open with too much Plainneſs, as that alone was to have the Sway, and direct their Judgment; becauſe neither the Rich nor the Poor, the Powerful nor the Weak, the Learned nor the Ignorant, could find any other Relief or Security, but therein. The Preſident of this auguſt Aſſembly, wore about his Neck, a Collar of Gold, enrich'd with precious Stones; from which hung down a Figure without Eyes, the proper Emblem of *Truth*, which was to prevail in all their Determinations. When the Preſident put on this Collar, the Aſſembly underſtood it as the Signal to enter upon Buſineſs; and after an Affair was diſcuſſed, the Preſident paſſed Sentence, in Favour of the Party who had Juſtice on his Side, and conſequently was to ſucceed in his Cauſe, by applying or holding out the Image towards him; which was as much as to ſay, *Thou haſt the Truth on thy Side*, and was the uſual Form of giving Judgment.

Authors have obſerved, that what was moſt excellent, they might have added uncommon, in the *Egyptian* Government, beyond all others, was that every individual Perſon, grew up from his Infancy, in a firm Reſolution to conform to the Laws; and this thoſe Authors aſcribe to the Excellency of thoſe Laws: But whether it is not as much or more to be attributed to the excellent natural Bent of the People, we think may very well admit of Diſpute; ſince the moſt excellent Laws will avail very little, towards inclining People to obey them, if they are not naturally diſpoſed thereto; as is evident from the Act againſt *Bribery* and *Corruption*, than which a better cannot be calculated, for the Welfare of the Kingdom in general; and yet than which no one is more generally eluded. We think, therefore, this reſolved Adherence of the *Egyptians* to the Laws, ought more juſtly to be aſcribed, to the admirable Diſpoſition of the People in general, than the Excellence of the Laws themſelves; but, however that be, certain it is, that the Introduction of a new Cuſtom into *Egypt* was a Prodigy; that every Thing ran on there in the old Channel; and the Exactneſs with which Points of little or no Importance were conformed to, contributed very much to the due Obſervance of thoſe of greater Moment. And to this alone, in a great Meaſure, it was owing, that the *Egyptians* might boaſt, that their Laws and Cuſtoms were obſerved for a greater Length of Time, or, in other Words, that their ancient Conſtitution flouriſhed longer in full Vigour, than that of any other Nation.

Wilful Murther was irremiſſibly puniſhed with Death, whatever the Condition of the murthered Perſon was, whether he was a free Man or a Slave; and herein the Equity and Humanity of the *Egyptian* Laws, had viſibly the Advantage over thoſe of the *Romans*; whoſe Practice it was, to leave the Life, or Death of the Slave, abſolutely at the Diſpoſal of the Maſter; a Cuſtom ſo inhuman, that it is ſurprizing how it could obtain ſo long amongſt ſo generous a People! Since it muſt be evident to any one, how unfit a Judge an incenſed Maſter was, to diſpoſe abſolutely of the Life or Death of his helpleſs Slave. Of this we have a flagrant Inſtance, in the Barbarity of a rich *Roman* Senator, we think, *Vedius Pollio*, who having a Pond that abounded with Lampreys, a Fiſh whereof the *Romans* were very fond, uſed whenever any of his Slaves diſpleaſed him, to order them to be thrown to the Lampreys. Accordingly, one Night, when he had invited the Emperor *Auguſtus* to Supper, a Slave happened to fall, and break a China, or Porcelain Diſh, on which that Senator ſet a great Value; whereupon, without any Remorſe, though the Fault was involuntary, and ſo trifling, the inhuman Maſter condemned him to the uſual Puniſhment: But the poor Offender, breaking looſe from thoſe who were going to ſeize him, ran into the Room where *Auguſtus* was, and throwing himſelf at the Emperor's Feet, begg'd he might be ſentenced to any other Death, but that of being devoured by Lampreys. Hereupon, that Prince inquiring into his Offence, and finding it was no more than his unfortunately ſtumbling, and breaking a Diſh made of ſuch brittle Ware, not only ordered the Slave to be forgiven; but commanded all the remainder of the Diſhes, ſo highly valued, to be broken, and the Pond to be filled up; that neither the one might be an Occaſion of provoking the Senator afreſh, nor the other be made ſubſervient to his Barbarity. A very juſt and well judged Sentence! The Emperor *Adrian* afterwards aboliſhed that inhuman Law; rightly judging that an Enormity of this Nature ought to be reformed, of how long ſtanding ſoever its Antiquity, or Authority might have been.

Perjury was likewiſe capitally puniſhed, becauſe it attack'd both the Gods, whoſe Majeſty was trampled upon, by calling them as Witneſſes to a falſe Oath; and Men in breaking the ſtrongeſt Cement of human Society, which is Sincerity and Honeſty; inſomuch that it muſt have been of the moſt dangerous and pernicious Conſequence to have ſuffered it to eſcape without Impunity.

The Calumniator or falſe Witneſs was condemn'd, without Mercy, to undergo the ſame Puniſhment as the Perſon accuſed was to have ſuffered, had the Accuſation been legally proved. A Law highly juſt, and fit to be copied after by all Nations whatſoever; beſides that, it is exactly conſonant to the Laws of *God*.

If any Perſon was unjuſtly attacked, and another, who ſaw it, neglected, or refuſed to ſave him, when it was in his Power ſo to do, the Perſon ſo neglecting to reſcue his Fellow-Subject, was puniſhed with the Rigour of an Aſſaſſin. But if it was not poſſible to relieve the unfortunate Perſon, the Author of the Violence was at leaſt to be proſecuted, and the Perſon who neglected this Duty was to incur a certain Penalty. An excellent Law, whereby the Subjects were made a continual Guard and Protection to each other; and the whole Body of the Community were united againſt the Deſigns of wicked Men.

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We ſhall only obſerve farther thereupon, that it was impoſſible for a Highwayman, or *Banditti*, to have eſcaped long unpuniſhed in *Egypt*; ſince any Perſon who had ſeen him in the Commiſſion of his Villainies, and had meanly ſneak'd out of the Way, when he might, by a brave Reſiſtance, have ſaved his Fellow-Subject; and been inſtrumental to the Puniſhment of the Villain; would have been looked upon as little better than one of his Accomplices, and been puniſhed accordingly.

Another excellent Maxim in the *Egyptian* Government was, that no Man was by any means ſuffered to be uſeleſs, or, which is the ſame thing, a Burthen to the State. Every particular Perſon was obliged to enter his Name, and Place of Abode, in a publick Regiſter, which was to remain in the Hands of the Magiſtrates; and wherein he declared his Profeſſion, and in what manner, and how he lived. To prevent any one's impoſing upon the Magiſtrate herein, whoever gave in a falſe Account of himſelf, in any of theſe Reſpects, his Impoſture was puniſhed with immediate Death.

To prevent the borrowing of Money, which is the Parent of Sloth, Frauds, Chicane and Injuſtice, or, at leaſt, not repaying it when borrowed, King *Aſychis* enacted a very judicious Law, wherein he ſurpaſs'd, in Prudence, the wiſeſt and beſt governed and equitable States. The Republicks of *Athens* and *Rome*, not to mention ſeveral others, met with inſuperable Difficulties in contriving a juſt Mean to reſtrain, on one Hand, the Cruelty of the Creditor in exacting what he had lent, and on the other to puniſh the Knavery of the Debtor, who either refuſed or neglected to pay his juſt Debts. The *Egyptians* took a wiſe Courſe in this Reſpect; and without doing any Injury to the perſonal Liberty of their Citizens, or ruining their Families, purſued all knaviſh Debtors, with perpetual Fears of Infamy for their Diſhoneſty. It is well known what a prodigious Regard the *Egyptians* paid to the Bodies of their dead Relations, in embalming them with great Care, and reſpectfully keeping them in Sepulchres made for that Purpoſe, if they were rich enough, or elſe in their Houſes, for many Ages. It was upon this Obſervation King *Aſychis* founded his Law; whereby no one was permitted to borrow any Money, without leaving with his Creditor the Body of his Father for his Security; which being embalmed, as has been obſerv'd before, was eaſily to be remov'd from one Place to another. But then it was reckoned equally impious, and infamous, not to redeem ſo precious a Pledge; and the Man who died without having diſcharg'd this Duty, was not only denied the cuſtomary Honours paid to the Dead, and to be deprived of Burial, either in his Father's Sepulchre, or any other; but whilſt he lived, he was not allowed to bury any Perſon deſcended from him; ſo that, by this means, the whole Sepulchre of the Debtor was in the Power of the Creditor.

Whilſt we are upon this Head, it may not be amiſs to remark, that *Diodorus* obſerves a great Fault, whereof ſome *Grecian* Legiſlators were guilty, in the making of their Laws. They prohibited, for inſtance, the ſeizing, for the Satisfaction of Debts, upon Horſes, Carts, and other Inſtruments of Huſbandry, employed by Countrymen in the Tilling of their Grounds, becauſe they rightly judged it inhuman to reduce thoſe poor Men, by this means, not only to an Impoſſibity of diſcharging thoſe Debts, but even of getting a Maintenance: But, at the ſame Time, inconſiſtently with this human and reaſonable Precaution, they permitted the Creditor to impriſon the Countrymen themſelves, who alone were capable of uſing theſe Implements; which not only expos'd them to the ſame, or worſe Straits, but deprived the Commonwealth of Citizens, who belong'd thereto, who were neceſſary to it, who labour'd for the publick Benefit, and over whoſe Perſon no ſingle Man has any Right. What would the ſame Author have ſaid, had he ſeen us in *England*, not only ſeize upon all a Farmer's Inſtruments of Husbandry, but upon all the Stock that is on his Farm, whether conſiſting in Corn or Cattle, with all the Goods in his Houſe, and not content therewith, lay the poor Man himſelf in Jail, and there leave him to periſh, though the Creditor, and every Body elſe, is convinced that he is abſolutely incapable of paying any more! Would he not have ſaid we were more ſavage than the worſt of Savages. And yet, how many Inſtances of ſuch mercileſs Cruelty have been ſeen, and are daily committed, amongſt People who falſly call themſelves *Chriſtians!*

The Generality of the *Egyptians* were indulg'd in the Liberty of Polygamy, or the having many Wives; this Indulgence, however, did not extend to the Prieſts, who were not permitted to marry more than one Woman: And to prevent, in ſome Meaſure, the Injuſtice which might ariſe from the permitting this Multiplicity of Wives, by treating the Children of the one with more Favour than thoſe of the others, when once a Man had taken a Woman to Wife, whatever her Condition was before, whether ſhe was free or a Slave, her Children were all deemed free, and legitimate, and conſequently were entitled to their Share of their Father's Subſtance.

One Cuſtom, however, relative to this Head, which was practiſed amongſt the *Egyptians*, ſhews the profound Darkneſs, into which Nations, the moſt celebrated for Wiſdom, have been plunged. This was the Intermarriages of Brothers with their Siſters, which were not only authoriſed by their Laws, but were even, in a manner, made a Part of their Religion; having their Sanction from the Example and Practice of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, the two Deities the moſt antiently, and moſt univerſally adored in *Egypt*.

No People ſhewed a more particular Reſpect and Veneration for old Age than the *Egyptians*; the younger being obliged to riſe to the more antient, and to reſign the Place of Honour to them, upon all Occaſions: It was from this Country the *Spartans* adopted the Law, which paid the ſame Honour to grey Hairs.

But the Virtue which was held in the greateſt Eſteem amongſt the *Egyptians*, was Gratitude, or an Acknowledgment of Favours and Benefits received: The Glory which has been given them of being the moſt grateful of all Men, ſhews evidently that they were likewiſe the moſt ſerviceable; Benefits being the Bond of Concord, whether Publick or Private. They who acknowledge Favours, love to return them; and Ingratitude being once baniſhed, the Pleaſure of doing Good is ſo pure, ſo much without any Allay, and has ſo many Charms, that it is impoſſible, not to be ſenſible thereof. But there was not any Sort of Gratitude which gave the *Egyptians* ſo pleaſing a Satisfaction, as that which they

they paid to their Sovereigns: They honour'd their Monarchs, whilſt living, as ſo many viſible Repreſentations of the Deity, and, at their Deaths, they mourned for them as the Fathers of their Country. Theſe Sentiments of Tenderneſs and Reſpect, proceeded from their having imbibed a ſtrong Perſuaſion, that it was the Gods themſelves who had placed them upon the Throne, and given them ſo diſtinguiſhed a Preference to all other Mortals; as alſo, that Kings were inveſted with the nobleſt and greateſt of Characters, as the Will and Power of doing Good to others were united in their Perſons.

The next in Rank to the Kings, in *Egypt*, were the Prieſts, whoſe Privileges and Revenues were very great. Their Lands were exempted from all Sorts of Impoſts, of which ſome Traces may be ſeen in *Geneſis* xlvii. 26. where it is ſaid, *And* Joſeph *made it a Law over the Land of* Egypt *unto this Day, that* Pharaoh *ſhould have the fifth Part, except the Land of the Prieſts, which became not* Pharaoh's. We ſee alſo there *verſe* 22, that during the ſeven Years Famine, they were farther exempted from the Neceſſity of ſelling their Lands, by having a Maintenance aſſigned them, immediately from the King. *Only the Lands of the Prieſts bought he not; for the Prieſts had a Portion aſſigned them of* Pharaoh, *and did eat their Portion which* Pharaoh *gave them*; *wherefore they ſold not their Lands.* Had their Lands only been exempted from Impoſts, that, probably, could not have prevented their being obliged to ſell ſome Part of them, during ſo long a Famine as ſeven Years; but, to ſave them from that Neceſſity, we ſee here, that they had a Maintenance allowed them immediately from *Pharaoh*, a Circumſtance, which in a Time of ſuch general Calamity, ſhews in what great Conſideration, they were; and, as if they had, even ſo early as then, had the Art of inſtilling into People the Notion, that there was ſomething ſacred, inherent not only in their Perſons, but in their Properties, and that it was no leſs than Sacrilege to meddle with either: A Doctrine which moſt Prieſts would gladly propagate at preſent, but which, thank Heaven, few are ſo credulous as to believe.

To return from whence we have digreſſed; the King uſually honoured the *Egyptian* Prieſts with the greateſt Share in his Confidence and Government; and that for a very good Reaſon, becauſe they had a better Education confer'd upon them, were furniſhed with clearer Lights, and above all, were more firmly devoted to the King's Perſon, and the publick Welfare, than any of the reſt of his Subjects. They were at once the Depoſitaries of Religion and the Sciences; and to this they were indebted for the great Reſpect ſhown them both by Natives and Foreigners; by whom they were equally conſulted, about whatever was moſt ſacred in the Myſteries of Religion, and moſt profound and occult in the Sciences.

The *Egyptians* pretend, that they were the firſt who inſtituted Feſtivals, and Proceſſions in Honour of the Gods; amongſt the reſt, one was celebrated in the City of *Bubaſtus*, to which People reſorted from all Parts of *Egypt*; inſomuch that ſo great was the Concourſe, that above ſeventy thouſand Perſons have been ſeen there at a time, beſides Children. Another Feſtival, call'd the Feaſt of *Lights*, was ſolemnized at the City of *Sais*; and thoſe Perſons, whoſe Affairs would not ſuffer them to go thither, were obliged to ſet up Lights in their Windows, throughout all *Egypt*.

As to their Sacrifices; various Animals were offered up therein, according to the different Provinces where the Ceremony was performed; but one common and general Rite was obſerved in all the Sacrifices whatſoever; which was, the Impoſition of Hands upon the Head of the Victim, and loading it at the ſame time with Imprecations, praying the Gods to divert upon the Victims, whatever Calamities might be impendent over *Egypt*. It was to this Country *Pythagoras* was indebted, for his favourite Doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*, or the Tranſmigration of Souls from one Body to another. The *Egyptians* believed, that as ſoon as a Man died, his Soul underwent a ſort of Judgment, and that according as he had behaved himſelf in this World, his Soul was either permitted to re-animate another human Body, or was condemned to be impriſoned in the Body of that Beaſt, whoſe Nature was moſt correſpondent to his Actions whilſt upon Earth; for inſtance, the Tyrant's in that of a Wolf, or a Tyger; the Drunkard's in that of a Swine; and the ſenſual Letcher's in that of a Goat, *&c.* there to expiate and make Atonement for its paſt Tranſgreſſions; and that after a Revolution of three thouſand Years, it again animated a human Body.

The Prieſts had in their Poſſeſſion the ſacred Volumes, wherein were contained, at large, the Principles of Government, and the Myſteries of Divine Worſhip. Both were commonly concealed under Symbols and Emblems; which rendered Truth more venerable, when ſhadowed under theſe myſterious Veils, and excited the Curioſity to pry therein the more ſtrongly. The Figure of *Harpocrates*, in the *Egyptian* Sanctuaries, with his Finger upon his Mouth, ſeemed to inſinuate; that ſuch Myſteries were incloſed therein, as were by no means fit to be permitted to the Inſpection, and Diſcovery of the whole World; and the Figures of a *Sphinx*, which were placed at the Entrance of all Temples, gave the ſame Intimation. Every one knows that Pyramids, Obelisks, Pillars, Statues, in a word, all the publick Monuments of the *Egyptians*, were uſually adorned with Hieroglyphicks; that is, ſymbolical Writings, either expreſs'd in Characters unknown to the Vulgar, (and called, perhaps, for this Reaſon, ſacred Letters) or repreſented under the Figures of Animals, under which a hidden and parabolical Meaning was couch'd. Thus, the Figure of a Hare, ſignified a lively piercing Attention, becauſe the Senſe of hearing is exceeding quick in that Creature; and the Statue of a Perſon without Hands, and with Eyes fix'd upon the Ground, repreſented him who was to diſcharge the Office of a Judge. In ſhort, it would require a whole Volume to treat fully of all the ſeveral Parts of the Religion of the *Egyptians*; wherefore we ſhall confine ourſelves to the two principal Articles thereof, which are, the different Deities worſhipped by them, and their particular Manner of treating their dead Bodies.

As to the firſt of theſe Articles, never were any Nation more ſuperſtitious than the *Egyptians*; they had an infinite Number of Deities, of different Orders and Degrees, which ſhall not be enumerated by us, becauſe they have more relation to fabulous Story, than true Hiſtory. The two which were the moſt univerſally adored, were *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, which

which have generally been thought to be the *Sun* and *Moon*; and indeed, the Riſe of Idolatry was owing, in all Probability, to the Worſhip of thoſe two glorious Luminaries. Nor is this at all ſurprizing; for as the Belief of a Supreme Being is imprinted in the Minds of all Men, by the Light of Nature, excluſive of Divine Revelation; what could ſeem to them ſo worthy of Adoration, as thoſe two reſplendent Planets, from whoſe benign Influence, ſubordinately to their great Creator, they derive all earthly Bleſſings!

Beſides two ſuperior Deities, the *Egyptians* paid divine Honours to variety of Beaſts, as the *Ox*, the *Dog*, the *Wolf*, the *Hawk*, the *Crocodile*, the *Ibis*, the *Cat*, the *Ichneumon*, *cum multis aliis*. Many of theſe Creatures were only the Objects of the Superſtition of ſome particular Town; inſomuch that whilſt one City made one Sort of Animals the Objects of their Worſhip, their next Neighbours frequently held them in the utmoſt Abomination; nor was this any wonder, ſince the one perhaps worſhipped the ſworn Enemy to the others Divinity, as the *Ichneumon* is to the *Crocodile*. This, one may eaſily imagine, muſt neceſſarily be the Source of continual Wars between Towns ſo differing in their Worſhip; and theſe Diſſenſions were probably kept up, by the miſtaken Policy of ſome of their Kings, who, to deprive them of the Opportunity, or Means, of conſpiring againſt the State, amuſed them with religious Quarrels, and fomented the Spirit of Diſcord amongſt them: A falſe Policy which has been too much followed by modern Princes! We call this a falſe and miſtaken Policy, becauſe it is directly contrary to the true Intereſt of Government; whoſe chief Aim ought to be, to unite all its Members in the ſtricteſt Ties, and diſplay its whole Strength in the perfect Harmony of all its conſtituent Parts, that it may be able to exert itſelf with the more Vigour, upon any Emergency.

As numerous as the Gods of the *Egyptians* were, each Town or Diſtrict were very zealous for the Honour of their reſpective Deities. *Amongſt* us, ſays *Cicero*, *it is by no means ſtrange, or uncommon, to ſee Temples robb'd, and the Statues of the Gods taken away; but it was never heard in* Egypt, *that any Perſon ever abuſed a* Crocodile, *an* Ibis, *or a* Cat; *her Sons would have ſuffered the utmoſt Torments, rather than they would have been guilty of ſuch a Sacrilege.* It was Death for any Perſon to kill any one of theſe Animals deſignedly; nay, which is more, whoever happened to kill an *Ibis*, or a *Cat*, whether deſignedly or not, was ſure to meet with the ſame Puniſhment. Of this *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a remarkable Inſtance, whereof he was himſelf an Eye-witneſs, during his Reſidence in *Egypt*. A *Roman* happened inadvertently and undeſignedly to kill a *Cat*, of which the People being informed, they ran in a furious Rage to his Houſe, and ſeized upon him; and neither the Authority of the King, who immediately detached a Body of his Guards to his Relief; nor the Terror of the *Roman* Name, were ſufficient to reſcue the unfortunate Offender. Nay, ſuch was the Reſpect which the *Egyptians* had for theſe Animals, that once, when there was an extreme Famine, they choſe to eat one another, rather than to lay Hands upon theſe pretended Divinities. Could there be a more flagrant Inſtance of monſtrous Folly and Superſtition!

But of all the Animals to whom the *Egyptians* paid divine Worſhip, none could come in Competition with the Bull *Apis*, called by the *Greeks*, *Epaphus*. They went ſo far as to erect magnificent Temples to him, wherein they paid him the moſt extraordinary Honours; but which is yet more abſurd, notwithſtanding their Reverence to him proceeded ſo far during his Life, it fell vaſtly ſhort of that which was ſhewn him after his Death. All the *Egyptians* in general went into Mourning for him; and his funeral Obſequies were celebrated, with a Pomp which is hardly credible; inſomuch, that under the Reign of *Ptolomy Lagus*, the Bull *Apis*, dying of old Age, the Funeral Charges, excluſive of the ordinary Expence, amounted to above fifty thouſand Crowns. *Pliny* ſeems to contradict this laſt Circumſtance, of the Bull's dying of old Age; for he aſſures us, that he was not allowed to exceed a certain Number of Years; and that when he had reach'd that Term, he was put to Death, by drowning him in the Prieſts Fountain. This, however, if true, makes the Abſurdity of their exceſſive Mourning, and the prodigious Expence for his Funeral ſtill greater; that they ſhould mourn ſo much, and be at ſuch immenſe Charges, for what they had occaſioned themſelves.

After the laſt Honours had been paid to the deceas'd God, their next Care was to provide him a Succeſſor, and they ſearched all *Egypt* over for that Purpoſe. He was known by certain Marks, which diſtinguiſh'd him from all others: He was to have a white Spot, in the Form of a Creſcent upon his Forehead; the Figure of an Eagle upon his Back; and that of a Beetle upon his Tongue. When he was found, the Mourning gave Way to Joy; nothing was to be heard of but Feaſts and Rejoicings all over *Egypt*; the new God was conducted to *Memphis*, to take Poſſeſſion of his new Dignity, and he was inſtall'd with a great Number of Ceremonies. One of theſe Brute Deities had but a ſhort Enjoyment of his Divinity; for *Cambyſes*, as will be ſeen hereafter, on his Return from his unfortunate Expedition againſt the *Ethiopians*, finding all *Memphis* full of Tranſports of Joy, and believing it occaſioned by his ill Succeſs, (as being conſcious that he had render'd himſelf exceſſively odious to them by his Barbarity,) order'd the Magiſtrates before him, and demanded the Reaſon of theſe great Rejoicings; and upon their telling him, it was becauſe they had found their God *Apis*, he would not believe them, but falling into a Rage, cauſed them to be put to Death, as Impoſtors, who inſulted him in his Misfortunes. He then ſent for the Prieſts, who made him the ſame Anſwer; upon which he replied, that ſince their God was ſo condeſcending, and familiar, as to appear amongſt them, he would himſelf be acquainted with him, wherefore he commanded him to be forthwith brought into his Preſence. This being done, when, inſtead of any Object that could command Reſpect, and reſembled the Majeſty of a God, he ſaw nothing but a Calf, or young Bull, he was aſtoniſhed to the laſt Degree; and falling again into a Rage, he drew his Sword, and wounded the poor Beaſt therewith in the Thigh: Then reproaching the Prieſts for their Stupidity, in worſhipping a Beaſt as a God, order'd them to be ſeverely whipp'd; and commanded all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis*, that were found celebrating the Feſtival of *Apis*, to be immediately ſlain. The

wounded

wounded and deified Brute was conducted back to his Temple, where he languiſhed for ſome Time, and then died of his Hurt.

It is eaſy to perceive that the *Golden Calf*, made by *Aaron*, in the Abſence of *Moſes*, and worſhipped by the *Iſraelites*, near Mount *Sinai*, was the Effect of their long Abode in *Egypt*, and was an Imitation of their God *Apis*: As were alſo thoſe, which were afterwards ſet up by *Jeroboam*, in *Bethel* and *Dan*, the two Extremities of the Kingdom of *Iſrael*.

But the *Egyptians* carried their Folly ſtill to a greater Exceſs, for which they became deſervedly the Deriſion even of the *Heathens* themſelves: Not contented with worſhipping an infinite Number of Idols, and almoſt all manner of Brute Beaſts, as we have already obſerved, they puſhed their Extravagance ſo far, as even to aſcribe a Divinity to the Fruits of their Gardens. For this they are ingeniouſly ſatyrized by the *Roman* Poet.

Quis neſcit, Voluſi Bythinice, *qualia demens*
Ægyptus *Portenta colit? Crocodilon adorat*
Pars hæc; *illa pavet ſaturam Serpentibus Ibim.*
Effigies ſacri nitet aurea Cercopitheci,
Dimidio magicæ reſonant ubi Memnone *Chordæ*,
Atque vetus Thebe *centum jacet obruta portis*;
Illic cæruleos, hic piſcem Fluminis, illic
Oppida tota Canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.
Porrum & Cæpe nefas violare, ac frangere morſu.
O ſanctas Gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur, in Hortis,
Numina! Juvenal.

Thus Engliſh'd, *as we think, by our ingenious Countryman, Mr.* Dryden.

Who has not heard, where *Egypt*'s Realms are nam'd,
What Monſter-Gods, her *frantick* Sons have fram'd?
Here *Ibis* gorg'd with well-grown Serpents, there
The *Crocodile* commands *religious* Fear:
Where *Memnon*'s Statue magick Strings inſpire,
With vocal Sounds, that emulate the Lyre,
And *Thebes*, ſuch Fate, are thy diſaſtrous Turns!
Now proſtrate o'er her pompous Ruins mourns,
A *Monkey-God*, prodigious to be told!
Strikes the Beholders Eye with burniſh'd Gold:
To *Godſhip*, here, blue *Triton*'s *ſcaly Herd*,
The *River Progeny* is there preferr'd:
Through Towns *Diana*'s Power neglected lies,
Where to her *Dogs* aſpiring Temples riſe:
And ſhould you *Leeks*, or *Onions* eat, no Time
Would expiate the ſacrilegious Crime:
Religious Nations ſure, and bleſt Abodes!
Where ev'ry Orchard is o'er-run with Gods.

It is amazing to the laſt Degree, to ſee a Nation, more opinionated of its own Wiſdom and Learning than any other whatſoever, and which indeed was the Fountain from whence the antient *Greeks* and *Romans* derived all their Knowledge in the Sciences, abandon itſelf ſo ſtupidly to the moſt groſs and ridiculous Superſtitions. In Effect, to read of Animals, and vile Inſects, honoured with religious Worſhip, placed in Temples, and provided for, not only with Care, but at an extravagant Expence, which amounted, as *Diodorus* aſſures us, in his Time to no leſs than a hundred thouſand Crowns; to read, that whoever kill'd them were ſure to be puniſh'd with Death; and that they were embalm'd and depoſited in Tombs aſſigned them by the publick; to read that this Extravagance was carried ſo far, as to acknowledge *Leeks* and *Onions* as Deities, to invoke them in Caſes of Neceſſity, and depend upon them for Succour and Protection; is what any one, at this Diſtance of Time, can hardly believe; and nevertheleſs it is confirm'd by the Teſtimony of all Antiquity, that the *Egyptians* were really guilty of theſe incredible Extravagances. On entering, ſays *Lucian*, into a magnificent Temple, that dazzles the Sight with the Splendor of its Gold and Silver, and looking about there attentively, for the Deity, who is the Object of the People's Adoration, the Eye is cheated with a Stork, or a Cat; a fine Emblem, continues that Author, of too many Palaces, whoſe Maſters are by no means their brighteſt Ornaments. This juſt and ſatyrical Remark of *Lucian*'s, however, well it might be verified in his Time, has been as well verified in latter Ages; when never more magnificent Palaces were ſeen, the Fruits of Corruption and Iniquity, and never fewer Perſons worthy to poſſeſs them.

Various Reaſons have been aſſigned for the Worſhip paid to Animals by the *Egyptians*; the firſt of which is entirely fabulous: It being pretended, that the *Gods*, when a Rebellion was raiſ'd againſt them by the *Titans*, thoſe Gigantick Sons of the *Earth*, retir'd into *Egypt*, and conceal'd themſelves there under the Forms of different Sorts of Animals; and that this gave Birth to the Worſhip which was afterwards paid to thoſe Animals.

The ſecond Reaſon aſſigned for the Adoration of theſe Animals, is the Benefit which accrues to Mankind from each of them; Oxen were ſerviceable to them by their Labour; Sheep by their Wool and their Milk; and Dogs by their Uſefulneſs in Hunting, and Guarding their Houſes; from whence their God *Anubis* was repreſented with a Dog's Head: The *Ibis*, a Bird, very much reſembling a Stork, or a Crane, was worſhipp'd, becauſe it put to flight the winged Serpents, with which *Egypt* would otherwiſe have been grievouſly infeſted; the *Crocodile*, an amphibious Creature, living equally upon Land or Water, of a prodigious Size, (as being above ſeventeen Cubits or eight Yards and a half long, according to *Herodotus*,) and endued with a ſurpriſing Strength anſwerable thereto, was deified, becauſe it defended *Egypt* from the Incurſions of the wild *Arabs*; as was the *Ichneumon*, a Sort of Water-Rat, becauſe it prevented the too great Increaſe of the Crocodiles, which otherwiſe might have proved fatal to the *Egyptians* themſelves. This ſmall Beaſt, the ſworn Enemy to that monſtrous Animal, renders this Service to the Country theſe two Ways; *firſt*, it watches when the Crocodile is abſent, and breaks its Eggs, though it never eats them. *Secondly*, when the Crocodile ſleeps upon the Banks of the *Nile*, which it always does with its Mouth open, this nimble little Creature, which lies concealed in the Mud, leaps with one Spring into the Mouth, and getting down to its Intrails, gnaws a Paſſage both through them and through its Belly, the Skin whereof is very tender, and makes its Eſcape with Safety; remaining thus victorious over ſo terrible an Animal, merely by its Addreſs and Subtlety.

Philoſophers not ſatisfied with Reaſons, too weak to account for ſuch ſtrange Abſurdities, as diſhonoured Paganiſm, and made them ſecretly Bluſh, have invented a third Reaſon, ſince the Eſtabliſhment of *Chriſtianity*, for the Worſhip paid by the *Egyptians* to Animals. They pretended that the Veneration was not paid to the Animals themſelves, but to the Gods, whoſe Symbols they were, and in whom the Worſhip terminated.

Plutarch, in a Treatiſe, where he examines expreſsly the Pretenſions of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, the two Deities the moſt univerſally honoured in *Egypt*, delivers himſelf in theſe Terms. "Philoſophers "honour the Image of God wherever they find it; "even in Beings which are inanimate, and conſequently much more ſo in thoſe which have Life. "Wherefore, we are not to approve the Worſhippers of thoſe Animals, but thoſe who by them "raiſe their Minds up to the Deity: They are "to be conſidered as ſo many Mirrors, which Nature "holds out to us, for a more ample Diſplay of the "ſupreme Being; or as ſo many Inſtruments, of "which ſhe makes Uſe, for an outward Manifeſtation of his incomprehenſible Wiſdom. Therefore, notwithſtanding all the Gold and Jewels "in the Univerſe ſhould be employed for the embelliſhing of Statues, it is not to them that the "Worſhip is to be referr'd, but to the Deity, "whom they are deſigned to repreſent; for the "ſupreme Being exiſts not in Colours artfully diſpoſed, nor in frail Matter, deſtitute of Senſe and "Motion."

Plutarch adds in the ſame Treatiſe, "That as "the Sun, the Moon, the Heavens, the Earth, "and the Sea are common to all Men, but have "various Names agreeable to the Difference of "Nations and Languages; in the ſame manner, "though there is but one Deity, and one Providence, which governs the Univerſe, and which "has under it ſeveral Subaltern Miniſters, Men "give various Names to this Deity, which is "every where the ſame, and pay it different Honours, agreeable to the Laws and Cuſtoms of "every different Country."

Theſe Reflections afford the moſt rational Vindication of Idolatrous Worſhip; but are they ſufficient to palliate the Ridiculouſneſs and Abſurdity thereof? Can it be called extolling the divine Attributes in the Manner they deſerve, to direct the Worſhipper to admire and ſeek for them in the moſt vile and contemptible of Beaſts, ſuch as a Crocodile, a Serpent, or a Cat? Was not this rather a degrading, and debaſing the Divinity, of whom even the moſt ſtupid have uſually a very different Idea, as of a Being infinitely great and auguſt? 'Tis impoſſible, therefore, for the Wit or Eloquence of the greateſt Philoſophers, to vindicate in any manner, this exceſſive Stupidity and Folly.

Beſides, theſe Philoſophers were not always ſo diſcerning, as to aſcend from material and viſible Beings, to their immaterial and inviſible Author. Scripture informs us, *Rom.* i. 22, 23, &c. that theſe pretended *Sages* have deſerved to be *given over to a reprobate Mind*, for their Pride and Ingratitude; and *whilſt they profeſſed themſelves wiſe*, deſerved to *become Fools*, *for having changed that Glory of the incorruptible God, into an Image made like to corruptible Man, and to Birds, and four-footed Beaſts, and creeping Things.* The Almighty, therefore, to confound the Wiſdom and Vanity of Philoſophers, and ſhew what Man is when left to himſelf, ſuffer'd that very Nation, which had arrived at the greateſt Perfection in human Learning, and the greateſt Knowledge in all the Sciences, to which any People ever attained in thoſe Times, to be the Stage on which the moſt ridiculous and abſurd Idolatry reigned triumphant: And, on the other Hand, to ſhew the omnipotent Power, and infinite Riches of his Grace, he converted the frightful Deſarts of *Egypt* into a terreſtrial Paradiſe; by Peopling them in his own due Time, with innumerable Crowds of illuſtrious Hermits, whoſe fervent Piety, and rigorous Penance, have done ſo much Honour to *Chriſtianity*, (in the Opinion of the *Roman Catholicks.*) We cannot help giving a memorable Inſtance hereof, as we hope the ſmall Digreſſion will be acceptable to our Readers.

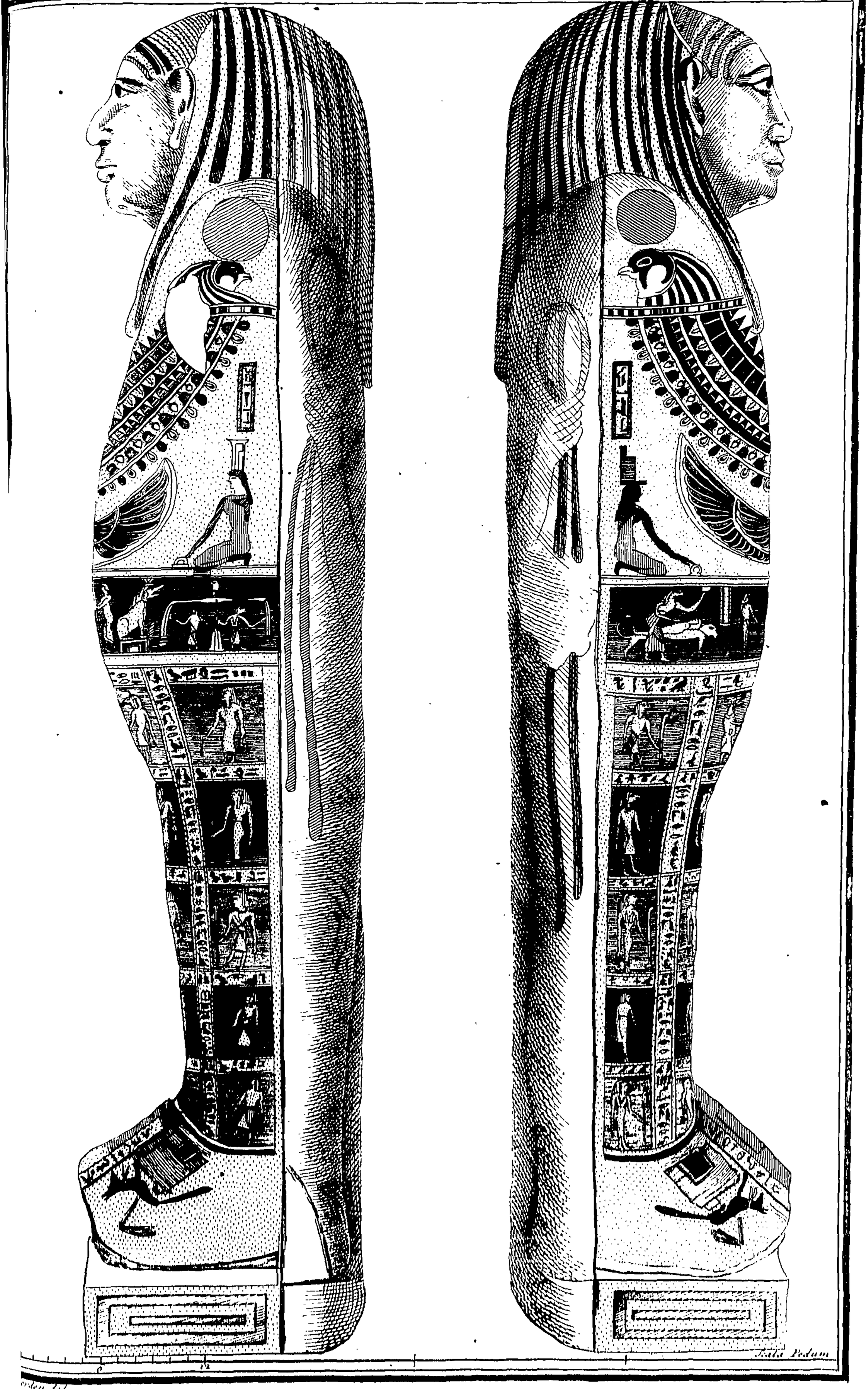
The great Wonder of *Lower Egypt*, ſays the *Abbe Fleury*, in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, was the City of *Oxyrinchus*, peopled with Monks both within and without; inſomuch that they exceeded the other Inhabitants in Number, and the Convents were more numerous than the private Houſes; the publick Edifices, and Idol Temples had been all converted into Monaſteries; beſides which, the Monks lodged over the Gates, and in all the Towers. The Citizens had twelve Churches for their Conveniency, excluſive of the Oratories belonging to Monaſteries. Twenty thouſand Virgins, and ten Thouſand Monks were in this City; and the Praiſes of *God* ecchoed from every Part thereof Night and Day. Centinels were placed at all the Gates, by order of the Magiſtrates, to take Notice what Strangers or Poor came into the City; and whoever firſt received them, was obliged to provide them with all manner of Hoſpitable Accomodations: There are few ſuch Cities to be found now-a-days.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Manner in which the ancient Egyptians *treated* dead Bodies; *their Method of embalming their* Dead; *their particular Way of Trying and Judging them, whence the Fable of* Charon's *Boat, and the* Stygian *Lake took its Riſe; their Kings not exempted from undergoing this Trial; an exact and particular Deſcription of ſome ancient* Egyptian *Mummies, that are ſtill to be ſeen in the Cabinets of the curious.*

COME we now to the extraordinary Manner in which the *Egyptians* treated their dead Bodies, and the particular Ceremonies obſerved by them at their Funerals; all of which highly deſerve the Readers Attention.

The Honours with which all Ages and Nations have treated dead Bodies, and the religious Care taken by them to provide Sepulchres, for their deceaſed Friends and Relations, ſeem to argue an univerſal Perſuaſion, that thoſe Remains were depoſited in



Print of the Antient Egyptian *Coffin in the Collection of Gt* WILLIAM LETHIEULLIER
is humbly Inscribed to the President & Fellows of yt Royal Society.

in Sepulchres, only as in Truſt; and that, in due Time, they were to reſtore the Treaſure committed to their Cuſtody. But whether this Belief obtained univerſally amongſt all Nations, or not, certain it is, according to *Herodotus*, that it was an Opinion generally received amongſt the ancient *Egyptians*, that the Soul, after its quitting the human Body, paſs'd ſucceſſively, if vicious, into the Bodies of different Animals, whether Beaſts, Birds, or Fiſh; and that after a Revolution of three thouſand Years, it was again permitted to animate the Body of a Man. From hence it appears evidently, that it was from the *Egyptians*, *Pythagoras* adopted his Doctrine of the Tranſmigration of Souls, which he afterwards propagated, and ſtrenuouſly defended amongſt the *Greeks*.

Herodotus likewiſe aſſures us, that the *Egyptians* firſt maintained *the Immortality of the Soul*; but here it is ſaid he happens to be miſtaken; for the *Immortality of the Soul* had been acknowledged by the moſt remote Antiquity; and the Doubt concerning it, which was ſtarted in latter Ages, was owing entirely to the Diſputes of Philoſophers: It muſt be confeſs'd, nevertheleſs, that it ſeems doubtful whether this Belief of the *Immortality of the Soul*, however it might have been received amongſt ſome few, had obtained amongſt the generality of the *Egyptians*, ſo early as the Time of *Moſes*, ſince notwithſtanding that great Man was learned in all the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*, and even had the Advantage of being divinely inſpired, there does not ſeem to be any Text in the whole *Pentateuch*, wherein the Belief of Rewards and Puniſhments in another World is expreſly contained; nor does any Author aſſert, that the *Egyptians* have any thing about it in their moſt early Dynaſties; and it is to be preſumed, that had either the *Egyptians* or the *Jews* known any thing thereof, at the Time of their inhabiting *Egypt* together, the Doctrine of living happily after Death is of a Nature ſo inviting to be maintained, that it could not poſſibly have been concealed from either, but muſt neceſſarily have become a mutual Belief. It is therefore highly probable, that the *Egyptians* were not the firſt who mantained the *Immortality of the Soul*, but that they learned that Doctrine afterwards from the *Jews*, with whom they had a frequent Intercourſe; and that the *Jewiſh* Nation being very little, if at all known to *Herodotus*, or indeed any of the Antient Authors, led him into that Miſtake, that it was the *Egyptians* who firſt maintained that Doctrine, which is only ſo far true, that they were the firſt *Heathen* Nation who received it.

We have already obſerved in making Mention of the Pyramids, what magnificent Sepulchres the *Egyptians* erected, for the Repoſitories of their Dead. The Reaſon of this was, that they conſidered their Sepulchres in a-two-fold Light; not only as ſo many Monuments, conſecrated to the Memories of great Princes, Heroes, or Patriots, in ſhort, of Perſons any Ways eminent for their Virtues; but as the Manſions where Bodies were to remain during a long Succeſſion of Ages: Whereas the Houſes wherein they dwelt whilſt alive were called *Inns*, as being Places where Men were to reſide only as Travellers, during the Courſe of a Life too tranſitory for them to ſettle their Affections, in any Manner upon ſuch Habitations.

To proceed now to the Ceremonies obſerved by the *Egyptians* in their Funerals, when any Perſon of the Family died, all the Relations and Friends threw off their uſual Habits, put on Mourning, and abſtained from Baths, Wine, and all manner of high Living: This Mourning held forty or fifty Days, probably according to the Quality of the Perſon deceaſed. The firſt Buſineſs enter'd upon, was the embalming the Body, and of this there were three Sorts: The moſt magnificent was beſtowed upon Perſons of a diſtinguiſh'd Rank, and the Expence amounted to a Talent of Silver, or three thouſand Livres. Many Hands were employed in this Ceremony; ſome with Inſtruments made expreſsly for that Purpoſe, began with taking out of the Body, every Thing which was ſuſceptible of Corruption; as the Brain, the Inteſtines, and the Excrements. As the Evacuation, which could not avoid being attended with ſome Diſſections, ſeemed to have ſomething inhuman and cruel therein, the Perſons employed fled as ſoon as the Operation was over, and the Standers-by purſued them with Stones: Thoſe, who embalm'd the Body were honourably treated; they fill'd it with Myrrh, Cinnamon, and all Sorts of Spices; and after a certain Time, the Belly was wrapp'd up in Folds of the fineſt Linnen; which they paſted on with the thinneſt Gum, and then chafed over with the moſt exquiſite Perfumes. By this means, it it ſaid, that the entire Figure of the Body, the very Lines of the Face, and the Hairs on the Lids and Eye Brows, were preſerved in their natural Perfection. The Body being thus embalmed, was delivered to the Relations, who incloſed it in an open Cheſt, or Coffin, fitted exactly to the ſize of the deceas'd Perſon; after which they placed the Body ſtanding upright againſt the Wall, either in Sepulchres, if they had any, or in their Houſes. Theſe embalmed Bodies are what we now call *Mummies*, which are daily brought from *Egypt*, and adorn the Cabinets of the Curious, as will be ſeen hereafter. This is an undeniable Evidence of the uncommon Care the *Egyptians* took of their dead Bodies; their Acknowledgements, and Gratitude to their deceaſed Relations were in a Manner immortal. Nor was this their extraordinary Care uſeleſs, even to thoſe who ſurvived; for Children by ſeeing the Bodies of their Anceſtors thus preſerved, recalled to Mind thoſe Virtues for which the Publick had honoured them, and were excited to a Love of thoſe Laws, which ſuch excellent Perſons had left, for their Obſervance and Security. Some Traces of theſe Ceremonies may be diſcovered in the funeral Honours paid by *Joſeph* to his Father *Jacob*, and afterwards by the Children of *Iſrael* to *Joſeph* in *Egypt*.

We have already obſerved, that the Publick paid their Acknowledgements to the Virtues of the Deceas'd, and for this there was very good Reaſon; ſince before any Body could be admitted into the ſacred Aſylum of the ſilent Tomb, it was obliged to undergo a very ſolemn and formal Tryal, by very impartial Judges; and this Solemnity in the *Ægyptian* Funerals, is one of the moſt remarkable Circumſtances, which is to be met with in all antient Hiſtory. It is a great Comfort to a dying Man, to leave a good Name behind him; and this is the only human Bleſſing, of which it is not in the Power of Death to deprive us: But the wiſe *Ægyptians* would by no Means ſuffer Praiſes to be beſtowed indifferently upon all the Dead; this Honour was to be obtained from the publick Voice, and the Manner of conferring it was as follows.

The Aſſembly of the Judges met expreſly for that Purpoſe, on the fartheſt Side of a Lake, to which

which they were carried over in a Boat, the Steersman whereof was called in the *Egyptian* Language, *Charon:* And from the Name of this Steersman, and the Circumstance of the Judges being carried over a Lake in a Boat, *Orpheus*, who had been in *Egypt* invented the Fable of the *Stygian* Lake, and *Charon*'s Ferry-Boat, in which all the Dead were wafted over to receive Judgment according to their Actions in this Life; and pursuant thereto, were either condemned to severe Punishments; or rewarded with an Abode in the *Elysian* Fields. To return from whence we have digressed, as soon as any *Egyptian* was dead, he was brought to his Tryal, and an impartial Account was given by the Persons appointed for that Purpose, of the whole Tenor of his Conduct whilst alive: If it had been regular, and commendable, he was allowed the usual funeral Honours, and his Memory was respected; but on the contrary, if it was proved that the Life of the Deceas'd had been impious and scandalous, his Memory was branded with Infamy, and his Body deprived of the Rites of Sepulture. 'Tis easy to imagine, that the People must be sensibly affected with Laws, whose Power extended beyond Death; and every one, moved with the Disgrace inflicted on the dead Person, was afraid both of entailing Dishonour upon his own Memory, and bringing a Reproach upon his Family.

But what was most astonishing in this publick Enquiry into the Conduct of the Dead, was, that the Throne itself could not protect any one from it: Kings were spared during their Lives, because the publick Peace was concerned in this Forbearance; but their exalted Rank did not exempt them from undergoing the same Trial as the Rest of the Dead; and some of them have been deprived of Sepulture.

It is to be presumed that the *Israelites* adopted this Custom from them, since we see in the Chronicles of their Kings, that the Bodies of some of their wicked Princes, were not deposited in the Monuments of their Ancestors. This Practice gave Monarchs to understand, that notwithstanding their Royalty plac'd them above the Reach of human Judgment, whilst they were alive, they must come to it at last, when Death had reduced them to a Level with the meanest of their Subjects.

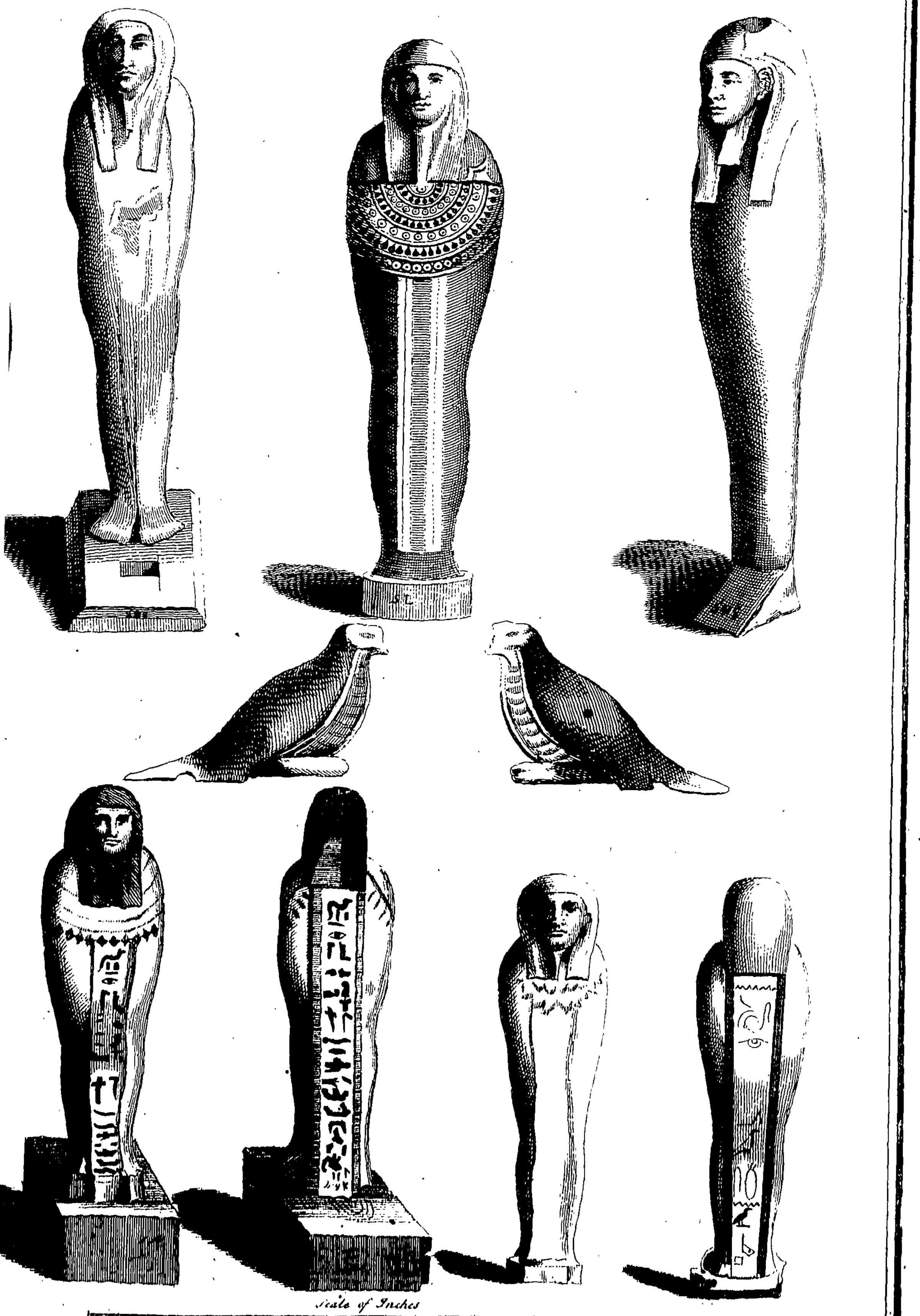
When a favourable Sentence had been passed upon the Person deceased, the next Thing was to proceed to the Ceremonies, previous to the depositing the Body in the Sepulchre; and the first of these was the pronouncing a Panegyrick or Eulogy of the deceased. Herein no mention was made of his Birth, because every *Egyptian* was esteemed noble; and no Encomium was reckoned either valuable, or real, which was not founded upon the personal Merit of the Person defunct. He was therefore only commended on Account of his having improved himself in his younger Years, by receiving readily the excellent Education bestow'd upon him; and for having behaved with Piety towards the Gods, and Justice towards Men; and for being endued with Affability, Sweetness of Temper, Modesty, Moderation, and all the other Virtues, which are required, to form the Character of a good Man. Then the whole Assembly joined in their Prayers to Heaven, that the Deceas'd might be admitted into the Society of the Righteous, and might be made Partakers of their eternal Happiness.

Whilst we are upon this Article of the Ceremonies observed at Funerals, it may not be amiss to make some few Remarks upon the different Ways of treating dead Bodies amongst the Antients. Some, as the *Egyptians* and *Ethiopians*, embalm'd them, and thus preserved them to be contemplated by future Ages; the Reason of which, says *Diodorus Siculus*, was, that *they did not think it right, that the Knowledge of their deceased Relations, should be concealed from their own Kindred.* Others, as the *Romans* in particular, and the *Indians* to this Day, burned them upon a funeral Pile, and reduced them to Ashes; which they kept very carefully in Urns made expressly for that Purpose; others again, committed them to the Earth. As to the first, the Care of preserving dead Bodies, without Lodging them in Tombs, seems not only injurious to human Nature in general, but even to those Persons in particular, whose Bodies were thus designed to be preserved by their Relations, as a Testimony of the Respect they bore their Memory. Because when the utmost Art had been employ'd upon them, and the greatest Care imaginable taken, they could only be preserved as a melancholy Spectacle of Mortality; and these precious Remains, thus embalmed at a vast Expence, only exhibited human Nature in a State of Humiliation and Deformity; a mortifying Sight one should think, of which no considerate Person would be fond. As to the Custom of burning dead Bodies, and preserving their Ashes in an Urn, there seems to be something cruel and barbarous therein, in the so hasty Destruction of a Person once dear to us: In some Countries, however, instead of lodging the Ashes of their Dead in Urns, they drank them and buried them in their Bodies, as thinking that the most honourable Sepulchre they could bestow upon them. This Custom, might perhaps, be thought expressive of a great Respect for the Person deceased; but nevertheless we can't help thinking there was something extremely savage therein; even though History says, it was practised by *Artemisa*, as a Testimony of her singular and excessive Love to her Husband. In our Opinion therefore, the present Method of Interment, as it is certainly the most ancient, is also the most decent; it restores to the Earth, what we are assured was taken from thence, and prepares us for the Belief, of a second Restitution of our Bodies from that Dust from which they were formed, and to which they will be committed; when they will never more be liable to Corruptibility.

Having thus given an Account of the extraordinary and singular Ceremonies, observed at the Funerals of the ancient *Egyptians*, we believe it will not be unacceptable to our Readers, if we give them a View and Description of some of those remarkable Monuments of *Egyptian* Antiquity, called *Mummies*, that is, embalmed Bodies, with the *Loculi ferales*, or Coffins, wherein they are contained, which are now to be seen amongst us in the Cabinets of the Curious.

The first we shall offer to the Consideration of our Readers, was found about sixteen Years ago, by some wild *Arabs*, in one of the ancient Burial Places of the *Egyptians*, called *Cryptæ*, or Catacombs, in the Fields of *Sakara*, or *Sacara*, a Town about three Leagues from *Grand Cairo*, and noted for the Numbers of Mummies that have been discovered there. It consists of two distinct Parts, the Body or Mummy itself, and the *Loculus feralis*, or Coffin, wherein it was contain'd.

As to the Body, it has nothing about it that differs much from those that are still to be seen in the Cabinets



Scale of Inches

exact Representation of divers Wooden Patterns of Mummies, mentioned by Herodotus, *which*

is humbly Inscrib

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Cabinets of the Curious, in various Parts of *Europe*, being embalmed, and wrapt up in innumerable Fillets, or Linnen-Bandages, where the Effigies of the Deceaſed has, very probably, been printed, according to the *Egyptian* Cuſtom, upon a Cover of plaiſtered Linnen, laid over the Face; though it is now greatly impaired: There are alſo ſtill ſome faint Remains of a *Hawk* or *Eagle*'s Wings, around the Cheeks; as is to be ſeen on many Mummies.

As to the Coffin, it is made of the true Sycamore, by ſome called the wild Fig tree; which, as is found by Experience, will laſt an almoſt incredible Number of Years, without decaying. Of this Tree all the wooden Monuments of the *Egyptians* were made; and all the *Loculi*, or Coffins of Mummies, that have ever been brought into *Europe*: As were alſo the wooden Patterns, for embalming the Dead; and the Caſes, or ſquare Boxes, wherein the Bodies of the embalmed Animals were kept. All the Joinings of this Coffin are, by wooden Pins, let into Holes, bored on Purpoſe to receive them, ſo that the upper and lower Parts are united; whence ſome have imagined, that when this Mummy was embalmed, either the *Egyptians* did not know the Uſe of Iron, or, if they did, they were afraid of uſing it, leſt it ſhould cauſe the Wood to decay the ſooner. The whole Length of the Body is five Foot, two Inches; and the Length of the Coffin, together with the Baſis whereon it ſtands, ſix Foot, three Inches: Its Breadth, acroſs the Shoulders, is one Foot, eleven Inches.

Having thus deſcribed the Subſtance whereof this Coffin is made, and its Dimenſions, the next Thing to be conſidered is, the Manner how it is painted; and the Figures repreſented thereupon; which render this a truly valuable Monument of Antiquity. This Cuſtom of painting the Coffins of the Dead, was peculiar to the antient *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians*; and it was from the latter, that the *Egyptians* ſeem to have learned the Art, which is, by firſt covering the Wood with Plaiſter, and then laying on Water-colours, much in the ſame Manner as Painting in *Freſco*: And theſe liquid Colours penetrated or ſoaked into the Body of the Plaiſter, inſomuch that they became, in a Manner, inſeparable from each other.

That this Cuſtom of drawing the Effigies of the Deceaſed, upon a Ground of Plaiſter, was in Uſe amongſt the *Ethiopians*, as well as the *Egyptians*, 'till the Time that *Cambyſes* attempted the Invaſion of that Country, is evident from *Herodotus*, in his *Thalia*; where, ſpeaking of the Ambaſſadors ſent by that Monarch into *Ethiopia*, he ſays, that, amongſt other Things ſhewn them there, was the Manner of burying their Dead. His Words are to this Effect: "After drying the Corpſe, either after "the Manner of the *Egyptians*, or ſome other "Way, they cover it all over with a Plaiſter, "which they adorn with Paintings, and repreſent "thereon the Effigies of the Deceaſed as much to "the Life, as poſſible." And *Diodorus Siculus*, as we obſerved before, in treating of the ſame People, ſays, "Some keep the Bodies of their An-"ceſtors in their Houſes, in Caſes of Glaſs; not "thinking it right, that the Knowledge of the "Features, and Likeneſs of their dead Relations, "ſhould be concealed from their Kindred." And the ſame Author, ſpeaking of the *Egyptians* treating their Dead after the ſame Manner, ſays: "When the Corpſe comes from the Embalmers, "the very Eye-laſhes, Brows, and Features, are ſo well preſerved, that the whole Form of the Body "is retained without any Alteration, and the ex-"act Likeneſs or Effigies of the Deceaſed, whilſt "alive, may be known: Wherefore many of the "*Egyptians*, keep the Bodies of their Anceſtors "in magnificent Repoſitories, in order to behold "the compleat Images of thoſe who had been "dead, perhaps, many Ages before they them-"ſelves were born: There they may not only "ſee the Lineaments of their Faces; but alſo the "very Make of their Bodies; all of which they "contemplate with great Delight."

From theſe Paſſages, with many others which might be quoted, there is ſufficient Reaſon to preſume, that the Face painted on this Coffin, as well as thoſe on the Coffins of all other Mummies, was originally deſigned to repreſent the Effigies of the embalmed Perſon within it. There had been a Beard faſtened to the Chin of this Portrait, but no Marks thereof are to be ſeen now; excepting a Hole, through which a wooden Peg has been driven. The Face of this Mummy, or, to ſpeak more properly, the Face repreſented on the Coffin, is both ſingular and curious; its Features being truly *Egyptian*, not unlike thoſe of a *Negro*, but the Complexion altogether *red*; whence it may be conjectured that the Deceaſed was an *Idumean*, or *Edomite*. Accordingly, *Bochart* ſays, the *Red Sea* was ſo called, by Reaſon of the red-coloured Inhabitants, namely the *Idumeans*, who lived on its Coaſts: And, it is certain, that notwithſtanding *Eſau* was called *Edom*, that is *red*, from his ſelling his Birth-right for a Meſs of *red* Pottage, that he might as well have been named ſo from his *red* Hair, which was viſible even at his Birth, it covering his whole Body, like a Garment; whence he was named *Eſau*. It is no Wonder, therefore, that the *Edomites*, or *Idumeans*, who were his Deſcendants, ſhould naturally have taken after their Father, and be of the ſame Complexion. Hiſtorians aſſert, that *Typhon* was likewiſe of this Colour; wherefore, in the moſt antient Wars of the *Egyptians*, namely thoſe which had their Riſe from ſome Differences between *Typhon* and *Oſiris*, all the *red Men* taken by the *Egyptians*, were ſacrificed at the Tomb of *Oſiris*, who was of a black Complexion: Poſſibly *Typhon* might be the ſame as *Eſau*, who, as we read, was always involved in Wars.

The next Point upon which we are to enter, is, to give a Deſcription, and offer an Explanation of the Figures and Ornaments, drawn upon the Coffin of this Mummy; which may not only give us an Inſight into many Particulars, relating to the *Egyptian* Mythology, but may confirm and illuſtrate divers Paſſages, which occur in antient Authors. *Firſt*, on the Top of the Coffin, which altogether exhibits the Form of an embalmed Man; over the Head, not to be ſeen but in a View above, is drawn the Figure of a Female, with a *Corona*, or Diadem round her Head, and lying on her Back, with her Face turned ſide-ways, and her Arms extended. In each Hand ſhe holds what ſeems to be a Sickle, which ſhall be deſcribed in another Place; and under her Arms are Wings, divided into three Rows of Plumes of two Colours, blue, and light-green. The extream Parts of her Body are naked; but from her Waſte downwards, ſhe is cloathed in a green Garment; and from the Top of her Head, and joining to it, riſes a round *Tutulus*, or Turret, on which is placed a Globe, painted

green, and indented, as it were, with a Ring of a yellow, or light Colour.

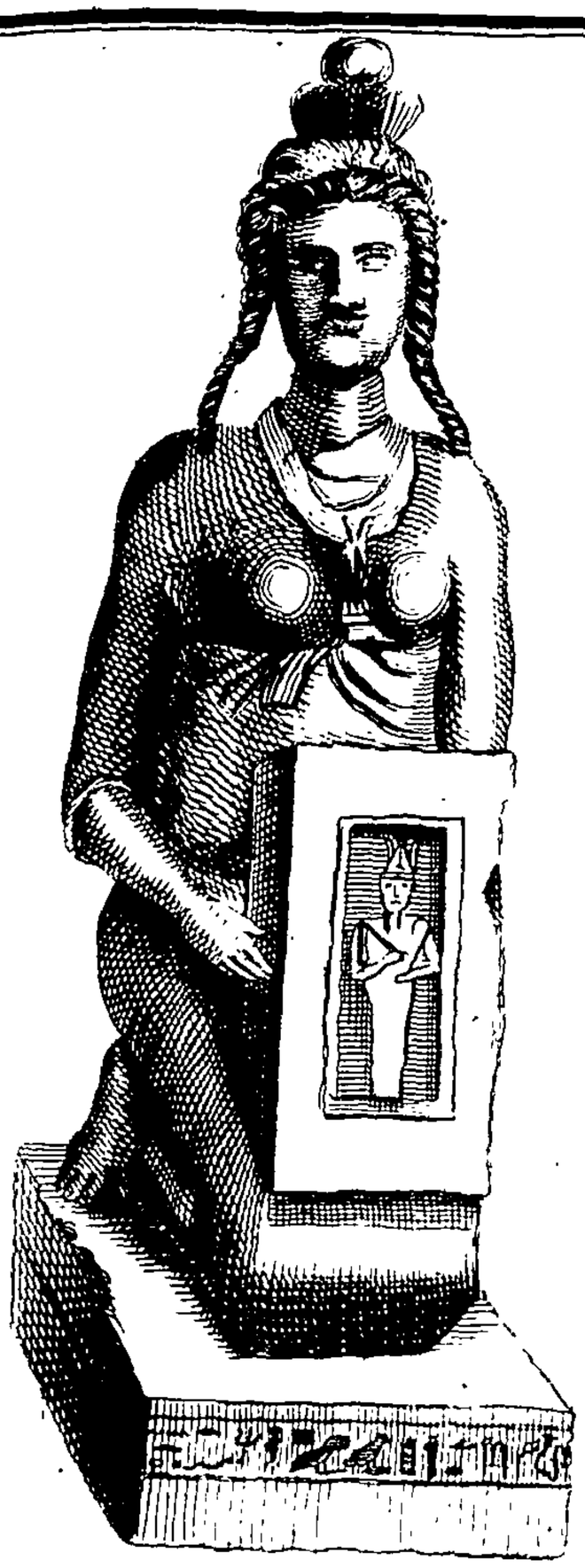
From all these Circumstances, this Figure seems evidently to represent *Isis*; as it exhibits the combined Properties of Nature, of which she was the Goddess. For, *first*, by the Turret on her Head, she physically symbolizes the *Earth*; the Globe, of a green Colour, is also another Symbol thereof. *Secondly*, the Ring of Light, incompassing the Globe, was probably designed to represent the *Phasis* of the *New-Moon*, and shewed that she was the *Moon* also: In which Particular this Figure has a strong Resemblance of the Description which *Apulcius* gives of *Isis*, when that Goddess appeared to him, in a pompous Manner, in a Vision. As to the Rest of the Body, namely, the extended Arms, and Wings, *&c.* we shall endeavour to explain the Meaning thereof very soon, in another Place. The Rest lie over the upper Part of the Head, from whence two Lappets hang down on the Breast, over the Shoulders, painted with alternative Stripes of Yellow, and deep Blue.

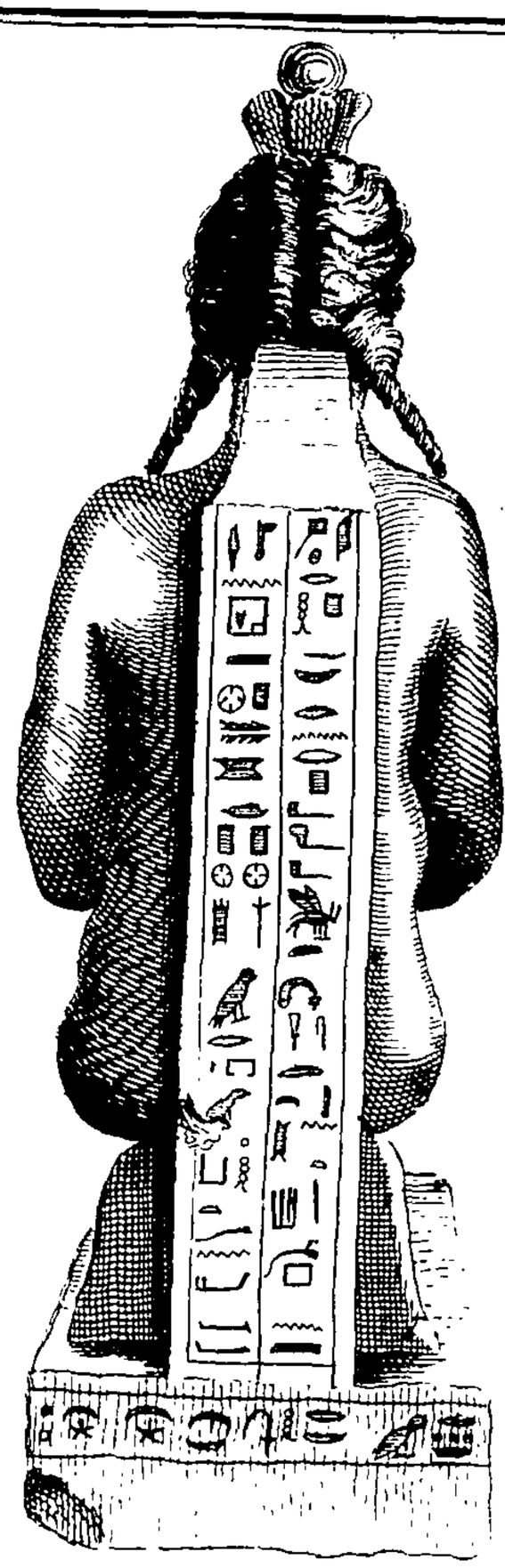
Below the Neck, under the Lappets, are twelve Sweeps, or Semi-Circles; within the *first* of which, five Tufts, or Tassels appear, with a Plant between each of them. Within the *second* are three Water-Lilies, like Roses, within alternate Fields of deep Blue, and Scarlet. Within the *third* are five Leaves; of what may be imagined the *Persea*, under which is a Scarlet Ligature, bordered with Yellow, or Gold. Within the *fourth*, are other Water-Lilies, like Roses. Within the *fifth*, are the same Kind of Leaves of the *Persea*, with another Scarlet Ligature, like the former. Within the *sixth* is drawn some Thing resembling a Chain, or a Kind of Festoons, composed of what seems to represent two Sorts of pretious Stones, Saphires, and Rubies, set within yellow Borders, or Gold, and fastened to the Breast with small Buttons of the same. Within the *seventh*, are still a greater Number, as the Sweep increases, of the Leaves of the above mentioned *Persea*, under which runs another Ligature of Scarlet, bordered with Yellow, or Gold. Within the *Eighth*, are more Water-Lilies, like Roses, set within alternate Fields of deep Blue, and Scarlet. Within the *ninth*, there seems to be again the Representation of Tufts or Tassels, with the Figure of some Plant alternately between them. Within the *tenth*, is another Row of Leaves of the *Persea*, under which again passes a Ligature of Scarlet, bordered with Yellow, or Gold. Within the *eleventh*, is a Row, consisting of Flowers, in Blossom, of a green Colour, with a Mixture of Red, not unlike the Form of a Poppy; some have thought it the *Arum Egyptiacum*, the Form being the same, but it differs from it in Colour. Within the *twelfth*, and last, is a Row of Pendants, representing three Sorts of pretious Stones, Emeralds, Saphires, and Rubies. These are the magnificent Embellishments of the *Ephod*, or Breast-plate; three of which may be reckoned *symbolical*, and the others only *ornamental*.

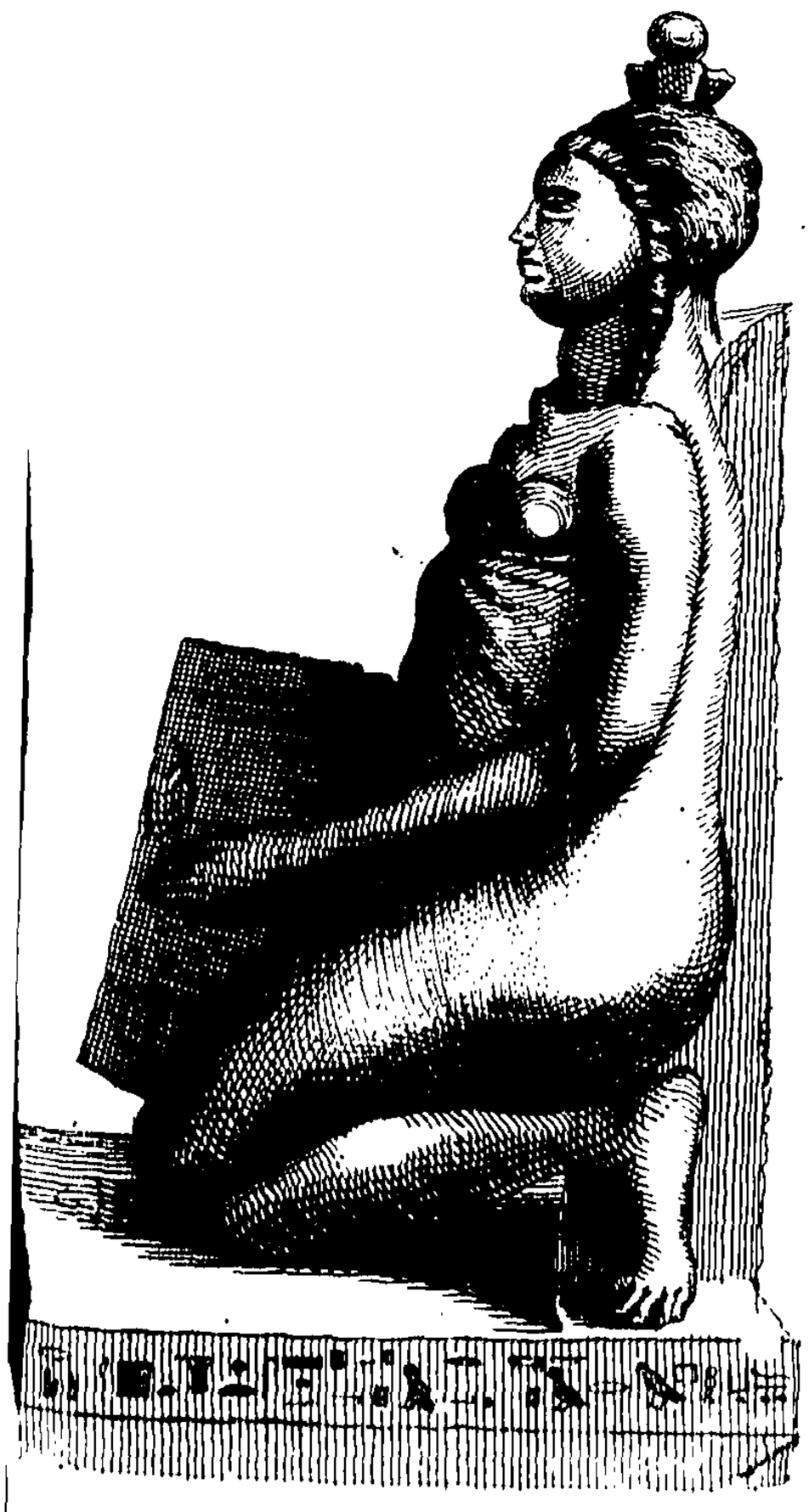
Of the *symbolical* Embellishments are the Lillies, like Roses, in the *second*, *fourth*, and *eighth* Rows. These indeed were peculiar to the *Egyptians*, and grew in the *Nile*; for *Herodotus*, describing the Vegetables of that River, says, *There are other Lilies, like Roses, which grow in the River*: So that these on the Mummy seem to typify the Productions of their deified River, brought to Maturity by the kindly Heat and Influence of their principal God, *Osiris*, or the *Sun*. The second Kind of *symbolical Ornaments* are the green Leaves, of a moderate Breadth, with a proportionable Length, and ending in a Point, in the Shape of a *Tongue*. These, as we have observed, may be imagined to represent the Leaves of the *Persea*; which Plant, says *Plutarch*, of all others in *Egypt*, "was, in a particular Manner, consecrated to the Goddess *Isis*," because its Fruit is of the Shape of a *Heart*, (the Symbol of *Egypt*) and its Leaves of the Form of a *Tongue*. The third Kind of the *symbolical Ornaments* seem to be those Flowers, like Poppies, in the *eleventh* Row, with a green Plant, or Bud, alternatively between them; such being often represented on the *Mensa Isiaca*, or Table of *Isis*: They may only be Representations of the *Lotus*, in Bud, and in Blossom; another remarkable Vegetable of the *Nile*, produced by the Influence of the Sun.

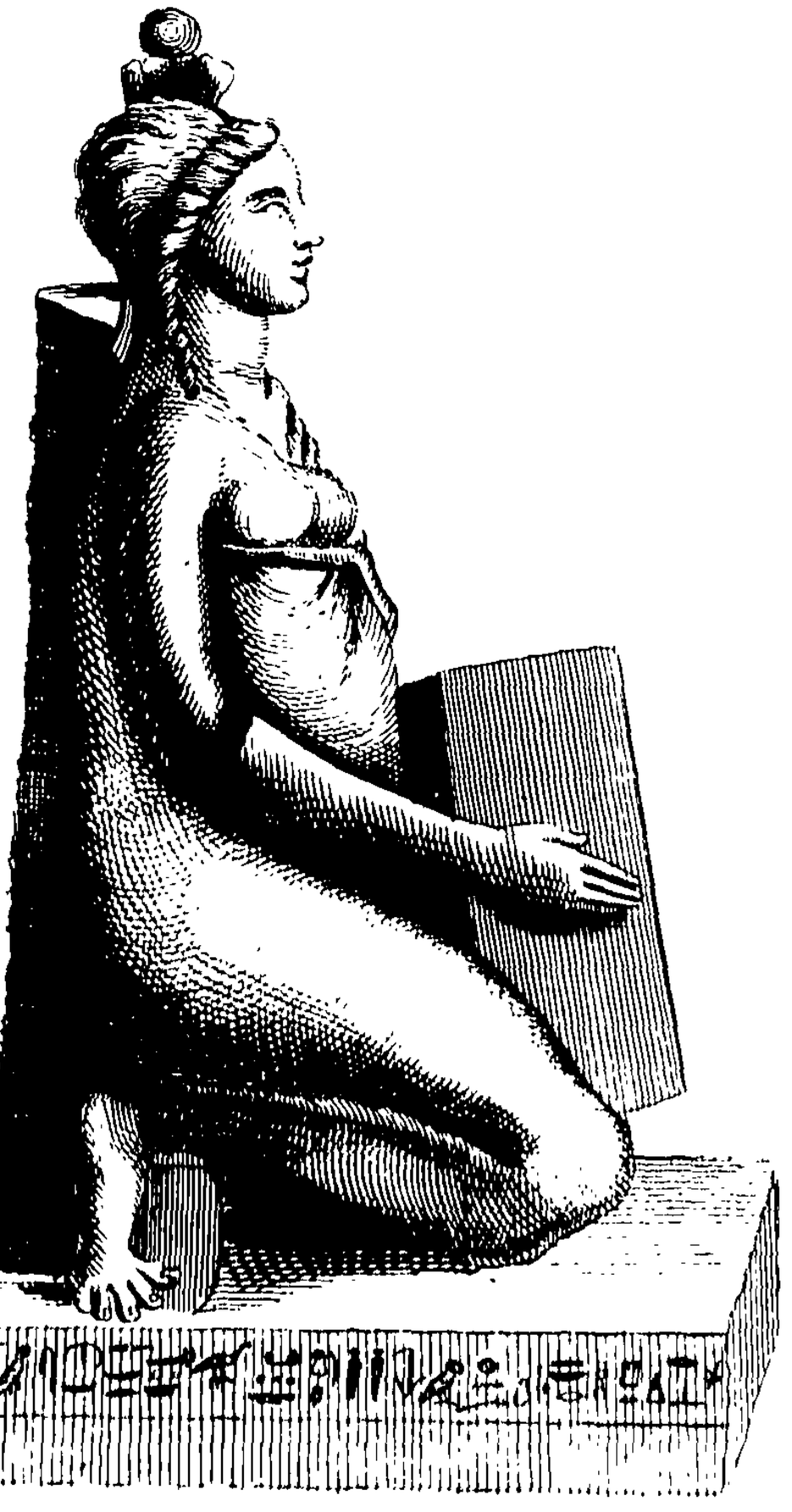
We shall now proceed to what is represented immediately below the *Ephod*, or Breast-plate, namely, another Female, resting on one Knee, with the other raised, and with extended Arms, holding in each Hand, what seems to be the *Falx Messoria*, or Sickle, between which are several sacred Characters. Her Face is bare, and her Breast, Arms, and Feet naked; but from her Neck downwards she is cloathed with a green Garment, which reaches below her Knees. On her Head, she bears a Globe of a fiery Colour; and her Hair, which is of a dark, or black Colour, and hangs down her Neck and Shoulders; is tied with a *Corona*, or Diadem. From her Shoulders proceed Wings, divided into three Rows of Plumage, of various Colours; the upper and lower Row being of deep Blue, and the middlemost, green; and each Row as well as each Feather, is shaded and divided with Yellow.

This Female, we may again safely pronounce to be *Isis*, who here, as well as in the other already described, typifies and represents the *Earth*, as comprizing within it the four Elements. Now, the Physical Reason, why the antient *Egyptians* drew *Isis* as a Female, was, as we are informed by *Plutarch*, because they imagined her to be the *female Part of Nature*, wherein was contained the Origin of every Thing. *Aristotle* says, they esteem the whole Nature of the *Earth* to be *female*; wherefore they call her *Mother*. That this Figure of *Isis* is a compound Symbol of the *Earth*, as comprehending within it the four Elements, seems in a Manner pointed out, by the Colours upon this Figure: For, *first*, the middle Part of her is covered with *Green*, which may allude to the *Grass*, *Trees*, and other *green Vegetables*, within the *temperate* and *torrid Zones*; which may not improperly be called the the middle Part of the *Earth*: *Secondly*, the Extremities of her Body are naked; which may also be to typify the extreme Parts of the *Earth*, towards the *Poles*, which are *barren* and *naked*. So that, upon the Whole, by this Figure of the *Earth*, the *Egyptians* seem, very properly, to represent the natural Situation, and vegetative Production of the Zones, as they are either nearer to, or farther removed from the Sun. As to the three Rows of Plumage, these, together with the Globe on her Head, seem to represent the other three Elements; the upper and lower of *deep Blue*, seems to have been designed for the *Air*, because the *Earth* is incompassed all round by the *blue* Sky or the Region of the *Air*. The middle Row of pale *Green*, seems likewise to have been designed for the *Water*, that being the natural Colour of the *Sea*;









This exact Representation of Isis with Osiris, is humbly Inscribed to the President and Fellows of the Royal Society.

Sea; as the fiery Globe on the Head of this *Female* ſeems a proper Type of the *Sun*, or the Element of *Fire*. As to this *Female*'s dark-coloured Hair, hanging down her Neck and Sholders, *Apuleius*, in the Viſion he had of *Iſis*, deſcribes her Hair in the very ſame Manner, as it is repreſented on our Mummy; and *Porphyry* lets us into the Phyſical Meaning of this dark coloured Hair, namely, that it is deſigned to ſymbolize the Duskiſhneſs of the *Air*: Wherefore, if we may ſuppoſe, the yellow or illuminated Spaces between the Plumage to be deſigned for the *Solar Light*, this female Figure will be a phyſical Type of the *Earth*, *Air*, *Water*, *Fire*, *Light*, and *Darkneſs*; in ſhort, of every Thing viſible, or that has Relation with our terraqueous Globe.

The next Thing that appears below the *Female* already deſcribed, is an entire ſymbolical Picture, highly deſerving the Attention of the Curious: The Whole ſeeming a twofold Repreſentation of *Death* and *Judgment*. To expreſs *Death*, there is a *Cadaver*, or dead Body, drawn, ſtretched out on a Bier, or *Necrophorcion*, as the *Greeks* called it; which is in the Shape of a Lyon. On the Outſide ſtands a Figure, dreſſed in a plaited Garment, of a human Shape, all but the Head, which is that of an *Ibis*, or *Egyptian* Stork; having in the Left-Hand a golden Cup, and ſeeming to point with the Right towards the Left-ſide of the dead Body. Now, it is evident, that the ancient *Egyptians*, at the Deceaſe of their Friends, uſed to deliver the Corpſe into the Hands of certain Perſons, whoſe Buſineſs it was to perform the Office of embalming them. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, "It was cuſtomary "amongſt the *Egyptians*, after the Relations of "the Deceaſed had agreed upon a Price, to de"liver the Corpſe into the Hands of the Em"balmers; the Chief of whom cauſing the Body "to be laid flat on the Ground, pointed out how "much of the Left-ſide, towards the Bowels, was "to be opened; when the Perſon who was to per"form the Diſſection, holding in his Hand an "*Ethiopian* Stone, (with which the Operation "was made) cut as much of the Fleſh as was re"required by Law." From this Paſſage it may be conjectured, that the Figure of this Mummy, in the plaited Garment, repreſents the Chief Embalmer, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls the Adorner, and who, he ſays, bears in his Hand a Cup for Libation, called, in *Greek*, *Spondeion*. Now this Figure on the Mummy anſwers the Deſcription both of *Diodorus*, and *Clemens*, in every Reſpect; for the Cup for Libation is plainly to be ſeen in his left Hand; and as to his pointing out, how much of the left Side, towards the Bowels, was to be opened, that ſeems alſo to be expreſſed on the Mummy: And the Reaſon of this Embalmer's having on his Shoulders the Head of the ſacred Bird *Ibis*, ſeems probably to have been, to denote that his Office was ſacred; for, it is to be ſuppoſed, that they had no other Way of ſhewing that the Function or Office of any one was ſacred, but by placing upon their Shoulders the Head of ſome one of the Animals that were eſteemed ſacred. Now that the Office of the Chief Embalmers was deemed ſacred, is confirmed by the ſame *Diodorus Seculus*, who ſays, they were called, in *Greek*, *Taricheutai*, and were much honoured by the Prieſts of *Egypt*, and, as ſacred Perſons, were admitted with in their Temples.

Theſe are the Particulars of the firſt Repreſentation of *Death*, beyond which hangs a Kind of a ſquare Veil, or Sheet, with yellow and green Stripes, which poſſibly may be deſigned for an *Egyptian* Phylactery; from which the *Jews*, probably, took their *Arban Canfoth*, which is an Amulet, or Charm, they conſtantly wear, under their Cloaths, to this Day, to guard them from Evil. Beyond this, on the Front-Part of the Coffin, is exhibited the ſecond Repreſentation, namely, that of *Judgment after Death*; in deſcribing which, we ſhall begin with the principal Figure *Oſiris*, who ſeems to be in the Character of *Pluto*, as the *Greeks* afterwards called him; and is to be ſuppoſed in the infernal Regions, ſitting in the Chair of *Jupiter*, or the *Sun*. In his left Hand is ſomething crooked at the Point, probably deſigned for the Sceptre of *Olympus*, and in his Right is the *Flagellum*, or Flail. He is cloathed in a yellow Garment, without any Shade; and on his Head is a *Mitre*, from whence iſſue *two Horns*, of a yellow or gold Colour, and he is drawn with a *Beard*. This Figure is infinitely curious, as having, in every Reſpect, the characteriſtical Marks of the *antient* Egyptian *Bacchus*; notwithſtanding, as we have juſt before obſerved, he ſits here, as Judge of the infernal Regions, in the Character of *Pluto*. As to our Conjecture of his being repreſented as the *antient* Egyptian *Bacchus*, ſitting in *Jupiter*'s Chair, with the Sceptre of *Olympus* in his Hand, there is one Paſſage in the *Greek* Poet *Nonnus*, which ſeems to ſtrengthen it, where he ſays, "I have heard, that "of Old *Jupiter* gave his Chair, with the Sceptre "of *Olympus*, and his Thunder, as a Gift, to *Za*"*grus*, the more antient *Dionyſus*; and the Vine "to the Wine faced *Bacchus*." Now, that the Chair on which *Oſiris*, or *Pluto*, is repreſented ſitting, is deſigned for that of *Jupiter*, or the *Sun*, ſeems, in ſome Meaſure, pointed out on the Mummy; the under Square thereof being uniformly of the ſame fiery Colour, with almoſt every other Symbol of the *Sun* thereupon; and the fiery Part being undermoſt, to repreſent the Sun's Abſence, this Scene of *Pluto* being laid in the Region of the *Manes*. Next, as to the *two Horns* of Gold, iſſuing from each Side of his Head, or rather of his *Mitre*, there is a particular Paſſage, in *Sidonius Apollinaris*, which ſeems particularly to agree with this Circumſtance repreſented on our Mummy; when, ſpeaking of the *Egyptian Jupiter*, he ſays,

——————*Caput aurea rumpunt*
Cornua, & indigenam jaculantur Fulminis Ignem, &c.

Beſides, *Euſebius*, deſcribing the *Egyptian Bacchus*, or *Oſiris*, quotes ſome of the Verſes of *Orpheus*, wherein he is repreſented with two golden Horns, like thoſe of a Bull, iſſuing from the Sides of his Head: And *Hieronymus Aleander*, in his learned Treatiſe, *Tab. Marmor.* p. 23. ſays, that the Antients placed golden Horns on the Head of *Bacchus*, as a Symbol of the Sun's Beams; from whence, continues he, the *Greeks* called him *Chruſokeron*. Another phyſical Reaſon, for the painting him with ſuch Horns, is given by *Diodorus Siculus*, when, ſpeaking of the *Grecian Bacchus*, he ſays, there was another *Dionyſius*, who exiſted for many Ages before the *Grecian*, whoſe Name was *Sabaſius*; and adds, that he was the firſt who taught Men how to yoke Oxen, and to plow, and ſow the Ground; for which Reaſon, continues he, they repreſent his Image with *Horns*.

The next Particular, remarkable in this Image of *Oſiris*, or *Pluto*, is the *Mitre* on his Head; a Circumſtance, of which *Diodorus* takes Notice, when, ſpeaking of *Bacchus*, he ſays, that one of his

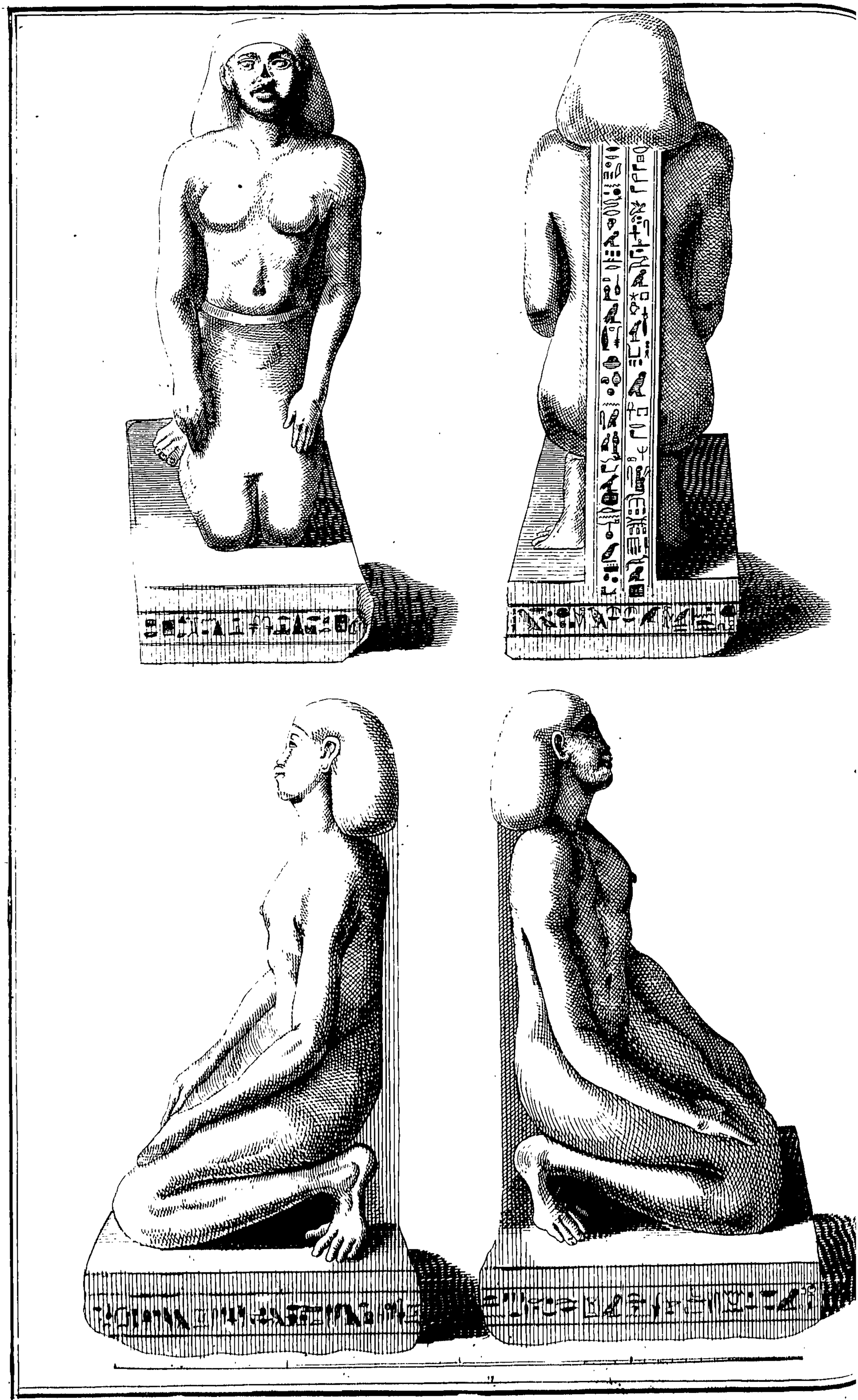
his other Marks was his wearing a *Mitre*, for which he was ſtiled *Mitrophoros*. This the *Greeks* took from the *Egyptians*, for on moſt of *Oſiris*, on *Egyptian* Monuments, in *Britain*, and we believe, elſewhere, he is repreſented with a *Mitre* upon his Head. But what is moſt curious in this Image is his *Beard*, which indeed is one of the chief characteriſtical Marks of the ancient *Egyptian Bacchus*, to diſtinguiſh him from the *Grecian* or younger *Bacchus*, who had not any *Beard*. To prove this, we have the expreſs Teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, who ſays, "There were two "Gods named *Bacchus*, wherefore the *Greeks* "painted him with two Faces: The moſt ancient "of them was called *Dionyſus*, and wore a Beard, "becauſe, in ancient Times, it was cuſtomary for "Men to let them grow; whereas the younger "*Bacchus* was drawn young and ſmooth-faced."

From all theſe Paſſages, it is worthy Obſervation, that theſe two characteriſtical Marks, the *Horns*, and *Beard*, on the Image of *Oſiris*, on this Mummy, whereby he is diſtinguiſhed to be the *moſt ancient Bacchus*, are of no ſmall Importance, for clearing up that perplexing Jumble, which a Multitude of Authors have made, in confounding the Elder and Younger *Bacchus* with each other: And it is humbly to be imagined, that had the great Sir *Iſaac Newton*, and other modern Authors, ſeen and examined this, and ſuch like Monuments of the *Egyptians*, he never would have aſſerted that *Seſoſtris*, whom he makes to be *Shiſhak*, was alſo *Oſiris*, or the *Egyptian Bacchus*; neither would others have confounded the Ancient *Bacchus* with the Younger ſo frequently as they do. Sir *Iſaac* has indeed hereby, in a new and very ſurprizing Manner, made the *Egyptian Oſiris* cotemporary with *Rehoboam*; into which ſtrange and ſingular Opinion he muſt certainly have been led, by reckoning the *Bacchus* of the *Greeks* the only *Bacchus*; without conſidering that there had been a much more ancient *Bacchus*, many Ages before the *Bacchus* of the *Grecians*, whoſe characteriſtical Marks, different from thoſe of the other, we not only find plainly deſcribed by the *Greek* Authors, but may ſee actually confirmed ſo to be, both by this Mummy, and by divers other illuſtrious Monuments of the *Egyptians*, ſtill remaining amongſt us. To conclude, the Habit, on this Figure of *Oſiris*, is repreſented without any Kind of Shade, or Variety of Colours; which correſponds exactly with what *Plutarch* aſſerts of the *Egyptian Oſiris*, when ſpeaking of the Garment of *Iſis*, he ſays, *In the Garment of* Oſiris, *there is neither any Shade, or Variety of Colour*.

The next Thing repreſented on this *Symbolical Picture*, is the Figure of a *Lotus*, expanded or blown, upon its Stalk, from the Root whereof, a compreſſed one, like a *Papaver*, or *Poppy*, appears on each Side. On the Top of the expanded one, before *Oſiris*, ſtand *four embalmed human Creatures*, one with the Head of a *Man*, another with that of a *Dog*, the third with the Head of a *Wolf*, the fourth with that of an *Eagle*, or *Hawk*. *Firſt*, as to the *Lotus* which is expanded or blown, and the two which are compreſt, or ſhut, they ſeem to have been reckoned, by the *Egyptians*, as Symbols of the Sun's Riſing and Setting; for *Dioſcorides*, as he is quoted by *Cuperus*, ſays, "The *Lotus* is produ- "ced in *Egypt*, growing in the Fields, which "had been overflown, on a Stalk, like that of a "Bean, ſmall in Bloſſom, and white like a Lilly. "They report that it ſhrinks, or ſhuts itſelf up, "when the Sun ſets, but opens at his Riſing; that "it hides its Top in the Water in the Evening, "but riſes out of the Water in the Morning." We have alſo the Authority of *Proclus* and *Pliny* for this Particular.

As to the four embalmed Animals, ſtanding on the expanded *Lotus*, facing *Oſiris*, this may be preſumed to be nothing but a phyſical Symbol of the different Properties or Powers of the ſame *Sun*; for it is certain, that the *Egyptians* feigned *God*, or the *Sun*, as ſitting upon a *Lotus*, whereby they typified his Dominion and Pre-eminence over all earthly Things. As to the four Animals upon the *Lotus*, ſymbolizing as many Properties or Powers of the *Sun*, they ſeem ſo to be, becauſe they are of the Number of thoſe ſacred Animals, which, all who have treated of the *Egyptian* Theology, agree to be Types of the Properties of that God: Whence, they are very often joined on the *Menſa Iſiaca*, and other conſpicuous Monuments of the *Egyptians*. Beſides, they are very ſimilar to the Deſcription given by *Kircher*, and *Witſius*, of four Figures, called by them *Hempthæi Numinis Stipatores*, or the Guardian Attendants of the God *Hemtha*, by *Plutarch* termed *Emet*, the ſame with *Sol*, or the *Egyptian Oſiris*, who were the four chief Meſſengers or Angels (as *Witſius* ſtiles them) ſent by that God, to execute his Commands. The *firſt* of theſe was called *Horus*, and was repreſented in the Shape of a *Boy*: The ſecond had the Face of a *Dog*, and was named *Kunoproſopos*: The *third*, had the Head of a *Hawk*, was termed by the *Egyptians Thauſtus*, and was remarkable for having the *Horn* of *Jupiter Hammon*: And the *fourth* was repreſented with the Aſpect of a *Lion*, and was ſtiled *Momphta*. As to the laſt Particular of the *Lion*'s Head, it is the only Circumſtance, excepting the *Horn* of *Jupiter Hammon* before-mentioned, wherein the Deſcription does not exactly agree with the Repreſentation on the Mummy; one of the Figures on the Mummy having the Head of a *Wolf*, and not of a *Lion*. It is to be imagined, therefore, that there were not only more of theſe *Stipatores*, or Guardian Attendants of *Oſiris*, than are mentioned by *Kircher*, and *Witſius*; but that it was abſolutely left to the Determination of the Perſon, who originally conſecrated the Mummy to theſe different *Egyptian* Deities, to repreſent thereon which-ſoever he pleaſed, therefore ſome might chooſe that with the Head of a *Wolf*, and others that with the Head of a *Lion*. This will appear more evident immediately, with regard to the Head of the *Wolf*, and the *Dog*, from a Paſſage in *Macrobius*, which ſeems to account for ſuch a Repreſentation; for, in ſpeaking of the Manner in which the Image of *Oſiris*, or the *Sun*, was ſometimes repreſented in *Egypt*, he mentions its being drawn with the Heads of a *Lion*, a *Dog*, and a *Wolf*. The *Wolf*, he adds, is a Symbol of paſt Time, and the *Dog*, of future Time; and indeed, it muſt be owned, that theſe Symbols of Time are very aptly applied to the *Sun*, ſince the periodical Revolutions and Motions of that glorious Luminary, are the only certain Meaſures of Time.

Having thus given an Account of the Repreſentation of *Oſiris*, in the Character of the old *Egyptian* Deity, called by the *Greeks*, *Pluto*, and of the *Lotus* opened and ſhut, with the Animals ſtanding thereon, the next Point to be conſidered is, with what



This exact Representation of a curious Marble Statue lately brought from Egypt is humbly Inscribed to the President and Fellows of the Royal Society.

what Deſign they are ſuppoſed to be placed in the infernal Regions. In order to illuſtrate this, we ſhall begin with the Figure of *Oſiris*, or *Pluto*, whom we may ſuppoſe to ſit there as a Judge; perhaps alſo he was deſigned to be there repreſented, as Judge of the Soul, and Actions, of the very Perſon whoſe Body was contained within the Coffin. What gives Room for this Conjecture is, the Appearance of a Figure, which ſeems to have been deſigned for an *Agatho-Dæmon*, or good Genius, leading in a human Creature before the Judgment-ſeat of *Oſiris*; where the ſacred *Scribe* of the *Egyptians*, diſtinguiſhed by the Volume, or Roll of Paper, in one Hand, and the *Schoinos* in the other, juſt as he is deſcribed by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and with the Head of an *Ibis*, ſeems recounting before *Oſiris*, or *Pluto*, the ſupreme Judge of the Shades, the Detail of the Deceaſed's Actions; ſuppoſed to have been weighed in the Ballance, which appears repreſented in the ſame ſymbolical Picture.

Now that the *Egyptians* believed *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, or *Ceres* and *Bacchus* as the *Greeks* called them, were the ſupreme Governors of the Shades, is plain from the Teſtimony of many ancient Authors. *Herodotus*, in particular, ſpeaking of the ancient *Egyptians* ſays, *That the* Egyptians *believed* Ceres *and* Bacchus *had the Dominion of the infernal Shades.* It is alſo confirmed by *Servius*, that *Sol*, or *Bacchus*, deſcended into *Hell*, or the Region of the *Manes*; and *Natalis Comes* ſays, that *Lucian* thinks *Pluto* was ſo called, becauſe he abounded in Dead. Now that *Oſiris* was the ſame with the *Grecian Pluto*, and the Judge of the Dead, is made appear beyond all Doubt, by a moſt circumſtantial Paſſage in *Plutarch*, for ſpeaking of *Oſiris*, he ſays, "That *Oſiris*, Governor, and "Prince of the Dead, is no other than the ſame "whom the *Greeks* call *Hades* or *Pluto*;" which is explaining what the Prieſts were unwilling to reveal, and only hinted in an obſcure Manner.

Beyond what has been already deſcribed, as has been before obſerved, is the Repreſentation of a Ballance, or Pair of Scales, erected, and ſupported in the Middle, by a kind of crooked Poſt, like a Tree, and two human Figures, one on each Side of the Poſt. That on the Right-hand, has on its Shoulders the Head of a *Hawk*, and the other on the Left that of a *Wolf*, both turned contrarywiſe to each other: This, perhaps, was deſigned to ſymbolize the oppoſite *Good* and *Bad* Principles, a Doctrine which, as *Plutarch* tells us, the *Egyptians* believed, before any other Nation whatſoever, the *Hawk* repreſenting the *Good*, or *Oſirian Being*, and the *Wolf* the *Bad*, or *Typhonian Being*. Each of theſe ſeem, by putting the Scales down towards their own Side, to claim, as it were, the Soul of the *Deceaſed* as his own; and the Ballance ſeems to intimate, that after the Actions of the Deceaſed are weighed, the ſacred Scribe, already mentioned, enumerates them before *Pluto*, the ſupreme Judge of the Shades, that he may paſs Sentence on the Deceaſed, who ſeems to be led in by the *Agatho-Dæmon* before the Tribunal of *Oſiris*.

The next Particular to be obſerved in this ſymbolical Painting, is, the Figure immediately behind the Chair of *Oſiris*, which repreſents a Female ſtanding erect, with Wings conſiſting alſo of three Rows of Plumage, one pointed downwards, and covering the Thigh, as is very often ſeen on the *Menſa Iſiaca*, and the other raiſed and extended: In her Hand, above the Wing, is a ſmall Sickle; and on her Head ſhe ſupports a Globe of a pale Colour, placed in the Midſt of a Creſcent, or Horns. This Figure ſeems evidently to be another Repreſentation of *Iſis*, the *Grecian Ceres*, and *Proſerpine*; for *Proſerpine*, as *Porphyry* ſays, is repreſented with Horns as well as *Bacchus*, and is ſaid to accompany *Oſiris* or *Pluto* into the Region of the Shades. This Figure alſo is a combined Symbol both of the Earth and Moon, and agrees very well with the *Egyptian* Theology; for by the Creſcent, and ſmall pale Globe, ſhe is both *Proſerpine*, and the *Moon*, but by the female Form, and the Sickle, in a *phyſical* Senſe, ſhe is *Iſis*, or the *Earth*. As to the *firſt*, we have an expreſs Demonſtration thereof in *Plutarch*, who ſays, "That the *Egyptians* aſſert *Iſis* to be no other "than the *Moon*, and her Images ſhew her ſo to "be, ſhe being repreſented with Horns to typify "her different *Phaſes*." Beſides, there are two Figures like this on the Mummy, with Wings covering the Thigh, to be ſeen on the *Menſa Iſiaca*, or Table of *Iſis*, with a Creſcent and Horns, both of which *Pignorius* explains to be deſigned as Symbols of the *Moon*.

Beyond this complex Figure of the *Moon* and *Earth*, is another Female, deſigned for one of the *Agatha-Dæmones* of the *Egyptians*, or what they call the *Genii Averrunci*, whoſe Office it was to drive away Evil; wherefore, ſhe holds in one Hand the Amulet for Conſervation, and in the other the Diviner's Rood. Now there ſeems to be two Proofs on the Mummy, that moſt of the forementioned Scene is laid in the Region of *Hades*, or the Shades. *Firſt*, at the Entrance, where the *Ballances*, and *Good* and *Evil Genii* appear, there is the Figure of a voracious female Animal, as appears by her Teats, ſitting on a Baſis, whoſe under Square is of the ſame red and fiery Colour, with the other Repreſentations of the *Sun* on the Mummy. The Mouth is wide open; and ſhe ſeems in the Action of Howling; and appears plainly to be the ſame whom the *Greeks* and *Romans* afterward called *Perſephone*, and *Proſerpine*, and whom *Pluto* is feigned to have raviſhed, and carried into *Hell*: Before this female howling Animal is repreſented ſomething like a Gooſe's Feather, or a Pen, placed at the Entrance into the Region of the Shades. It is ſurprizing, how well the whole of this agrees with the Mythology of the Ancients; and how ſtrong an Evidence it is, (amongſt many others on this Mummy) that the *Greeks*, and the reſt of the *Pagan* World, had their Theology from the ancient *Egyptians*: For in the firſt Place, *Proſerpine* is here repreſented like a female Animal; and in the ſame Manner did the *Greeks* repreſent their *Cerberus*, or *Hecate*, only they drew her with three Heads. This, by the bye, gives room to judge, that in all Probability, this Mummy is more ancient than the Fable itſelf of the *Grecian Cerberus*; and that the *Cerberus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was *Canis* in the female Senſe, that is, a Bitch, is plain from that Paſſage of *Euripides* in *Plutarch*, *Hecates Simulachrum Luciferæ ſies Canis*. *Natalis Comes* ſays, ſhe was called *canicida & carnivora Dea, a Dog-killing and Fleſh-devouring Goddeſs*, becauſe Dogs were ſacrificed to her; and as to her Howling, there is one remarkable Paſſage in *Apuleius* to explain it; for in asking the Goddeſs *Iſis* in what Manner ſhe would be pleaſed to be invoked, he demanded,

amongſt many other Names appropriated to her Divinity, whether ſhe choſe to be called upon by that awful one of *Proſerpine*, terrible on Account of her nightly Howlings; *ſeu nocturnis Ululatibus horrenda Proſerpina*: And *Sophocles* obſerves, that *Proſerpine* obtained Howlings and Tearing of the Hair, *&c.* to be performed in Honour of her, inſtead of Sacrifices, for *Proſerpine* was the Queen of the Dead; whence *Horace* ſays;

Miſta Senum ac Juvenum denſantur Funera; nullum
Sæva Caput Proſerpina *fugit.*

As to the Pen, placed before that female Animal, upon the Mummy, it is certain that the Ancients (as Mr. *Lloyd* obſerves) were of Opinion, that *Proſerpine* wrote down, on the Poſts of the Gates of Hell, the Names of all thoſe who were ſummoned out of this Life into another World; for which Reaſon *Statius* ſays;

Nec dum illum aut trunca luſtraverate obvia Taxo
Eumenis, *aut furvo* Proſerpina *poſte notarat.*

And again in his *Sylvarum*, ii. 6.

——*Obliquoque notat* Proſerpina *vultu.*

The next Proof that the *Greeks* and *Romans* derived their Theology from the *Egyptians*, is the plain Image of *Proſerpine* in a human Form, with other characteriſtical Marks, painted on the Mummy, over the Place where the Ballance, and the Good and Bad Principles are. Some of theſe are ſo curious, as to deſerve very well the Attention of the Learned; if we conſider, that over the firſt Part of this ſymbolical Picture, where the dead Body is laid ſtretched out upon a Bier, *Iſis*, with a *Tutulus* or Turret upon her Head, ſeems to be drawn in the Character of the Goddeſs, whom the *Greeks* afterwards called *Cybele*, or the *Earth*; but over the other Part of the Picture, where the Deceaſed is repreſented as judged, and conſequently the Soul is ſuppoſed to be arrived at the Place of its *eternal Abode*, the Image of *Proſerpine* is placed, in a human Form. This ſeems to intimate, according to the Mythology of the *Egyptians*, that when the Deceaſed was in the State of Death, before Judgment, and conſequently, was ſuppoſed not to have paſſed over in the *Baris*, or Boat of *Charon* (which mythological Story, *Diodorus* tells us, the *Greeks* took from the *Egyptians*) they reckoned him in the Dominion of *Cybele*; wherefore the Image of that Goddeſs is repreſented above the Corpſe or the Bier, as we have before obſerved: But when it is ſuppoſed to be arrived at the Place of its *eternal Abode*, in the Regions of *Pluto* and *Proſerpine*, the Figure of that Goddeſs is repreſented above it, in a human Form and with all her chacteriſtical Marks, whereof it is proper to give a particular Deſcription in this Place.

On her Head ſhe carries a Veſſel, which is to be ſuppoſed tranſparent, and within which appears ſomething of a longiſh Form, and an Orange Colour, with a Speck or two of Green in the middle; which Veſſel may probably be what the *Greeks* afterwards called *Coros*: And as to the Figure of an Orange Colour, it may be deſigned to repreſent the *Mutilated Sceptre* ſo often mentioned by *Porphyry*, when he treats of the *Egyptian* Mythology, in his Deſcription of *Proſerpine*. This mutilated Sceptre, he ſays, typifies *Pluto*'s Government of the Shades; as may alſo the green Specks, the Seeds of Vegetables, or Grain latent within the Boſom of the Earth. Hence was it that the *Egyptians* feigned that *Iſis*, or the *Earth*, locked up the privy Parts of *Oſiris* within a Cheſt; and the ſame Author, in treating of the ſymbolical Images of *Proſerpine*, ſays very expreſly, "That "ſhe carries in them the Symbols of young "Plants proceeding from their Seeds on Earth," which Seeds are the very Repreſentation on this Mummy. The ſame Author ſays alſo, that *Proſerpine* is that preſerving Power of the Seeds; and *Pluto* that *Sun*, which in the Winter Solſtice, roves amongſt the hidden and unknown Regions under the Earth. Hence, continues he, comes the Fable of the Rape of *Proſerpine*, whom *Ceres* eagerly follows into the Region of the Shades.

From all theſe Paſſages we have good Reaſon to judge, that the Veſſel on the Head of *Proſerpine* upon the Mummy, is that myſtical *Coros*, or *ſacred Cheſt* of the *Egyptians*, and the Figure within it a Symbol of that *mutilated Sceptre*, or the *Privities* of *Oſiris*, ſo frequently mentioned by ancient Authors. Its Orange Colour is the ſame with whatever is deſigned to repreſent Fleſh on the Mummy, and very much the Complection of the *Egyptians*; nay the ſame Author adds, in expreſs Terms, that the *Egyptians* typify the Efficacy of the Seeds of the Earth, under the Form of a *Priapus*, which *Proſerpine* carries about with her. This was one of the Myſteries revealed, in the Ceremony of Initiation or Admiſſion into the *Adyta* of the *Egyptian* Prieſts, when, it was propoſed to them as a Condition neceſſary to be comply'd with, previous to their Entrance, to take upon them the *Stigma* of this mutilated Member, by Circumciſion; and *Clemens Alexandrinus* ſays, that *Pythagoras* was *circumciſed*, in order to be initiated, and to learn the myſtical Doctrine of the *Egyptians*. Hence came the Proceſſion of the *Egyptian Bacchantes*, in which the ſacred Cheſt of *Oſiris* was carried before them; it is alſo to be imagined, that hence came the *Totaphot* of the *Jews*, mentioned by *Scaliger*, as derived from the *Egyptians*; and *Samuel Petitus* deſcribing ſome of theſe Amulets, ſays they were in the Form of a *Penis*, of a bak'd Clay, and were worn by the Way of *Bullæ*, hung to a String. He adds, that God prohibited the *Jews* from wearing them any longer, as they had done in *Egypt*; wherefore he exchanged them into Amulets of another Nature, as *Frontlets*, &c. From hence alſo was the myſtical Worſhip of the *Phallos*, amongſt the *Moabites*, *Colchians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Greeks* and indeed amongſt every Nation who took their Religion from the *Egyptians*: From hence alſo was the Origin of *Circumciſion*, amongſt many of thoſe People.

As theſe are all the Particulars relating to the ſymbolical Picture on the Coffin, it may not be amiſs to make one Remark thereupon, which may, perhaps, be of ſome Conſequence; it is this: That it is worth examining, whether by this whole Repreſentation of the *Egyptian Pluto*, *Proſerpine*, the *Genii*, the *dead Body* on the *Bier*, the *Oppoſite Good and Bad Principles*, the *Ballance*, *&c.* any Thing more was deſigned than an Alluſion to the particular Ceremony, or Cuſtom, among the *Egyptians*, of judging their Dead, before they were deemed worthy of Burial, as is fully

fully related by *Diodorus Siculus*; or whether it be an Evidence, as far as the Nature of the Thing will admit, that the Whole was designed as an Allusion to the Belief the *Egyptians* entertained at the Time of embalming this Mummy, of the *Immortality of the Soul*, of a future Existence after Death, and of an *Intellectual Judge*, who was to pronounce the Deceased worthy, or unworthy of *Eternal Bliss*, according to the Tenour of his Conduct upon Earth. This is a Question to be determined by the Learned, till which is done, the latter Opinion seems most eligible. For, that the *Egyptians* believed the Soul's Existence in a separate State after Death, and that those of Good Men were to live, after their Decease, in the Society of the Just, is evident from a very remarkable Passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, where, in mentioning the Ceremonies used at the Funerals of the *Egyptians*' he says, that "After speaking "the Panegyrick of the Deceased, and enume-"rating his praise-worthy Actions and Virtues, "they pray to the Gods of the infernal Shades, "to receive him into the Society of the Righ-"teous, and admit him into the Enjoyment of "their eternal Happiness. They give out, con-"tinues he, that the Person buried is to live with "the Righteous, in the Regions of *Dis* or *Plu-*"*to.*" These Passages are very express, as to the *Egyptians* believing that the Souls of Good Men were to exist in a separate State, in the Society of the Blessed; and that they had a Notion of eternal Happiness. It appears evidently that they entertained this Belief, as well as that physical and fabulous Opinion, that *Pluto* and the Sun roved in the Winter in the Region of the Shades. That they believed the *Immortality of the Soul* before the Time of *Herodotus*, is very plain from a Passage in that Author, where he not only says, that the *Egyptians* believed that Doctrine, but that they were the *first* who asserted it; in which, however, as we have before observed, we fancy he is mistaken, unless he only meant that they were the first of the Heathens who embraced that Opinion.

However, should it be granted, that the symbolical Picture we have been describing, is a probable Evidence, that the *Egyptians* believed the *Immortality of the Soul*, at the Time of their embalming this Mummy, it seems to be a strong negative Argument with Relation to the Antiquity thereof. That is, it will be a strong presumptive Proof that it was neither coeval with, nor prior to, the Time of the Promulgation of the *Mosaical* Law, and the writing of the *Pentateuch*: Because there does not seem to be one express Text in all the five Books of *Moses* which positively maintains the Belief of Rewards and Punishments in another World; neither does any affirm, that the *Egyptians* themselves, in their most early Dynasties, had any Manner of Knowledge thereof; and it is to be presumed, that had either the *Egyptians* or *Jews* been acquainted therewith, at the Time they inhabited *Egypt* together, the Doctrine of living happily after Death is of a Nature so tempting and agreeable to Mankind, as could not possibly have been concealed from either of them, but must necessarily have found a ready Reception from both of them.

Below the emblematical Picture are ten different Compartments bounded by yellow Stripes or Borders, wherein are certain sacred Characters of the *Egyptians*. Two Sorts of emblematical Figures are contained within these Compartments; of which some seem to be certain of the *Egyptian* Deities, and others their *Genii Averruncı*, or the *Hempthæi Numinis Stipatores*, already mentioned, that is, the Guardian-Attendants of their God *Osiris*. These Figures are both Male, and Female, and the Fields wherein they stand are of three Colours, green, blue, and red.

In the first Compartment within a green Field, on the right Side of the Mummy, is the Figure of a Man, in whose Left-hand seems to be a Volume or Roll of *Papyrus*, or *Egyptian* Paper, whereof we shall speak hereafter, like that in the Hand of the sacred Scribes in the symbolical Picture already explained. On his Neck is the Head of an *Ibis*, which Sort of Figures being frequent amongst the *Egyptians*, the *Greeks* called them in general *Ibimorphoi*; and on the Top of his Head, is what may be presumed to be a Flame, issuing from beneath a small Globe: From all which Circumstances, we take this Figure to have been designed for a Representation of the *Egyptian Hermes*. As to his being drawn with the Head of an *Ibis*, the Figure of *Hermes* was commonly painted in the same Manner, which might be only to denote that his Person was esteemed sacred, as has been observed before, in explaining of the Figure of the chief Embalmer; and as to the Flame issuing from under the Globe, it is frequently to be seen over the Heads of sacred Persons, on the *Mensa Isiaca*, and was probably designed to symbolize a Spirit, as the Globe, or Star above it, might be to typify his *Apotheosis*, or being ranked amongst the Gods; and a Volume of *Papyrus* in his Hand, to represent his Invention of Letters, and Eloquence. For *Hermes*, says *Diodorus Siculus*, was admired, above all others, on Account of his Eloquence; and because of his Invention of Letters, Astronomy, and Harmony, was ranked amongst the Gods.

In the opposite Compartment, which is likewise green, stands another Figure, on whose Shoulders is the Head of the *Hierax*, or Hawk, holding in one Hand a *Baculus* or Wand, which some have imagin'd the Diviner's Rod; and in the other, the *Phylacterion* or Amulet for Preservation. Such Figures as this, which seems to be designed as another Representation of one of those *Stipatores*, or Guardian-*Genii* of *Osiris*, so often before mentioned, the *Greeks* afterwards called *Hierocephaloi*; but they were termed *Thausti* by the *Egyptians*, according to *Witsius*, as has been already observed another Occasion.

On the other Side, in a Compartment of deep-blue, under *Hermes*, is another human Figure, with the Head of a Wolf, holding in one Hand, the same Kind of *Baculus*, already mentioned, and also the *Phylacterion*, whence it may likewise be reckoned another of those Guardian-*Genii* beforementioned of *Hemptha*, or *Osiris*. Over-against this, within a red Compartment, altogether of a human Shape, and of the Male Kind, holding in one Hand a *Bacchus*, and in the other a *Phylacterion*, of the same Sort as those of the others.

On the opposite Side to the last, is a human Figure with a Ram's Head, holding in one Hand the same Sort of *Baculus*, as he does in the other, the same Kind of *Phylacterion* or Amulet. Over his Head is a Flame, issuing from under a small Star, or Globe; from all which Circumstances this

this Figure ſeems evidently to be a Repreſentation of the *Egyptian Jupiter Hammon*; and perhaps, the moſt compleat one of any that can be produced. *Herodotus* ſays, the *Thebans* ſacrifice a Ram every Year, on the Feſtival of *Jupiter Hammon*, and flaying off the Skin, cloath the Statue of *Jupiter* therewith: And, in another Place, he ſays expreſsly, that the *Egyptians* repreſent his Statue or Image with a Ram's Face: He adds, that the *Ammonians* had this Image from the *Egyptians*, of whom they were a Colony; and that the *Egyptians* called *Jupiter* by the Name of *Ammonus*. The Flame over his Head, as we have obſerved elſewhere, was probably deſigned to denote him a Spirit; and the little Globe, or Star, to repreſent his *Apotheoſis*, or being ranked amongſt the Gods; ſo that the Figure of *Ammonus*, and the other of the *Egyptian Hermes* already deſcribed, are the only two Deities, typified amongſt thoſe *Genii Averrunci*, and *Agatho Dæmons* already mentioned.

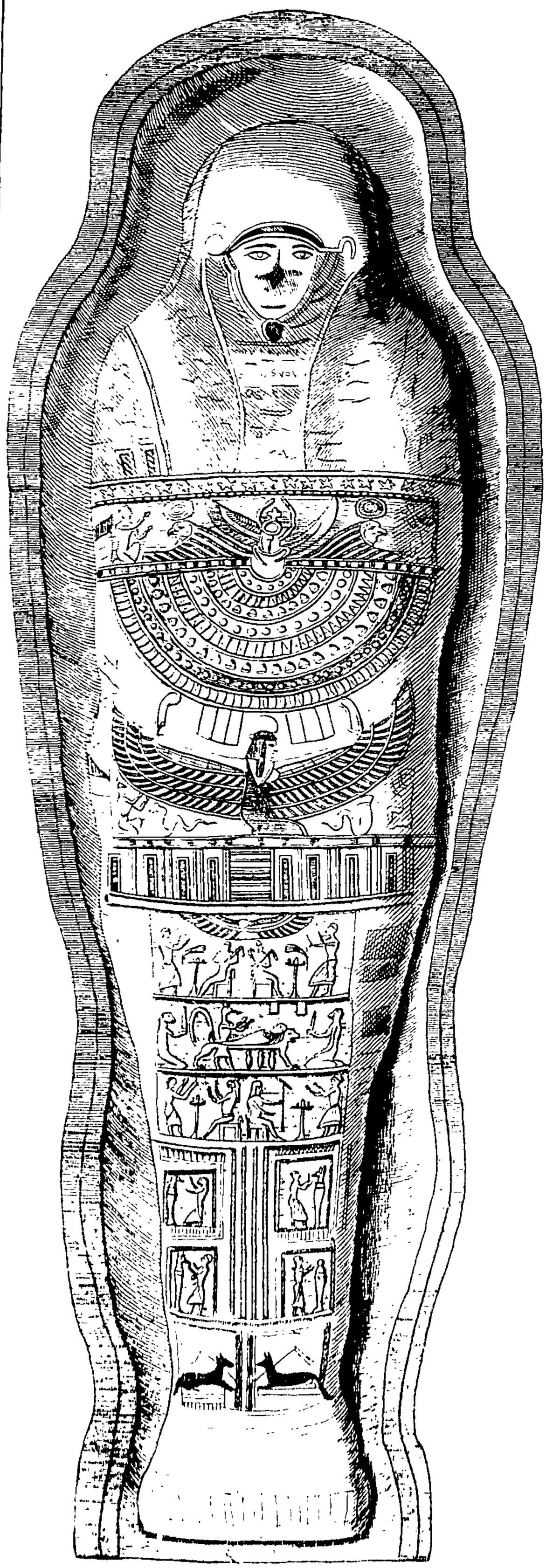
On the lateral Views of the Coffin are ten more Compartments, five on each Side, which contain as many Repreſentations of theſe watchful *Genii*, and Guardian-Angels, both Male and Female, as appears by their Habits, each of which has an *Anubian* Staff, and a *Phylacterion* in its Hands. They are all entirely human Figures, excepting one, which has the Head of a Wolf; which, nevertheleſs, may alſo be judged one of the Guardian-*Genii* of *Hemptha*, or *Oſiris*.

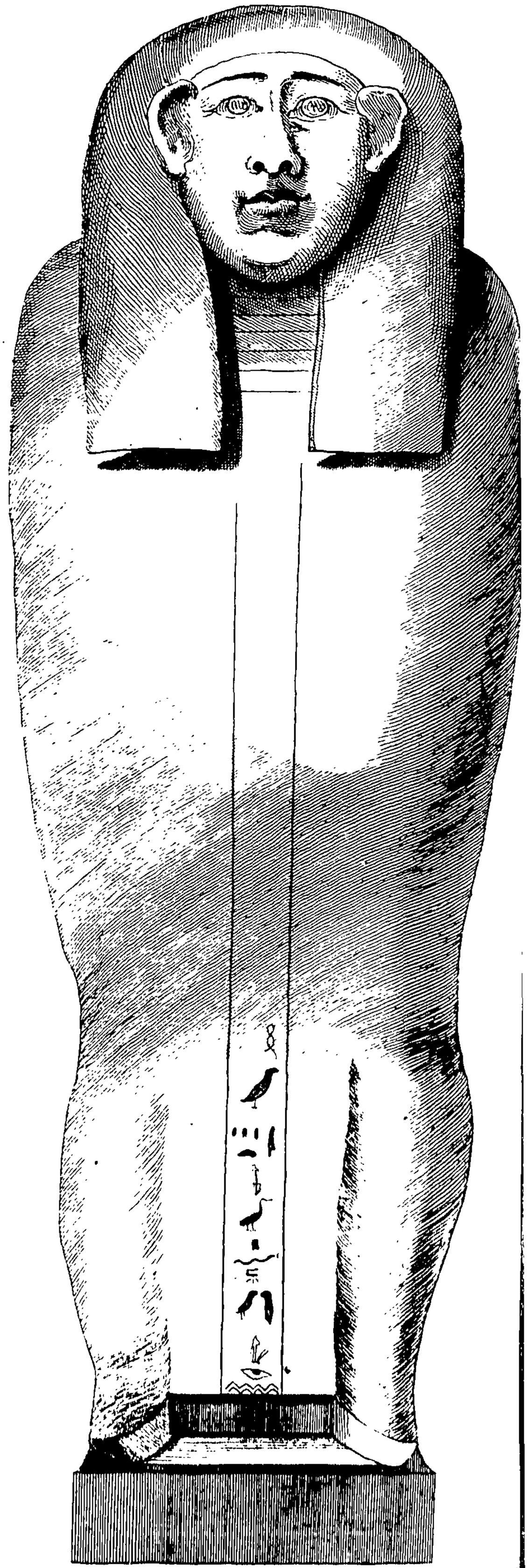
Immediately under the twenty Compartments is a Repreſentation of two ſquare Buildings of a green Colour, in each of which is a Gate painted red. Over each of theſe Buildings is the Figure of a Wolf, or Fox couchant, of a Jet-black Colour, over whoſe whoſe Neck is the *Flagellum* or Flail of *Oſiris*: All theſe laſt Particulars are inverted. Theſe Buildings ſeem another Repreſentation of the Domain of *Pluto*, in the Region of the Shades; as do the Wolves another phyſical Symbol of the Sun: With Regard to this, it is evident that ſeveral Nations, who took their Religion from the *Egyptians*, ſtyled the Sun or *Apollo*, *Lycius*, which is derived from the *Greek Lycos*, a Wolf. *Macrobius* avers, that *Cleanthes* aſſerts, they called *Apollo*, or the Sun *Lycius*, and aſſigns a phyſical Reaſon for their ſo doing: The ſame Author ſays, that the City of *Lycopolis*, near the *Egyptian Thebes*, is a Teſtimony that the Sun was called *Lycos*, both *Apollo*, and the Wolf being worſhipped there with equal Devotion; both being called by the ſame Name *Lycos*, and the Sun being adored in both. He adds, that the Wolf, by the Sharpneſs of its Sight, eludes the Darkneſs of the Night; *Ac plurimum Oculorum Acie cernens tenebras Noctis evincit*. Beſides, nothing ſeems more convincing that theſe Wolves were deſigned as Symbols of the Sun, than the *Flagellum* of *Oſiris*, which is repreſented, in a Manner, as joined to them, and they ſeem to be thoſe Animals which *Porphyry* calls *Anubides*. He ſays, that *Pluto* kept ſuch Animals by him in the infernal Regions; and that their Office was to guard the Grain, which had been lodged in the Earth from periſhing; and that it being impregnated by the ſolar Rays, *Pluto* gives it a Power of being produced, and brought to Maturity. This ſolar Heat is, perhaps, repreſented by the two red fiery Doors, that lead into the two ſquare Buildings, over which the Wolves, or *Anubides* lye watching. Theſe two Dogs, or Wolves are termed Symbols of the two Hemiſpheres by *Clemens Alexandrinus*.

What has been already mentioned being the Particulars repreſented on the Front, and Sides of the Coffin, all that now remains is to give an Account of the third Part thereof, where is to be ſeen the Figure of a Female ſtanding erect, with long black Hair flowing down her Neck and Shoulders. Divers Parts of her Body are naked, as her Neck, Shoulders, Breaſt, Arms, and Feet; only over each Shoulder appears ſomewhat like a Tippet, of a red Colour, with yellow and dark Borders, faſtened to a Girdle, which is juſt below her Breaſt. From the Girdle to the Middle of the Leg ſhe is dreſſed in a Habit of divers Colours, yellow, red, and green. Something like Bracelets are round her Arms and Ankles; and her Feet, which are without Sandals, are cloſe to each other. She ſtands upon a Baſis, made, as it were, of Beams of various Colours; and round her Head is a Diadem of a deep red, within a yellow Border, which hangs down to the Back-part of her Head. She holds in her Hands *Vittæ*, or Ribbons of a darkiſh red Colour, and from the Diadem iſſues a ſhort Pole or Stem, which being faſtened to the ſaid Diadem, ſupports a half Globe, or Disk, on which a *Hierax* or Hawk pearches, and near which the Figure of a Sickle, or *Meſſoria* is plainly to be ſeen. The Hawk is of a green Colour, only the Tail is tipt with red, not unlike a Parrot: The Legs and Talons are red, and the Eyes of the Colour of Fire; and from over the Head iſſues ſomewhat like a Flame, in the Middle of whereof is a little Globe or Star, reſembling thoſe which have been already deſcribed; from the Top of the Head alſo riſe two large Feathers. Behind this Hawk is repreſented a *Flagellum*, or Flail, like that in the Hand of the Images of *Oſiris*; between which, and the Neck of the Hawk, are divers *Hiero-Grammata*, or ſacred Characters, contained between two Lines.

Theſe being all the Particulars repreſented on the Back of the Coffin, let us next examine what Account can be given thereof from ancient Authors. Firſt, As to the Female Figure's being dreſſed in a Habit of divers Colours, with the Legs and Feet cloſe to each other, there is one Paſſage in *Porphyry*, which accounts for it in a very ſatisfactory Manner; for he informs us very plainly, that this Figure is a Symbol of the viſible World. Speaking of the *Egyptians*, "They "ſymbolize the World (ſays he) by a human "Figure, with the Feet cloſe to each other, and "from the upper Part downwards cloathed in a "Garment of divers Colours, and ſupporting on "its Head a Golden Globe." Immediately afterwards he accounts for theſe three particular Circumſtances in the Symbols; by the Feet being cloſe to each other, he ſays, is typified the World's never changing Place; by the Globe, its Rotundity, or orbicular Form; and by the Garment of divers Colours, the various Nature of the Stars. This Deſcription does not differ from the Figure on the Coffin, in any Reſpect, excepting the Golden Globe. *Plutarch* alſo repreſents the Habit of *Iſis* to be party-coloured, for which he aſſigns this phyſical Reaſon. "The Garment of *Iſis*, "(ſays he) is of divers Colours, becauſe her "Power operates upon Matter, which changes "into, and contains every Thing; *Light*, *Dark-*

"*neſs*,





This Print of the Ancient Egyptian *Mummy and Coffin in the Collection of* D^r. HEAD, *is humbly Inscribed to the President & Fellows of the Royal Society.*

" *neſs, Day, Night, Fire, Water,* the *Beginning,* " and *End.*" But, amongſt all the Paſſages in ancient Authors, which illuſtrate this Particular, of the Garment of *Iſis* being of divers Colours, no one deſcribes it ſo circumſtantially as *Apuleius*, who ſpeaking of the Manner, in which the Queen of Heaven, that is, the *Iſis* of the *Egyptians*, appear'd to him, as has been already obſerv'd, deſcribes her Dreſs, as follows: *Multicolor, Byſſo tenui prætexta; nunc albo Candore lucida, nunc croceo Hore lutea, nunc roſeo rubore flammida, & quæ longe longeque etiam meum confutabat Obtutum.* This Deſcription is ſo very like the Figure repreſented on the very Coffin, that it ſhews plainly the Antients have been very exact in the mythological Repreſentations of their Deities, ſo as to make them agree in every Point with the Deſcriptions given them. As to the *Vittæ*, or Ribbons in the Hands of the Hands of the Female Figure, we think *Veſta*, who was the ſame amongſt the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as *Iſis* amongſt the *Egyptians*, is deſcrib'd by *Virgil* with ſuch *Vittæ* in her Hands.

——*Manibus Vittas, Veſtemque Potentem,*
Æternumque Adytis effert penetralibus Ignem.

In Effect, it is very apparent, from the magnificent Epithets given her, what an exalted Opinion the Antients had of *Iſis*, as the Goddeſs of Nature; to prove this, we need only recite her Titles enumerated by *Apuleius*, and taken from the Antients: He ſtyles her *Rerum natura Parens, Elementorum omnium Domina; ſæculorum progenies initialis; ſumma Numinum; Regina Manium; prima Cœlitum; Deorum Dearumque facies uniformis.*

We have already obſerv'd, that from the Diadem about the Head of our Figure there iſſues a ſhort Pole, with a half Globe, or Disk on the Top of it, upon the Disk the *Egyptian* Hawk pearches. This Disk, which is of a green Colour, ſeems plainly to typify the Earth's Hemiſphere, as does the Hawk, ſtanding on it, the Sun. The *Egyptians* repreſented them in this Manner very properly, becauſe the Sun never illuminates or warms above one Hemiſphere, or half of the Earth at a Time. The Thighs of the Hawk are of a yellow or Flame-Colour, and ſeem deſign'd to repreſent Light, as the Legs and Talons, reaching to, and graſping the Half Globe, are red, to repreſent Heat; for both Light and Heat proceed from the Sun, as has been already obſerv'd; and both conſtantly enlighten and warm one half of the Earth. It is farther to be remark'd, in general, over the whole Mummy, that where there is any Repreſentation of the Sun, the Colours are yellow and red, to ſymbolize Flame and Fire, or Light and Heat; the yellow being conſtantly above the red, becauſe Flame or Light is always ſeen above Fire.

To proceed, that the *Egyptians* drew *Oſiris*, or the Sun, under the Figure of a Hawk, appears certain from almoſt every antient Writer of their Affairs; and *Euſebius* ſays, the Hawk is dedicated to the Sun, becauſe it is the Symbol of Light and Spirit, by Reaſon of the Swiftneſs of its Motion, and ſoaring aloft, whence the Light comes: *Horus Apollo* alſo, ſpeaking of the Hawk, amongſt other Reaſons, ſays, It ſeems to be a proper Type of the Sun, above all other Birds, becauſe it looks ſtedfaſtly upon the Sun, without having its Eyes dazzled with its Brightneſs: He adds, That the *Egyptians* repreſent the Sun under the Form of a Hawk, as being the Lord of Light. *Plutarch* alſo ſays, That the *Egyptians* frequently draw *Oſiris* under the Figure of a Hawk, becauſe that Bird ſurpaſſes all others in Quickneſs of Sight, and the Rapidity of its Flight.

Theſe Authorities, we hope, are ſufficient to evince, that the Hawk over the Head of the Figure, on the Hind-part of the Coffin, is a Repreſentation of *Oſiris*, as ſymbolizing the Sun; and what ſeems the more to confirm this, are the red fiery Eyes, which *Macrobius* aſſures us, is a characteriſtical Mark of that Luminary; *Ut Sol patenti igneoque Oculo Terram Conſpectu perpetuo, atque infatigabili cernit.* But the greateſt Demonſtration of any, that the Hawk here was deſigned as a Symbol of the Sun, is the Flame-coloured Globe on its Head, reſembling that on the Head of *Iſis*, under the Ephod or Breaſt-Plate. Now that the *Egyptians* repreſented the Sun by a Circle, and alſo by a fiery Disk, is very evident from antient Authors. *Clemens Alexandrinus* likewiſe ſays, when the *Egyptians* draw the Figure of the Sun, they do it by deſcribing a Circle; and the Poet *Nonnus* repreſents the Sun, according to the *Egyptian* Notion, as riding round the Heavens in the Form of a fiery Disk. *Hier. Aleander* alſo quotes an antient Poet, who deſcribes the Sun thus; *Sic Apollo, deinde Liber ſic videtur igniſer; Ambo ſunt Flammis creati, proſatique ex Ignibus.*

All the Repreſentations then on the Front, and Sides of this Coffin, ſeem chiefly to be ſo many phyſical Symbols, typifying the different Powers and Properties of their chief Deity *Oſiris*, or the Sun, as acting in and upon the different Parts of Nature; and what is on the Back thereof, is a complex Figure of both *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*, ſymbolizing all Nature in general. What is moſt curious upon the Whole is, the *Flagellum*, or Flail of *Oſiris*, and the *Falx Meſſoria*, or Sickle of *Iſis*, painted near their mutual Figures, being the characteriſtical Marks, or rather Trophies of their mutual Inventions, that is, of the Uſe of Grain, and Agriculture; the one being the Inſtrument for reaping, and the other for threſhing the Corn; Inventions, for which, amongſt many others, they were both deify'd; and Inventions, to which Religion, Arts, Learning, and whatever elſe is valuable amongſt Mankind, owe their Riſe.

Having thus endeavour'd to explain the Hieroglyphical Figures on the Coffin before deſcribed, and repreſented in the Prints above; we ſhall next proceed to offer ſome few Conjectures, towards explaining thoſe, on another Monument of *Egyptian* Antiquity no leſs curious; being the Mummy, or embalmed Body, of ſome Perſon, who ſeems to have been of a conſiderable Rank, as it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, from the Magnificence of the Ornaments wherewith it is embelliſhed. It may alſo be judg'd to be of the Female Sex; becauſe there is not any Thing like a Beard to be ſeen, either on the Mask over the Face of the Mummy, or on the Face which is repreſented on the Coffin; notwithſtanding this Circumſtance of its having, or not having a Beard, may be preſum'd to be a *Criterion*, or Teſt, whereby the Sex of the embalmed Perſon is to be diſtinguiſhed.

This was alſo found in the Burial-Places of the *Egyptians*, called *Catacombs*, in the Fields of

Sakara, near *Grand Cairo*, and was brought over to *England* about four Years ago. It conſiſts, as well as the other, of two diſtinct Parts; the Mummy, or Body itſelf; and the *Loculus feralis*, or Coffin, wherein it is incloſed. The Body is in Length five Foot, five Inches, including its Bandages, and in Breadth, one Foot, four Inches, if meaſured acroſs the Shoulders. It lies within its antient *Loculus*, or Coffin, which is made of the true Sycamore, or wild Fig-Tree, and is wrapt up, as all other Mummies are, in vaſt Numbers of Linnen Bandages. The Whole thereof has been, and a conſiderable Part of it ſtill is, in a great Meaſure, cover'd with an outward Garment of Linnen; plaiſter'd over, pretty much after the ſame Manner as Painters prime their Canvas; on which divers emblematical Repreſentations of the Deities of the antient *Egyptians* are painted, with a Sort of Water-Colours; which liquid Colouring ſoak'd into the Body of the Plaiſter, as Painting in *Freſco* does on plaiſter'd Walls. This Mummy, which is undoubtedly of very great Antiquity, by the Injuries of Time, and perhaps, by the rough Uſage of thoſe who found it, has ſuffer'd greatly in the Ornaments about the Head, Neck, and Shoulders.

The firſt Thing worthy of Notice is the Face, which is hidden with a Cover of plaiſter'd Linnen, as is alſo the Head, and the Reſt of the Body. Over the Face, above the plaiſter'd Linnen, are ſome Remains of Gilding, which ſhew that Art has been of very great Antiquity. What remains of this Gilding is clear and diſtinguiſhable; and over it has been painted the Form of the Features; the Eyes and Eye-Brows being ſtill very diſcernible; though the Gilding, in ſome Places, and the Line of the Noſe and Mouth are almoſt gone. On the Chin is to be ſeen the Figure of a Globe, of a red fiery Colour, from whence iſſue Wings, which encompaſs the Sides of the Face: This fiery-colour'd Globe was probably deſign'd to typify the Sun; as has been obſerv'd before, in our Remarks on the like Figure on the Coffin, the Wings being added, as a proper Emblem of its Velocity.

Now, that the antient *Egyptians* painted this Image of the Sun with Wings, is evident from a very remarkable Paſſage, to this Purpoſe, in *Macrobius*; his Colours, he ſays, are various, blue, and light-colour'd; (and indeed ſo they ſeem to be on this Mummy) the blue being, as he informs us, a phyſical Symbol of the lower, as the Light-Colour is of the upper Hemiſphere. The Paſſage is as follows; *Hoc argumentum Ægyptii lucidius abſolvunt, ipſius Solis ſimulacra pinnata fingentes, quibus color apud illos non unus eſt, alterum enim cærulea ſpecie alterum clara fingunt; ex his clarum ſuperum, & cæruleum inferum vocant: Inferi autem nomen Soli datur, cum in inferiori hemiſphærio, id eſt hyemalibus ſignis, curſum ſuum peragit; ſuperi cum partem Zodiaci ambit æſtivam.*". The ſame Author aſſerts, that theſe Wings are an Emblem of Velocity; for, in obſerving that the Antients believ'd the Sun and *Mercury* were one and the ſame Deity, he ſays, *Præter hoc Mercurium pro Sole cenſeri multa documenta ſunt; primum, quod ſimulacra Mercurii pinnatis alis adornantur, quæ res monſtrat Solis velocitatem.*

The next Thing that fairly offers itſelf to the Eye, is a Zone, or Girdle acroſs the Breaſt, full of white Stars, painted on an azure Field; which, very probably, may have been deſign'd for an Emblem of the Starry Region, being perfectly agreeable to the phyſical and aſtronomical Religion of the antient *Egyptians*. Accordingly, the Lord *Herbert* obſerves, that the Antients aſcrib'd a Sort of Divinity to the Stars; and indeed the *Egyptians* did ſo, in a particular Manner; beſides which, they were the Inventors of Aſtronomy: And *Euſebius*, from *Porphyry*, ſays, that the *Egyptians* aſſign'd the Cauſe of every Thing in Nature to the Stars; and believ'd that all Things whatever were dependent on the Neceſſity of Fate, and the Motions of the Stars.

Beneath the Girdle of Stars is what may be call'd the third emblematical Repreſentation; in the Midſt of which is the Figure of a *Scarabæus*, or Beetle, with Wings, conſiſting of four Rows of Plumage, iſſuing from its Sides. Next to this, on each Side of the Breaſt of the Mummy, at the two Ends of the Ephod, or Breaſt-Plate, is repreſented the Head of the *Egyptian* Hawk, like that on the Coffin before deſcrib'd; only with this Difference, that inſtead of a fiery Globe over the Head of each of them, here is a Circle, plac'd within divers other Circles, towards which two human Figures, with Hands uplifted, and kneeling, as in a Poſture of Adoration, have their Faces turn'd, and ſeem to direct their Prayers.

In endeavouring at the Explanation of theſe Figures, we ſhall begin with the *Scarabæus*, or Beetle; which, amongſt the *Egyptians*, was undoubtedly a phyſical Emblem of the Sun; for which Reaſon, that Inſect was held in great Veneration amongſt them. Accordingly *Plutarch* ſays, "The *Egyptians* honour'd the *Aſp*, the *Cat*, and "the *Beetle*, becauſe they obſerv'd in them ſome "obſcure Reſemblance of the Power of the Gods, "like the faint Image of the Sun, in Drops of "Water." Likewiſe *Clemens Alexandrinus*, in treating of the *Ænigmata*, and anaglyphical Repreſentations of the *Egyptians*, ſays, that ſome Stars were ſymboliz'd by the Figure of Serpents, becauſe of the Obliquity of their Motions, but the Sun by that of a *Scarabæus*. Not to trouble our Readers with more ſuperfluous Quotations, on this Head, there is one circumſtantial Paſſage from *Porphyry*, which plainly ſhews what an Opinion the *Egyptians* had of the *Scarabæus*, or Beetle. "Silly People, (ſays he) being unacquainted "with theological Affairs, may deſpiſe the *Sca-* "*rabæus*; but the *Egyptians* honour that Inſect, "as a living Image of the Sun."

As to the different Rows of Plumage, proceeding from the Sides of the Beetle, they ſeem not only to be an Emblem of the *Sun*'s Velocity, like thoſe already decribed on the Face, but alſo of the four Elements, as their various Colours ſeem to Point out. The Reſt, of the third emblematical Repreſentation, conſiſts of a Circle within other Circles, placed over the Heads of each of the Hawks, at the two Ends of the *Humerale*, or Ephod, and which alſo may be an aſtronomical Symbol of the *Sun*, placed in the Centre of the Orbits of other Planets; for we have already ſhewn, in another Place, from the expreſs Teſtimony of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, that the *Egyptians* typify'd the *Sun* by a Circle. As to the Heads of the Hawks, at the Ends of the *Humerale*, or *Egyptian* Ephod; as there is a Figure of the ſame Kind on the Coffin, whereof we have treated juſt before, we ſhall refer our Readers thereunto for the Explanation; we

we ſhall only add, that as this Bird was a Symbol of *God*, or the *Sun*, among the *Egyptians*, they held it in ſuch great Veneration, that *Herodotus* ſays, *Whoever killed an* Ibis, *or a* Hawk, *whether it was deſignedly, or not, he was ſurely put to Death.*

Now, with Regard to theſe various Symbols of the *Sun* on this Mummy, no great Pains need be taken with the Learned, to convince them, that this glorious Luminary, if it was not the very firſt, was, at leaſt, one of the Chief, amongſt the eight primitive Gods of the *Egyptians*, mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and others. *Diodorus*, in particular, has a very remarkable Paſſage, which ſeems to confirm this: It is to this Effect. "The moſt Antient of the antient *Egyp-* "*tians* contemplating the Beauty and Order of the "World around them, and being ſtruck with great "Admiration thereat, formed to themſelves a No- "tion of the *Sun* and *Moon*'s being two original "and eternal Deities, and gave them the Names "of *Oſiris*, and *Iſis*." Nay, ſo exalted an Opinion had the *Egyptians* of the *Sun*, as *Porphyry* aſſures us, that ſome of them ſtyled him, the *Creator of the Univerſe*; to which we may add, that either in a direct or indirect Manner, theſe two great Luminaries, became the Deities of almoſt every Nation upon Earth; though they were ſo in a particular Manner, and from all Antiquity, amongſt the *Egyptians*. In Effect, this ſeems to be confirmed, in a great Meaſure, by the various Symbols of both thoſe Planets upon this Mummy, as will be more fully ſhewn in the Sequel; and this accounts for the two human Figures on this Mummy, kneeling, with their Hands uplifted, and their Faces directed towards the Symbol of the *Sun*, in a Poſture of Adoration.

The next Thing to be obſerved, is immediately under thoſe Particulars laſt deſcribed, and is what may be called the fourth emblematical Repreſentation. This is the *Humerale*, or Ephod, conſiſting of eight ſemi-circular Sweeps, or Rows of Ornaments, two of which ſeem *ſymbolical*, and the other ſix merely *Ornamental*. The *ſymbolical* Ornaments are thoſe in the ſecond and fifth Rows, counting downwards, where a green Plant appears like the *Perſea*; for which we have endeavoured to account, in our Explanation of thoſe of the ſame Nature on the Coffin; to which, therefore, for avoiding Repetition, we refer our Readers: The others, which ſeem merely *ornamental*, are thoſe, which may be judged to have been deſign'd to repreſent Pendants of precious Stones, and other Jewels; probably, not unlike thoſe which were on the *Ephod* of the Perſon, who pronounced the Oracles amongſt the *Jews*, by the Sparkling or not of which, the Reſponſes of thoſe Oracles, as *Joſephus* tells us, were either favourable or otherwiſe.

Under the *Humerale*, or Ephod, is the fifth emblematical Repreſentation; which is, the Figure of a Female with her Arms extended; holding in each Hand what has been judged to be a Sickle; and having about her Temples a Diadem, Part of which hangs down upon her Neck. On her Head ſhe ſupports a Globe of an oval Form; her Neck and Boſom are naked; and from her Shoulders hangs a kind of Chain, at the Bottom of which is a Figure, in the Form of a Capital T, or a Croſs; the upper Part of which has a ſort of Handle, by way of Ring, joining to a ſmall Space between the Sides of the Chain: So that the Figure, like a Croſs, hangs down on her Breaſt, over a green Garment, which covers the reſt of her Body downwards. From below, and at the Extremities of her Arms, and from her Sides, proceed Wings, conſiſting of three different Rows of Plumage united, each of a various Colour, *blue*, *red*, and *green*; and between her Arms, and the firſt Row of Plumage, is ſomething repreſented with croſs Partitions, which join the Wings to the Arms. In the next Place, on each Side of the Globe, that reſts upon her Head, are two Squares of a whitiſh Colour, divided into three Partitions; and under the Wings, on both Sides of the Mummy, is painted a Serpent, whoſe Neck ſeems groſs and ſwell'd: Behind theſe are two other human Figures kneeling, with their Hands uplifted, and their Eyes directed towards the Globe, on the Woman's Head, in a Poſture of Adoration, like the two other human Figures deſcribed a little before.

Theſe being the Particulars, of this fifth ſymbolical Repreſentation, there is no great Danger of our being miſtaken, in concluding this Female to be *Iſis*; as well as the other, on the Front of the Coffin before deſcribed, below the Ephod; only with this Difference, That whereas the Globe, on the other Female's Head, is of a Form perfectly round, and alſo of a fiery red Colour, and conſequently is a Symbol of the *Sun*, this we are now deſcribing is not quite round, and is pale coloured, to ſymbolize the *Moon*. The three Rows of Plumage, repreſent three of the Elements, the fourth being repreſented by the Female herſelf; and on this Mummy, there is a Colour ſubſtituted in the Wings, which is not to be ſeen on thoſe on the Coffin, namely *red*, to expreſs *Fire*; as the other *pale Green* is to repreſent *Water*; and the upper and lower of a *deep blue*, the *Air*; according to *Macrobius*. The green Garment *Iſis* wears, plainly ſhews that ſhe was here deſigned to typify the *Earth*; ſo that this Female is evidently a complex Symbol of the *Earth*, *Water*, *Air*, and *Fire*; beſides which, by the pale Globe on her Head, as has been already obſerved, ſhe is a Type of the *Moon* alſo. To confirm this laſt Particular, we may refer to that Paſſage in *Plutarch*, mentioned before, in explaining a Figure of the ſame Nature upon the Coffin, where he ſays; *The* Egyptians *aſſert* Iſis *to be the ſame with the* Moon; *and ſhe is ſometimes repreſented horned, to typify her different* Phaſes. The Figure, we muſt own, on the Female's Head, on this Mummy, is not a horned Créſcent, but it is like the *Phaſes* of the *Moon*, either two Days before, or after the Full; that is, of a circular Form, impaired on one Side, and inclining towards an Oval. Were more Authorities wanting, to prove *Iſis* the ſame with the *Moon*, we might refer our Readers to a great Number of antient Authors; but to none that demonſtrates it more than that Paſſage in *Diodorus Siculus*, where he ſays, as we have before obſerved, "The *Egyp-* "*tians* believe the *Sun* and *Moon* to be two eternal "Deities, the one called *Oſiris*, and the other "*Iſis*." To which he adds, "That theſe two "Deities govern the Univerſe, and are the Cauſe "of the Growth and Increaſe of all Things; "dividing the Year, by their imperceptible Mo- "tions, into three different Seaſons, the *Spring*, "*Summer*, and *Winter*." And again, in another Paſſage immediately following, he ſays, "The

"*Egyp-*

" *Egyptians* believe, that the Nature of these " two Deities contributes greatly towards the " Propagation of every Thing; the *Sun* being of " a fiery and spirituous Nature, the *Moon* of a " moist one, and the Air a Medium between " these two Extreams, by these all Things are " produc'd and nourish'd; wherefore all Nature " is perfected and compleated by the Sun and " Moon."

This, undoubtedly, is sufficient to shew, that the *Sun*, and *Osiris*, and the *Moon*, and *Isis*, being taken in a physical Sense, were the same Deities in common the one with the other, and were Objects of Adoration amongst the *Egyptians*. This, perhaps, may be the Reason, we see upon this Mummy, two human Figures kneeling, with their Hands stretch'd out, and their Eyes turn'd towards the Globe, or *Moon*, on the Head of *Isis*, in a Posture of Worship and Adoration; in the same Manner, as the other two human Figures, on the third emblematical Representation, are adoring the Symbol of the *Sun*. In so much that this Figure of *Isis* is intirely consistent with the Theology of the antient *Egyptians*, in exhibiting her both as the *Earth* and *Moon*; the Female Figure, with the pale-colour'd Globe on her Head, being a complex Symbol of them both.

As to the three Rows of Plumage, composing Wings, which issue from the Female, they are, as we have already observ'd, like those of *Isis* on the Coffin before describ'd, Symbols of all the four Elements; and that is not a little illustrated by their Colours: For the *Earth* is plainly typify'd by the Figure of *Isis* herself, who was the *Earth*; the *Water*, by the Plumage of a pale green Colour; the *Fire*, by the Feathers of a red fiery Colour; and the *Air*, by the upper and lower Rows of deep blue, which encompassed the Whole. The next Thing to be consider'd, is the Hair on the Head of *Isis*, which indeed is very particular on this Figure, being likewise of a deep blue Colour. This we imagine to have been design'd with no less Judgment than all the rest, to represent the *blue Air*, with which the highest Parts of the *Earth* are surrounded; that is, the Tops of the most lofty Mountains, which, in a figurative Sense, may, not improperly, be call'd the *Earth*'s Head.

As to the two Serpents under the Wings of *Isis*, this Circumstance is very singular and curious; as they are Symbols very often describ'd by the Antients, as appropriated to *Isis*. Accordingly *Apuleius*, in his Vision of that Goddess, describes her Appearance with such Serpents on her Right and Left-Hand; and in another Place immediately following, he describes the very Nature of those Serpents, as having their Necks turgid and swell'd; *Insurgebat Aspis, caput extollens arduum, cervicibus late tumescentibus.* In the same Manner are they represented on this Mummy. These Serpents are sometimes call'd *Dracones* Dragons, and are Symbols of Health, and particularly belong to *Isis*, as she was the Goddess of Health. Wherefore *Macrobius* says expressly, *Hinc est quod simulacris Æsculapii, & Salutis, draco subjungitur, quod hi ad Solis naturam Lunæque referuntur*; and he immediately subjoins, *Salus autem naturæ lunaris effectus est.* In Effect; the most antient Authors agree, that *Isis* found out the Cures for many Diseases, long before *Apis*, King of *Egypt*; to whom some have ascrib'd the Honour of that Invention, and he long before the *Greek Æsculapius*. Accordingly, *Diodorus Siculus*, in treating of the *Egyptians*, in his first Book, shews very plainly, that *Isis* was the Inventress of many Cures, where he says, " The *Egyptians* assert *Isis* to be the In- " ventress of many Cures, for the Health of " Mankind, and to have had great Knowledge " in the Science of administring Medicines, having " been the Discoverer thereof by the Acuteness of " her Wit."

As it is certain, that both the *Greeks* and *Romans* adopted the sacred Mysteries and Symbols of the antient *Egyptians* into their respective Religions, we need not wonder, that on many *Greek* and *Roman* Coins, whereon *Æsculapius*, and the *Goddess* of *Health* are represented; this Symbol of *Health* is expressed by Serpents. The same Kind of Serpents with swell'd Necks, are frequently to be seen on the *Mensa Isiaca*, or Table of *Isis*. There indeed they are often conjoin'd with Symbols of both the *Sun* and *Moon*; that is, with the Head of a Hawk, and a Crescent above it; in another Place, on the same Table of *Isis*, are two Figures of such swell'd Neck'd Serpents, with a human Face, and Wings consisting of three Rows of Plumage: All which Representations greatly corroborate the Truth of that Passage of *Macrobius*, already mention'd, when he says, *hi*, (*viz.* the Serpents) *ad Solis naturam Lunæque referuntur*. *Lucan* also takes Notice of these Serpents with swell'd Necks:

Aspida somniferam tumida Cervice levavit.

The next Particulars on this emblematical Representation are the whitish Squares on each Side of the Head of the Female, divided into three Partitions; which may be imagin'd to be an *Egyptian* Phylactery; appearing partly below the Ephod, or Breast-Plate, like the *Jewish Arban Canfoth*, mention'd already in our Description of the Coffin, to which, therefore, we refer our Readers. The next Thing to be consider'd, is the Figure hanging at a Chain, on the Breast of *Isis*; which, however inconsiderable it may be thought, is one of the greatest Curiosities upon this Mummy; and explains the Meaning of many other such Figures, which are to be found on *Egyptian* Monuments of equal Antiquity: But, in Order to the better understanding of this, it is necessary to cite a Passage from *Plutarch*, which seems to give small Insight into it. This great Author has shewn, as has been already observ'd, that the *Egyptians* believ'd *Isis* to be the female Part of Nature; and, in Conjunction with the Influence of *Osiris*, the Cause of the Production of every Thing. To this we may add, that they believ'd her Influence local also; as they did likewise that of the *Sun*; and imagin'd it more immediately confin'd to their own Country *Egypt*; they likewise held, " That " the Body of *Isis* was that Part of the Earth, " which was water'd by the Inundations of the " *Nile*," as the same *Plutarch* plainly avers in one Passage: And as, on the retiring of the Waters, they sow'd their Corn in the Fields which had been inundated, they thereby committed the Grain for the ensuing Harvest, unto the Bosom or Womb of *Isis*, who was the common Receptacle of every Thing. For this Reason, in the allegorical Fable of the Generations of their Gods, mention'd by the same Author, it was asserted, that *Isis* brought forth

forth a male Child, weak and lame in its Limbs, whoſe Name was *Horus*, or *Harpocrates*; (as the *Greeks* call'd him afterwards) by which Production, ſays *Plutarch*, the *Egyptians* meant the ſpringing up of the Corn, which then is feeble and weak. He adds, That the *Egyptians* give out, that *Oſiris* is bury'd at the Time they ſow the Seed into the Ground, and returns to Life, when the Grain begins to ſhoot forth. "But (continues "he) as ſoon as *Iſis*, or the Earth begins to find "herſelf impregnated with the Corn, ſhe hangs "an Amulet, or ſacred Charm, round her Neck, "on the ſixth Day of the Month, *Phaophi*; after "this ſhe brings forth *Horus* or *Harpocrates*, "about the Winter Solſtice, who, on his firſt "ſpringing up, is but tender and imperfect; for "which Reaſon, (purſues he) the *Egyptians*, "when their Lentils and Beans begin to grow "up, offer him the Tops, or Firſt-Fruits of "them."

From this Paſſage, it may reaſonably be imagin'd, that, amongſt the various Symbols of *Iſis* upon this Mummy, the Figure hanging down upon her Breaſt, from a Sort of Chain round her Neck, is the *Phylacterion*, or Amulet, mention'd by *Plutarch*, ſuch as that Goddeſs was ſaid to hang round her Neck, when ſhe found herſelf impregnated with Corn: For the *Greek* Word *Phylacterion*, ſignifies a Charm for keeping or preſerving, and is very agreeable to the phyſical Character of *Iſis*, as a Nouriſher and Preſerver in Nature, and as ſhe was the common Receptacle of every vegetative Body: So that her Keeping the Grain for Harveſt, ſafe, uncorrupted, and undeſtroy'd, within her Boſom, was undoubtedly of the utmoſt Importance to the *Egyptians*, amongſt whom, they imagin'd, ſhe more immediately dwelt. It is no Wonder, then, that, amongſt ſo many others of the Attributes of *Iſis*, as are diſplay'd upon this Mummy, we ſhould find this Amulet, mention'd by *Plutarch*, hanging down from her Neck. The ſame Author, in another Place, has ſomewhat concerning this *Phylacterion*, which opens a Field for a very curious Inquiry: His Words are theſe; "The Amulet which hangs "round the Neck of *Iſis*, when interpreted, ſig-"nifies a *true Voice*." This gives ſome Room to ſuſpect, that the Amulet, amongſt its other Virtues, may alſo have been uſed, amongſt the *Egyptians*, by Way of Oracle, in the ſame Manner, as the *Urim* and *Thummim* were amongſt the *Jews*: But this Inquiry muſt be deferr'd to another Time.

What next occurs to View, under the Particular laſt deſcrib'd, is a curious Girdle, diſtinguiſh'd by no other Ornaments, than thoſe of oblong ſquare Diviſions, within one another, diverſify'd with diſtinct Colours of yellow or gold, ſcarlet, blue, and purple. All that ſhall be ſaid, at preſent, upon this Head, is, that both the Girdle and Ephod already mention'd, which are adorn'd with Paintings of various Rows of precious Stones, bear a ſtrong Reſemblance, to the curious Girdle, and Ephod, which we are inform'd were worn on the ſacred Garments of *Aaron*, *Lev.* viii. 7, 8.

What appears below this curious Girdle, may be call'd the ſixth emblematical Repreſentation; and conſiſts of a ſmall Globe, within what ſeems deſign'd for a *Boat*; ſupported by Wings, which extend the whole Length of the *Boat*; and which may very reaſonably be judg'd to be another Symbol of the *Sun*, ſince the *Egyptians* fancy'd it went round the World in ſuch a Vehicle: The Wings ſupporting it being, as well as thoſe already deſcrib'd, Emblems of the Velocity of that Luminary. Now we are expreſly inform'd by *Plutarch*, that the *Egyptians* had this Notion, "That the Sun and Moon perform'd their Re-"volutions round the World in Boats, and not in "Chariots;" and he aſſigns a phyſical Reaſon for this their Opinion. *Clemens Alexandrinus* alſo ſays, that the *Egyptians* repreſented the *Sun* ſometimes in a *Boat*, and ſometimes on a Crocodile. We can't help remarking, that the Figure of the Boat on this Mummy, is exactly like what is repreſented for a Boat on the *Menſa Iſiaca*.

Immediately under the *Sun* in the *Boat*, is a double Repreſentation of *Oſiris* ſitting at a Feaſt; in what we judge, by a Figure of the ſame Kind, in emblematical Repreſentations, to be the Chair of *Jupiter*, or the *Sun*. Here *Oſiris* is alſo diſtinguiſh'd by his common Marks, his Mitre, Sceptre, and *Flagellum*, or Flail. Before him is plac'd a Kind of Table, cover'd with three Sorts of Eatables; but what they are cannot be clearly diſtinguiſh'd on the Mummy. The Table on which they are ſet, is ſupported by one Foot or Leg in the Middle; over which, but on one Side, is the Figure of ſome Plant, on the Outſides of which is repreſented a human Figure erect, with Hands ſtretch'd out towards the *Sun* in the *Boat*, as in a Poſture of Thankſgiving, or Adoration.

In endeavouring at the Explanation of theſe various Particulars, we ſhall begin with the Vegetables or Plants near the Table, of which we can have but an imperfect View upon this Mummy: Theſe ſeem either to be the Figures of ripe Ears of Corn, to repreſent that *Oſiris* was the Inventor of Agriculture; and the Firſt-Fruits thereof, which were offer'd up to that Deity; or the *Lotus*, which is a Plant peculiar to *Egypt*, and produc'd in the *Nile*; and which, according to antient Authors, was the original Food of the *Egyptians*, before the Uſe of Corn was known, as has been already obſerv'd. As to the Table cover'd with three Sorts of Eatables, which is painted before *Oſiris*, it ſeems to ſymbolize and allude to that Prince's altering the brutal and needy Way of Living of the ancient *Egyptians* to one that was more ſociable, regular, and commodious. *Plutarch* expreſly informs us of this Circumſtance concerning this Monarch. "In the "Beginning of his Reign, *Oſiris* alter'd (ſays he) "the brutal and needy Life of the *Egyptians*, "teaching them the Uſe of Grain, and inſtituting "Laws concerning the immortal Gods." *Diodorus Siculus* alſo confirms this, where he ſays, "That the *Egyptians*, in their primæval State, "before the Time of *Oſiris*, uſed to live wild, "like Beaſts in the Field; ſeeking their Food "amongſt Pools and Lakes, and eating what "Herbs they could find." What ſeems to corroborate this Circumſtance, is the Appearance of two human Figures ſtanding near the Tables, with their Hands ſtretch'd out towards the *Sun* in the *Boat*, ſeeming to give Thanks for the Bleſſing of having ſuch Food on the Table, as being produc'd by the Influence of that beneficent Luminary; and alſo to *Oſiris*, as being their Legiſlator and Benefactor, whilſt in his natural State, and having inſtituted the Regularity and Propriety of their Way of Living.

Adjoining to this is what may properly be called the ſeventh emblematick Repreſentation; wherein is exhibited the Figure of a *Cadaver*, or dead Body, ſtretched out on a Bier, in the Form of a Lyon. Near it ſtands another Figure, with a human Body, but a Wolf's Head, employed in embalming or painting the dead Corpſe, and having by him three Veſſels, or Pots, each of which contains a different Colour within it; as may be diſcerned through the Veſſels, which for that Reaſon are repreſented as Glaſs, or tranſparent: On the Top of one of them is the Head of a Man; on the ſecond, that of a Hawk; and on the third, that of a Wolf. All theſe Particulars on the Mummy are not repreſented ſo clearly, as could have been wiſhed; but we have good Reaſon to judge them to be as we have repreſented, by a ſimilar Figure on the *Menſa Iſiaca*, or Table of *Iſis*. Upon that likewiſe is repreſented a Bier, in the Form of a Lyon, with a human Figure lying thereupon; but with this Difference, that the Figure on the Table is drawn on its Belly, which was done to repreſent it alive; whereas that on the Mummy is painted on its Back, which was done to ſhew it was to be ſuppoſed dead: In every other Reſpect they agree. On the Table are alſo three Veſſels with the Head of a Man, a Hawk, and a Wolf; from the firſt of which iſſues ſomething like the Flame, deſcribed on the Coffin, of which we have juſt before treated: Above the Hawk's Head alſo, on the Table, is a Creſcent, which ſhews theſe Veſſels to be ſacred to the *Sun* and *Moon*.

In endeavouring at the Explanation of theſe Figures, we ſhall begin with the *Cadaver*, or dead Body, ſtretched out upon the Bier; whereby it is moſt probable, that the *Egyptians* deſigned, to repreſent the very Perſon of the Deceaſed, contained in the Coffin. As to the Figure with the Wolf's Head, which is employed in painting this *Cadaver*, that very probably was deſigned to repreſent the *Hiero-Grammateus*, or ſacred Scribe of the *Egyptians*, and the Wolf's Head, like the Hawk's Head on a ſimilar Figure on the Coffin, might be intended to denote his Perſon and Character as ſacred; the antient *Egyptians*, as we obſerved on that Occaſion, having probably no other Way of ſhewing that any Perſon's Office was ſacred, but by painting him with the Head of one of the ſacred Animals. As to the three tranſparent Veſſels, the only Author who ſeems to give us any Inſight into the Meaning thereof, is *Horus Apollo*, who ſays, "When the *Egyptians* would repreſent the Inun-"dation of the *Nile*, which they call *Nun*, that "is, *new*, they ſometimes ſymbolize it by the Fi-"gure of a Lyon, and ſometimes by three large "Water-pots, or Veſſels. By the *firſt*, becauſe "the Inundation is the greateſt, when the *Sun* en-"ters the Sign of the *Lyon*; and whilſt he continues "therein; inſomuch, that the Quantity of Water "ſometimes increaſes to double what it was be-"fore; whence (continues he) Conduits and Pipes "of the ſacred Fountains uſed to be made in the "Shape of a Lyon, by thoſe who preſided over "thoſe ſacred Works.' The *Egyptians* likewiſe repreſented the Inundation of the *Nile*, by three Water-pots, or Ewers, never painting more nor leſs than the Number; "Becauſe, (according to "the ſame Author) they reckoned *three* efficient "Cauſes thereof: The *firſt* they aſcribed to the "Land of *Egypt* itſelf, which produces the Water "that overflows the Country; the *ſecond* they "aſcribed to the *Ocean*, from whence all Water in "general is derived; and the *third* they aſcribed "to the *Rains*, which fall in the moſt *Southerly* "Parts of *Æthiopia*, at a certain Seaſon."

We are next to account for the two *Cynocephali*, or Figures with the Head of a Dog; one of which is drawn on each Side of the Bier, having in the Paws a Kind of Staff, and ſeeming to kneel, or ſit on the Legs, before the Corpſe, as if attending thereon. Theſe are both curious and ſingular; and may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have been repreſented on the Mummy, in Order to denote to what particular *Nome*, or Province of *Egypt*, the Deceaſed belonged. *Strabo*, in enumerating the ſeveral Kind of ſacred Animals, which were worſhipped in the different Provinces of *Egypt*, has a Paſſage, which almoſt confirms us in this Opinion: "At "*Sais*, (ſays he) and *Thebes*, in *Egypt*, the *Sheep* "are worſhipped; at *Latopolis*, the *Latum*-Fiſh; "whilſt the *Lycopolitans* adore the *Wolf*, and the "*Hermopolitans* the *Cynocephalus*." From this Paſſage it is apparent, that if the *Cynocephali*, repreſented on the Mummy, was intended to ſpecify the *Nome*, or Province, to which the Perſon embalmed belonged, that ſhe muſt have been an Inhabitant of *Hermopolis*. On the *Menſa Iſiaca*, or Table of *Iſis*, there are likewiſe two ſuch Figures of *Cynocephali* ſitting, but differ from thoſe on the Mummy, in having Creſcents over their Heads, with the Figure of a ſwell'd-neck'd Serpent in both of them; which plainly ſhews thoſe to be Symbols of the *Moon*.

The eighth emblematical Repreſentation ſeems to be appropriated ſolely to *Iſis*, in repreſenting that Goddeſs at a covered Table, like that of *Oſiris*, already deſcribed. This Picture is alſo twofold, being repreſented on each Side of the Mummy; and two human Figures are here attending upon *Iſis*, with their Hands uplifted over the Table; but there is not any Repreſentation of the *Sun* to be ſeen in the Whole.

It is not unreaſonable to imagine, that this covered Table may allude to that Goddeſs's inventing the Uſe of Corn, as well as the other already deſcribed, refers to the Invention of Agriculture, by *Oſiris*; for, the finding out the Uſe of Grain is aſcribed to *Iſis* ſolely: Wherefore, *Diodorus Siculus*, ſpeaking, how *Oſiris*, by his Beneficence to Mankind, had prevented their depriving each other. "At the ſame Time, ſays he, *Iſis* diſcovered the "Uſe of Wheat and Barley, which grew wild, and "whoſe Uſe was unknown to Mankind."

The ninth emblematical Repreſentation conſiſts of four ſquare Partitions, two on each Side of the Mummy, in the uppermoſt of which, on the right Side, is drawn a human Body embalmed, with the Head of a Swan, or Gooſe; and a Man is repreſented, as ſtanding before it, in a Poſture of Adoration. In the oppoſite Square, on the left Side, is ſuch another Figure; but only that it has a Wolf's Head, and a Man likewiſe ſtanding before it, in the ſame Attitude. Under the firſt Square is a third Figure, exactly like the ſecond, in every Reſpect; over-againſt which, in the oppoſite Partition, is a fourth embalmed Body, altogether human, with the Figure of a Man likewiſe ſtanding before it in a Poſture of Adoration.

Upon this Repreſentation we may obſerve, that the Figures therein expreſſed are very like thoſe, which





Scale of Inches

A. G. delin.

Hulett Sculp

This exact Representation of some curious Egyptian Urns is humbly Inscribed to the President & Members of ye Royal Society.

which *Porphyry* deſcribes, as in Uſe amongſt the antient *Egyptians*; and for this he aſſigns a very human Reaſon, which is as follows: "The antient "*Egyptians* were apprized (ſays he) that the "Deity did not dwell in Man alone, nor fix his "Reſidence wholly in the human Soul, whilſt "upon Earth, but communicated his Influence, in "ſome Meaſure, to the brute Creation alſo; for "this Reaſon, in repreſenting and conſecrating "the Images of their Deities, they made Uſe of "all Kinds of Animals, and united the Forms of "Beaſts to thoſe of Men: They alſo joined the "Bodies of Birds to thoſe of Men; inſomuch that "one might have ſeen amongſt them certain I-"mages, altogether human, as far as the Neck, "but with the Face of a Bird, or a Lyon, or ſome "ſuch Animal; and others again with a Man's "Head, but the Reſt of the Body like that of a "Beaſt." The ſame Author adds, that ſuch Repreſentations were chiefly intended to inſpire Mankind with Humanity, that they might uſe brute Beaſts with Tenderneſs, as being mutual Inhabitants of the ſame Globe, and Objects of the Divine Care as well as themſelves.

All that now remains to be explained, is the Figures of two Wolves, or Dogs, of a jet-black Colour, towards the Feet of this Mummy, over the Back of each of which is the *Flagellum* of *Oſiris*: But, as two Animals, ſimilar to theſe, are repreſented towards the Foot of the Coffin already deſcribed, where we have endeavoured to ſhew that they were phyſical Symbols or the *Sun*, we ſhall not enlarge thereupon here, to avoid Repetition; but ſhall refer our Readers to what we have ſaid there.

Having now given a ſmall Specimen of the Nature of thoſe remarkable Monuments of Antiquity, the Mummies, and Coffins of the antient *Egyptians*, with their Manner of embalming, and the curious Hieroglyphicks on thoſe Mummies, and Coffins, with the Explanation thereof; we ſhall next proceed to the Arts and Sciences, for which that Nation were famous.

CHAP. V.

Of the Arts and Sciences of the Egyptians; *Libraries firſt erected, and Aſtronomy, Geometry, and Phyſick, firſt known there. An Account of their Soldiery; the Privileges and Advantages they enjoyed; their odd Method of hatching Chickens. Husbandry in great Eſteem in moſt Parts of* Egypt; *Agriculture, and feeding Cattle, an inexhauſtible Source of Riches. The prodigious Fertility of that Country; the particular Commodities which it produced, and which were peculiar to it; of their Paper, and Flax,* &c.

THE antient *Egyptians* were excellent at Invention; but the Solidity of their Genius inclined them only to ſuch Speculations as were uſeful and beneficial. Their two *Mercuries* filled that Country with their wonderful Inventions, and hardly left them ignorant of any Thing, which could either accompliſh the Mind, or conduce to the Eaſe and Happineſs of Life. What contributed towards prompting them on to make profitable Diſcoveries, was, that thoſe who found out any Thing ſerviceable and advantagious, were ſure to receive Rewards, equal to their beneficial Labours, both whilſt they were alive, and after their Deceaſe. This it was which immortalized the Works of their two *Mercuries*, and ſtamp'd them with a Kind of divine Authority. It was in *Egypt*, that Libraries were firſt heard of; and the Title they bore on the Front, inſpired Men with a Curioſity to dive into the Myſteries incloſed within. They were called the *Offices for the Diſeaſes of the Soul*; nor could they have given them a more proper Title; ſince the Soul was there cured of Ignorance, the moſt dangerous of all Diſeaſes, incident unto her; and the Source from which they take their Riſe.

As the Land of *Egypt* was moſtly upon a Level, and their Air always ſerene, and unclouded, it is no great Wonder that the *Egyptians* were the firſt who obſerved the Motions of the Planets; though, according to ſome, the *Babylonians* diſputed this Honour with them. Theſe Obſervations induced them to regulate the Year by the Courſe of the Sun; for, as *Diodorus* remarks, their Year, from all Antiquity, was compoſed of three Hundred and ſixty-five Days, and ſix Hours. Neither will it ſeem at all ſurprizing, that the *Egyptians*, the moſt antient Aſtronomers in the World, as is generally believed, ſhould have arrived ſo early at this Knowledge; when it is conſidered, that the Lunar Year, made Uſe of by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, as inconvenient and irregular as it may appear, ſuppoſed nevertheleſs ſuch a Knowledge of the Solar Year, as is aſcribed by *Diodorus Siculus* to the *Egyptians*. It is evident at firſt Sight, from a Calculation of their Intercalations, that they who were the Authors of this Form of the Year, were not ignorant that to three Hundred ſixty-five Days ſome Hours were to be added, in Order to keep Pace with the Sun. Their only Error lay in the Suppoſition, that only ſix Hours were wanting; whereas an Addition of at leaſt eleven Minutes more was requiſite to adjuſt the Difference. To ſettle the Propriety of their Lands, overflowed every Year by the Inundations of the *Nile*, they were obliged to have Recourſe to yearly Surveys; by which Means they attained to the Knowledge of Geometry. They were alſo great Obſervers of Nature, which in ſo ſerene a Climate, and under ſo intenſe a Sun, was vigorous and fruitful.

Being directed by her, (and it were to be wiſh'd ſhe were more ſtudied by modern Practitioners) they invented, and made great Progreſs in the Science of Phyſick. Amongſt them, however, the Treatment of the Sick was not left to the arbitrary Will and Caprice of the Phyſician; he was obliged to follow certain Rules, which were founded upon the Obſervations of old and able Maſters in the Practice; and were tranſmitted down to Poſterity, in

in the ſacred Books. Whilſt he adhered to theſe Rules, the Phyſician was not anſwerable for the Succeſs; but otherwiſe he was, and a Miſcarriage would certainly have coſt him his Life. This Law was, undoubtedly, admirably well calculated, to check the Raſhneſs of Empiricks; but then it was not without its Inconveniences, as it muſt neceſſarily diſcourage every one from endeavouring at new Diſcoveries, and conſequently prevent the Art's being brought to its juſt Perfection. Beſides this, every Phyſician (if *Herodotus* is to be believed) confined his Practice to the Cure of one Diſeaſe only, or at leaſt of the Diſeaſes incident to one Part; One applying himſelf ſolely to the Cure of thoſe that happen'd to the Eyes; Another, to remedy thoſe incident to the Teeth; and ſo on for the other Parts of the Body.

We have ſeen, that the antient *Egyptians* were no Strangers to Aſtronomy, Geometry, or the Science of Medicine; and as to Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, what has been already ſaid of the Pyramids, the Labyrinth, with that infinite Number of Obelisks, Temples, and Palaces, whoſe invaluable Remains ſtill ſtrike the Beholder with Admiration; and in which the Magnificence of the Princes who raiſed them, the Ability of the Workmen, the Richneſs of the Ornaments diſtributed through the Whole, with the juſt Proportion and beautiful Symmetry, emulouſly contended for Victory; and in many whereof the Colouring preſerves its Livelineſs to this Day, in Spite of all the Injuries of Time, which uſes to deaden and deſtroy the Labours of all other Artiſts; ſufficiently ſhews to what a Proficiency they had arrived in thoſe Sciences; or rather, that they had carried them to their utmoſt Perfection.

As to their Exerciſes, the *Egyptians* had but a mean Opinion of any which did not conduce to harden the Body, enable it to endure Fatigues, and confirm it in a vigorous Health; and as for Muſick, far from looking upon it as a liberal Science, they deſpiſed it as a Diverſion that was both uſeleſs and dangerous; as tending only to enervate the Mind, and render Men effeminate.

As to their Soldiery, the Profeſſion of Arms was in great Reputation amongſt the *Egyptians*; inſomuch that thoſe who were deſtined to the Sword, were reckoned next in Rank to the Sacerdotal Families. Neither were they diſtinguiſhed only by the empty Honour of being eſteemed the moſt reputable Profeſſion next to the Prieſthood, they enjoyed particular Immunities, and ſolid Advantages. Every Soldier poſſeſſed a certain Quantity of Land, pretty near equal to twelve of our Acres, exempt from all Taxes or Tribute; beſides which Privilege he received a daily Allowance of five Pounds of Bread, two of Fleſh, and a proportionable Quantity of Wine; which Allowance was not only ſufficient for the Subſiſtence of the Soldier himſelf, but was a conſiderable Help towards maintaining his Family. This Indulgence made the whole Body of the Soldiery not only more affectionate to the Perſon of their Prince, and the Intereſts of their Country, but more reſolute in the Defence of both; for, as *Diodorus Siculus* well obſerves, it was thought inconſiſtent not only with good Policy, but even with Common-Senſe, to intruſt the Defence of the State with Men, who had no Intereſt in its Preſervation. *Herodotus*, however, ſays, that this Allowance was only given to the two Thouſand Guards, who annually attended on the King's Perſon.

Four Hundred Thouſand Soldiers, Natives of *Egypt*, were kept in continual Pay, and trained up in the exacteſt Diſcipline: They were enabled to indure the Fatigues of War, by a vigorous and hardy Education: There is a Way of forming Bodies as well as Minds; which Art, loſt by our Sloth, was well known to the Antients, and eſpecially to the *Egyptians*. Their Addreſs in all Sorts of Racing was wonderful, whether on Horſe-back, on Foot, or in Chariots; but they were particularly famous for their Dexterity in managing Horſes; inſomuch that the whole World could not ſhew better Horſemen than the *Egyptians*; of this we have no ſmall Confirmation in the Scripture, which in ſeveral Places ſpeaks advantagiouſly of their Cavalry.

As to the military Diſcipline, it was eaſily preſerved in *Egypt*; becauſe Sons were taught the Martial Law by their Fathers, the Profeſſion of a Soldier, as well as all others, being hereditary in *Egypt*, and deſcending conſtantly from Father to Son. They who fled in Battle, or diſcovered any Signs of Cowardiſe, were only branded with ſome particular Mark of Infamy; becauſe it was thought more eligible to excite them to their Duty by honourable Motives, than to deter them from Misbehaviour by the Terrour of Puniſhment.

We muſt not, however, pretend to ſay that the *Egyptians* were a warlike Nation: It avails little to boaſt of regular and well-paid Troops, or of Armies diſciplined in Peace, and uſed only to the Repreſentations of Battles and Sieges; it is War alone, and real Engagements, which can compleat a Soldier; whereas the *Egyptians* loved Peace, becauſe they were Lovers of Juſtice, and their Soldiers were only for their Defence and Security. Contented with a Country, which abounded with all Manner of Neceſſaries, they had no ambitious Dreams of Conqueſts; they extended their Reputation in a very different Manner; that is, by ſending Colonies into all Parts of the World, and with them Laws and Civility, to poliſh Mankind. They reigned, in a Manner, by the Wiſdom of their Counſels, and the Superiority of their Knowledge; and this Empire over the Mind appeared more noble and glorious to them, than that which is acquired by Arms, and the Effuſion of Blood. *Egypt*, however, did not want her Conquerours, and thoſe of the moſt illuſtrious, and of her own forming; as will be ſhewn when we come to treat of her Monarchs.

The three loweſt Stations of Life amongſt the *Egyptians* were, Tradeſmen, Husbandmen, and Shepherds; nevertheleſs each of theſe were very much eſteemed by that wiſe People; and, particularly Husbandmen, and Shepherds. The Body politick requires a Superiority and Subordination in its Members, as well as the human Body; but then, as in the latter, the Eye may be ſaid to hold the firſt Rank, and nevertheleſs its Luſtre reflects no Contempt upon the Feet, or even thoſe Parts which are more diſhonourable; even ſo amongſt the *Egyptians*, notwithſtanding Prieſts, Soldiers, and Scholars, were diſtinguiſhed with particular Honours, yet all Profeſſions, even the meaneſt, had their Share in the publick Eſteem; becauſe it was thought that no *Egyptian*, whoſe Labours, however mean, were uſeful to the Common-wealth, could be deſpiſed without a Crime, and great Injuſtice.

Another, and yet better Reaſon, might, at firſt,

have

have inſtilled into them theſe equitable, and reaſonable Sentiments, which they ſo long retained, with a Moderation unknown to the Pride of modern Times. As they all deſcended from one common Father *Cham*, the Memory of their Original occurring freſh to their Minds in thoſe firſt Ages, eſtabliſhed amongſt them a Sort of Equality; and ſtamp'd, in their Opinion, a Nobility upon every Perſon, derived from the common Stock. In Effect, the Difference of Circumſtances, and the Contempt with which Perſons of the loweſt Rank are generally treated, is owing entirely to our Diſtance from our common Parent: This makes the Great forget, that the meaneſt Plebeian, when his Deſcent is traced backwards to its Source, is equally noble with thoſe of the moſt exalted Rank and Titles.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd, in *Egypt* no Profeſſion was look'd upon as either mean or ſordid; which juſt Way of thinking brought Arts to the utmoſt Perfection. Every Man had his Way of Life aſſigned him by the Laws; and it was perpetuated and made hereditary from Father to Son. The having two Profeſſions at one Time, or the changing that to which a Man had been born, and bred, was never allowed. By this Means they became greater Proficients, and more expert in Employments, to which they had been always trained up from their Infancy; and every Man adding his own Experience to that of his Anceſtors, was more likely to bring his particular Calling to the utmoſt Perfection. Beſides, this wholeſome Regulation, eſtabliſh'd of old through the *Egyptian* Nation, extinguiſh'd all inordinate Ambition, and taught every Man to ſit down contented with his Station, without indulging any aſpiring Views to one more elevated, through Covetouſneſs, Vain-Glory, or Levity.

From this Source flow'd numberleſs Inventions, to carry every Art to its utmoſt Perfection, to render Life more comfortable, and encourage and facilitate the carrying on of Commerce. It would hardly have been believed that *Diodorus* was ſerious in his Relation of the *Egyptian* Induſtry, which had found a Way, by an artificial Warmth, to hatch Chickens, (if we may uſe that Expreſſion) without the Hen's ſitting on them, had not all modern Travellers atteſted the Truth thereof: It is certainly a Curioſity well worthy the Attention of any Naturaliſt; and is ſaid to be practiſed in ſome Places in *Europe*. Theſe Travellers inform us, that the Manner of the *Egyptians* is, to place the Eggs, deſigned to be ſo hatch'd, in Ovens heated ſo temperately, and with ſuch a juſt Proportion to the natural Warmth of the Hen, that the Chickens brought to Maturity by theſe Ovens, are as ſtrong as thoſe which are hatch'd in the natural Way. The Seaſon of the Year, which is proper for this Undertaking, is from the End of *December* to the End of *April*; the Heat of the *Egyptian* Climate being too exceſſive, during the other eights Months. During the four Months before mentioned, (according to theſe Travellers) above three Hundred Thouſand Eggs are put into the Ovens prepared for that Purpoſe, which, notwithſtanding they don't all come to Perfection, produce vaſt Numbers of Fowls at a very eaſy Rate, or rather ſurprizingly cheap. The Art lies in heating theſe Ovens to a juſt Degree of Warmth; which requires great Exactneſs, and muſt not exceed a certain Proportion: Ten Days are employed in preparing the Ovens; and very near as many in hatching the Eggs. It is an agreeable Amuſement, according to the Accounts of theſe Travellers, to obſerve the Hatching of theſe Eggs; in ſome of which only a Head appears, whilſt others are half formed, and others again have all their Parts in juſt Perfection; the latter of which, the Moment they are hatch'd, make their Way over the unhatch'd Eggs, and afford the Spectators a very diverting Sight. *Corneille le Bruyn*, in his Travels, has collected together the Obſervations of other Travellers on this Subject; and *Pliny* likewiſe takes Notice of this Curioſity: But, according to him, the *Egyptians*, antiently, made Uſe of warm Dung, inſtead of Ovens, to hatch the Chickens. *Pliny*, however, ſpeaks of this Invention, as one that had not been long known in his Time; and ſeems to aſcribe it to the Curioſity of *Livia*, the Mother of *Tiberius Cæſar*, who, when pregnant, being deſirous of a Male-Child, put an Egg in her Boſom, and when ſhe parted with it, delivered it to one of her Women, to preſerve the Heat, 'till a Cock-Chicken was produc'd from thence. This ſhe took as a Preſage, that the Child ſhe then bore in her Womb would be of the male Sex; and it is ſaid (continues *Pliny*) that ſhe was not deceived.

We have obſerved, that Husbandmen, in particular, and thoſe who took Care of their Cattle, were in great Eſteem amongſt the *Egyptians*; but this muſt be underſtood in a limited Senſe, to mean only the Generality of the *Egyptians*; ſince there were ſome Provinces of *Egypt*, where they would not admit thoſe who looked after Cattle, to reſide amongſt them. Hogherds, in particular, were abominated throughout *Egypt*, as they had the Care of ſo impure an Animal; inſomuch that *Herodotus* tells us, they were not ſuffered to enter in any of their Temples, neither would any one give them his Daughter in Marriage; ſo that they were forced to intermarry with each other. But, had *Herodotus* been altogether ſilent upon this Head, we have a much better Authority to confirm the Truth thereof, as to Shepherds, which ſays, *that every Shepherd was an Abomination to the Egyptians*; it muſt then either have been later than the Time of *Moſes*, that the Shepherds were in ſuch Eſteem amongſt them; or the Words of that great Prophet muſt be likewiſe underſtood in a limited Senſe, to mean only ſome of the *Egyptians*. However that be, this is certain, that it was to theſe two Profeſſions, *Egypt* was chiefly indebted, for all her Riches and Plenty; and, indeed, it is amazing to conſider, what immenſe Advantages the *Egyptians* derived by their Addreſs, and Induſtry, from a Country of no great Extent; though it muſt be confeſſed, the Soil was enrich'd and render'd fertil to a ſurprizing Degree, by the beneficent Inundation of the *Nile*, and the indefatigable Labour of the Inhabitants.

It will be the ſame, nevertheleſs, in a great Meaſure, with every Kingdom, where thoſe, who are at the Head of the Adminiſtration, attentively conſult the publick Welfare. The Culture of the Land, and the Breeding of Cattle, will be an inexhauſtible Fund of Wealth, to all the Inhabitants, where theſe profitable Callings are ſupported, and incouraged by Reaſons of State, and good Policy, as they were in *Egypt*: And it is to be look'd upon as a great Misfortune, that they are, at preſent, fallen into ſo general a Diſeſteem, with ſo little Reaſon; notwithſtanding,

it muſt be from them, that Perſons of the moſt elevated Rank, as we reckon them, muſt be ſupply'd, not only with Neceſſaries, but even with the Elegancies, and Delights of Life. M. *L'Abbe Fleury*, the preſent Cardinal, and incomparable Prime Miniſter of *France*, in his admirable Treatiſe of the *Manners of the Iſraelites*, where this Subject is thoroughly diſcuſs'd, has ſet this Matter in a true Light: "It is the Peaſant (ſays he) "who feeds the Citizen, the Gentleman, the "Magiſtrate, the Nobleman, and the Eccleſiaſ-"tick; and, notwithſtanding all the Art and "Subtlety of converting Money into Merchandize, "and them back again into Money, yet all muſt "be ultimately own'd to be the Product of the "Earth, and the Animals which ſhe ſuſtains and "nouriſhes. Nevertheleſs, when we compare the "different Stations of Men in this Life, we "aſſign the laſt Place to the Husbandman; and "a fat unwieldy Citizen, enervated with Sloth, "uſeleſs to the Commonwealth, and void of all "true Merit, has the Preference with the Gene-"rality, meerly becauſe he has more Money, and "lives a more eaſy and delightful Life.

"But let us ſuppoſe a Country (continues this "Author) where ſuch great Regard is not paid "to the Difference of Stations; and where the "Life of a Gentleman, or Nobleman, is not "made to conſiſt in Idleneſs, and Lazineſs, but "in a careful Preſervation of his Liberty; that "is, in a due Subjection to the Laws, and the "Conſtitution; by ſubſiſting upon his Eſtate with-"out any Dependance; contented rather to enjoy "a little with Liberty, than a Profuſion at the "Price of mean, baſe, and ſervile Compliances: "A Country, where Sloth, Effeminacy, and the "Ignorance of Things neceſſary for the Support "of Life, are held in a juſt Contempt, and "and where licentious Pleaſures are leſs valued, "than a confirm'd State of Health, and a ſound "Conſtitution: In ſuch a Country, it will be "abundantly more reputable to labour, and at-"tend a Flock, than to waſte the Hours in ſaun-"tering from Place, and in Diverſions not only "expenſive, and unprofitable, but even hurtful "and detrimental."

But we need not have Recourſe to *Plato*'s Commonwealth, for Inſtances of People who liv'd after this uſeful and innocent Manner; it was thus that the greateſt Part of Mankind liv'd for near four thouſand Years; and that, not only amongſt the *Iſraelites*, but the *Egyptians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*; that is, amongſt thoſe Nations, who were the moſt civiliz'd, and renown'd, for Arms, Arts, and Wiſdom. Theſe all teach us what Regard we ought to pay to Agriculture, and Breeding Cattle; the one of which (not to mention Hemp and Flax, two Particulars almoſt abſolutely neceſſary for our Cloathing) furniſhes us, in Corn, Fruit, and Pulſe, with a Suſtenance not only wholeſome, but plentiful, and delicious; whilſt the other, beſides its rich Supply of exquiſite Viands, ſufficient almoſt alone to cover our Tables, is the principal Article towards making Trade circulate, by its Skins and Wool.

Princes are generally deſirous, and it is certainly their Intereſt ſo to be, that the Countryman, who, in a literal Senſe, ſuſtains the Heat and Burthen of the Day, and pays ſo great a Proportion of the Taxes of the Nation, ſhould meet with Favour and Encouragement: But the kind and benevolent Intentions of good Princes, are too often eluded, by the inſatiable Avarice, and mercileſs Cruelty of thoſe who are intruſted with the Charge of collecting their Revenues. Hiſtory has tranſmitted down to us, a fine Saying of *Tiberius*, upon this Subject; the Occaſion whereof was as follows: A Prefect of *Egypt* having increaſed the annual Tribute of the Province, undoubtedly with a View of making his Court to the Emperor, remitted him a much larger Sum than was uſual; whereupon, that Prince, who, in the Beginning of his Reign, either had a juſt Way of thinking, or affected to talk as if he had, return'd for Anſwer to this intended Favour; *My Deſign is to ſhear my Sheep, not to flay them.*

Having juſt touched upon the prodigious Fruitfulneſs of *Egypt*, and the immenſe Riches that flowed in to her from all Parts, from the Culture of her Lands, and the Breeding of Cattle; we ſhall now proceed to take more ſpecial Notice of the Particulars wherein her extraordinary Fertility conſiſted; ſome of which were peculiar to this happy Country, and contributed greatly to the extending her Commerce, and conſequently to the enriching the Inhabitants.

The firſt Particular we ſhall mention, under this Head, is the *Papyrus*, or *Byblos*; a Plant, to which all Men of Learning will certainly give the Preference, on Account of its having been ſo eminently ſerviceable to the Republick of Letters; in Preſerving thoſe pretious Remains of Antiquity, which by its Means have been tranſmitted down to Poſterity, and have immortalized the Memory of the antient Heroes, Philoſophers, Poets, and Hiſtorians. It is a Plant, from whoſe Root a great many triangular Stalks ſhoot out, to the Height of ſix or ſeven Cubits; that is, between three or four Yards. In Order to comprehend the vaſt Uſefulneſs of this Plant, it is neceſſary to know, that the Antients wrote at firſt upon Palm-Leaves; then upon the Inſide of the Bark of Trees, from whence the Word *Liber*, which originally ſignify'd the inward Rind of a Tree, came to ſignify alſo a Book. After this they wrote upon Tables cover'd over with Wax; which they did by the Means of an Inſtrument, pointed at one End, wherewith they imprinted the Characters upon the Wax, and flat at the other End, to efface what was written, in Caſe it was not approv'd of. This gave Occaſion to that Expreſſion of *Horace*,

Sæpe ſtylum vertas, iterum quæ digna legi ſint
Scriptu ri us.

Oft turn your Style, if you deſire to write
Ought that will bear a ſecond Reading.

The Meaning of which is, that an elaborate Production is not to be expected, without many Corrections. From hence the Phraſe *Stylum vertere* came to ſignify, the blotting out what one had written, and the Word *Style* itſelf has been ever ſince uſed, to ſignify any one's Manner of Writing. At laſt the Uſe of Paper was introduc'd, which was at firſt made of the Bark of the *Papyrus* (which Name it has retain'd ever ſince) divided into thin Stalks or Leaves, very proper for writing on. The Way of preparing it for that Uſe was as follows: The *Papyrus* was divided into thin Flakes, into which it naturally parted; which being laid upon a Table, and moiſten'd with the glutinous Waters of the *Nile*, were afterwards

wards preſſed together, and dry'd in the Sun. It was likewiſe call'd *Byblos*, as we before obſerv'd, whence the Poet;

Nondum flumineas, Memphis, contexere Byblos
Noverat.

Memphis, as yet, was ignorant to form,
In Leaves, the wat'ry *Byblos*.

Pliny terms it a wonderful Invention, greatly uſeful in Life, as it preſerves the Memory of Tranſactions, and renders thoſe, who are any Ways eminent, immortal. *Poſtea promiſcue patuit uſus rei, qua conſtat immortalitas hominum. Chartæ uſu maxime humanitas conſtat memoria.* "After-"wards the Uſe of the Thing, on which the "Immortality of Men depends, came to be com-"monly known. It is by the Uſe of Paper, that "the Memory of Mankind is chiefly preſerv'd." *Varro* aſcribes the Invention thereof to *Alexander the Great*, when he built *Alexandria*; but therein he is miſtaken; the Uſe of Paper was found out many Ages before his Time; that Prince had only the Merit of rendering it more common. *Pliny* adds, that *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, ſubſtituted Parchment in the Room of Paper, in Emulation of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, King of *Egypt*, whoſe Library he was deſirous of excelling by this Invention, which had greatly the Advantage over Paper. Few Princes, now a-days, would trouble themſelves about vying with each other in this Point. Parchment is the Skin of a Sheep, dreſſed in ſuch a Manner, as to be fit to write on; and it was call'd *Pergamenum*, from *Pergamus*, whoſe Kings had the Honour of the Invention. All the antient Manuſcripts are either upon Parchment, or Vellum; which laſt is Calf-Skin dreſſed after the ſame Manner, and abundantly finer than the common Parchment. Whilſt we are upon this Head, we can't help obſerving, that the Manufacture of our Paper is no ſmall Curioſity, when we conſider to what a Degree of Fineneſs and Whiteneſs it is wrought, out of naſty Rags pick'd up in the Streets. The Plant *Papyrus* was likewiſe uſed to make Sails, Cordage, Cloaths, Coverlets, *&c.*

Next to the *Papyrus*, and no Ways inferior to it in Uſefulneſs, was the *Linum*, or Flax, which is a Plant, whoſe Fibres or Strings are of Uſe in making fine Linnen. The Method of manufacturing this, amongſt the *Egyptians*, was wonderful; and they had carry'd the Art to ſo great Perfection, that they would ſpin out the Threads to ſuch a Degree of Fineneſs, as to make it almoſt impoſſible for the ſharpeſt Eye to diſcern them. All the Veſtments of the Prieſts were Linnen, as were likewiſe thoſe of all Perſons of Diſtinction, none but the ordinary Sort wearing Woollen. Beſides this, the Linnen of the *Egyptians* made a conſiderable Part of their Commerce; and great Quantities thereof were exported to foreign Countries, as may be ſeen in *Ezekiel* xxvii. 7. *Fine Linnen, with broidered Work from* Egypt, *was that which thou ſpreadeſt forth to be thy Sail; blue and purple from the Iſles of* Eliſha *was that which covered thee*; ſays the Prophet, ſpeaking of the Riches of *Tyre*. The manufacturing of it employ'd vaſt Numbers of Hands, and eſpecially of Women, as appears from that Paſſage of *Iſaiah*, where the Prophet threatens *Egypt* with ſuch an exceſſive Drought, that it ſhould put a Stop to every Kind of Labour. *Moreover, they that work in fine Flax, and they that weave Net-work ſhall be confounded.* Iſai. xix. 9. We may ſee, likewiſe, in Scripture, that one Effect of the Plague of Hail, call'd down by *Moſes* upon *Egypt*, was the Deſtruction of all the Flax, which was then bolled. This deſtructive and unparallel'd Tempeſt fell in *March*.

But the *Egyptians* had yet a better Sort of Flax, call'd *Byſſus*, extreamly fine and ſmall, which they frequently dy'd purple. The Linnen made hereof was very dear; inſomuch that none but Perſons of Diſtinction, and who were in good Circumſtances could afford to wear it. *Pliny*, who gives the Preference to the *Asbeſton*, or the *Asbeſtinum*, that is, the incombuſtible Flax, which would bear the Fire, and was to be cleanſed by the Flames, as other Linnen is by Water, places the *Byſſus* in the next Rank, and ſays, that it ſerv'd as a Dreſs, or Ornament for Ladies of Diſtinction. The Account he gives of the *Asbeſtinum* is as follows; and we believe, will not be unacceptable to ſuch as have not read that Author, eſpecially as it is but ſhort, *Inventum jam eſt Linum quod ignibus non abſumetur; vivum id vocant, ardenteſque, in focis conviviariorum, ex eo vidimus mappas, ſordibus exuſtis, ſplendeſcentes igni magis, quam poſſent aquis.* That is, "A Flax "is now diſcover'd, which is Proof againſt Fire; "it is call'd Living Flax: And we have ſeen "Napkins made thereof, glowing in the Fires "of our Dining-Rooms, till the Dirt being burnt "out, they have receiv'd ſuch a Luſtre, and "Whiteneſs from the Flames, as no Water could "give them." To return from whence we have digreſſed, it is apparent, from the Text before quoted in Scripture, that *Egypt* was particularly famous, above all other Places, for the Manufacture of the fineſt Linnen.

A third Plant, peculiar to this Country, was the *Lotus*, or *Lote*-Tree, a Plant in great Requeſt amongſt the *Egyptians*; and with good Reaſon, ſince it ſerv'd them for Bread, according to antient Authors, before the Diſcovery of the Uſe of Wheat and Barley by *Iſis*. There was another Sort of *Lotus* in *Africa*, which gave Name to the *Lotophagi*, or *Lotus*-Eaters; ſo call'd, becauſe they liv'd upon the Fruit of that Tree; which had a Taſte ſo delicious, if any Credit is to be given to *Homer*, that it made whoever eat thereof, intirely forget all the Charms of their native Country, as *Ulyſſes* found to his Coſt, on his Return from *Troy*. A fourth Plant, peculiar to *Egypt*, was the *Perſea*, always green, and laden with Fruit; whoſe Leaves were ſhap'd like a Tongue, and the Fruit like a Heart, as has been obſerv'd in treating of the Mummies. In ſhort, it is allow'd by all Authors, that all the *Egyptian* Pulſe, and Fruits in general, were excellent; and *Pliny* adds, that they grew there in ſuch Abundance, and were ſo exquiſite in their Kind, that they might alone have ſuffic'd for the Suſtenance of the Inhabitants. In Effect, the meaner Sort of the People hardly liv'd upon any Thing elſe; as appears from thoſe who were employ'd to build the Pyramids.

Beſides theſe Riches diſtributed ſo plentifully up and down the Fields, the *Nile*, from its own Stores, and by its inriching the Lands for the Improvement of Cattle, furniſh'd the Tables of the *Egyptians* with exquiſite Fiſh of every Kind,

and

and the moſt ſucculent Fleſh. This it was what made the *Iſraelites* ſo deeply regret the leaving *Egypt*, when they found themſelves in the comfortleſs Deſart. *Who*, ſaid they, in a Tone both plaintive and ſeditious, *ſhall give us Fleſh to eat? We remember the Fiſh which we did eat in* Egypt *freely; the Cucumbers, and Melons, and the Lecks, and the Onions, and the Garlick. We ſat by the Fleſh-pots, and we did eat Bread to the full.* Numb. xi. 4, 5. Exod. xvi. 3.

But the great and matchleſs Source of the *Egyptian* Wealth, was their Corn, as we have before obſerved; of which they had ſuch an almoſt incredible Affluence, that, not to mention its ſupporting all the neighbouring Nations, during an univerſal Famine, for ſeven Years, as it did under *Joſeph*'s Adminiſtration; (becauſe that may be aſcribed to the immediate Interpoſition of the Almighty, who had provided againſt ſuch a Scarcity, by making the Earth bring forth by Handfuls for the ſeven Years preceeding the Dearth) in latter Ages, it was the conſtant Refuge, and moſt aſſured Granary of *Rome*, and *Conſtantinople*. This is ſo true, that it is a Fact well known, that a Report having been raiſed, St. *Athanaſius*, then Biſhop of *Alexandria*, had threaten'd, no more Corn ſhould be exported from thence to *Conſtantinople*, the Emperor *Conſtantine* was prodigiouſly incenſed againſt the holy Prelate; that Prince knowing very well, his Capital could not be ſubſiſted, without the uſual Supply of Corn from *Egypt*. This was the true Reaſon, which induced all the Emperors of *Rome*, to take all imaginable Care of *Egypt*, which they look'd upon as a nurſing Mother of the Metropolis of the Univerſe.

Nevertheleſs, the ſame River, which enabled this Province, to ſubſiſt the two moſt populous Cities in the World, reduced *Egypt* herſelf, ſometimes, to the moſt terrible Famine; and, it is amazing, that *Joſeph*'s ſagacious and extenſive Foreſight, which in a plenteous Seaſon had provided againſt the longeſt and moſt raging Famine, that ever Heaven ſent, to afflict a ſinful Land, (at leaſt Hiſtory does not mention any to be compared with it) ſhould not have ſerved as a Leſſon to thoſe celebrated Politicians, to make a like Proviſion againſt the Changes and Inconſiſtencies of the *Nile*. And yet, it is evident, they took not any Warning, either by this Famine, or by that wherewith *Iſaiah* threatened them ſome Hundreds of Years afterwards; ſince they were reduced to the utmoſt Extremity, by a Dearth, which happened at ſo great a Diſtance of Time, as the Reign of *Trajan*; and had periſhed but for his Generoſity in relieving them. *Pliny*, in his admirable Panegyrick upon that illuſtrious Emperor, gives us an excellent Deſcription of their melancholy Situation at that Time, and the immediate and plentiful Succour, ſent her by that great and generous Prince: We believe, ſuch of our Readers as have not ſeen it in the Original, will not be diſpleaſed with an Extract, from thence, here; wherein we ſhall endeavour to give them that Author's Thoughts, though we ſhall not adhere ſervilely to his Expreſſions.

" EGYPT, ſays *Pliny*, which gloried in her " not being oblig'd to either *Sun*, or *Rain*, for the " Producing of her Grain; and who believed ſhe " might, with Aſſurance, conteſt the Prize of " Plenty with the moſt fruitful Country in the " World, was condemned to an unexpected " Drought, and a fatal Sterility; becauſe the " greateſt Part of her Territories was deſerted, " and left unwatered by the *Nile*, whoſe Inunda- " tions are the Source, and certain Meaſure of her " Abundance. In this Exigency, ſhe implored " that Aſſiſtance from her Prince, which ſhe uſed " not only to expect, but depend upon from her " River; and her Relief was delay'd no longer, " than whilſt a Courrier could bring the melan- " cholly News to *Rome*. It had been an antient " and received Opinion, that our City could not " be ſubſiſted without the Proviſions yearly drawn " from *Egypt*: That vain and inſolent Nation " boaſted, that, conquer'd as they were, her Con- " querors were oblig'd to them for their Suſtenance; " and that is depended on their River, whether we " ſhould ſtarve, or live in Plenty. We have ſhown " them their Miſtake, by pouring back upon the " *Nile* its own Harveſts, and returning thither the " Proviſions it had ſent us. Let *Egypt* then be " convinced, by her own Experience, that we " ſtand not in Need of her; and that ſhe is only " our Vaſſal. Let her know that her Fleets bring " us only the Tribute ſhe owes us; not any Provi- " ſions whereof we are in Want. And let her " never forget, that we can very well be without " her; but that ſhe cannot be without our Aſſiſt- " ance. There had been an End of a moſt fertile " Province, had it not worn the *Roman* Chains: " *Egypt* found in her Maſter, both a Father, and " a Saviour. Aſtoniſhed at the Sight of her Gra- " naries, filled without any Labour of her own, " ſhe was at a Loſs to know to whom ſhe was in- " debted, for this foreign and gratuitous Plenty. " The Famine of a People, at ſuch a Diſtance " from us, ſo ſpeedily removed, ſerved only to " make them ſenſible of the Advantage of living " under our Government. The *Nile*, at other " Times, has brought more Plenty to *Egypt*; but " never more Glory to us. May Heaven, content " with this Proof of the People's Patience, and " her Prince's Generoſity, and Goodneſs, reſtore " *Egypt* again, for ever, to her antient Fertili- " ty."

Pliny's reproaching the *Egyptians* with their vain and fooliſh Confidence in, and entire Reliance on the Inundations of the *Nile*, points out to us one of their moſt peculiar Characteriſticks, and brings freſh into our Minds that fine Paſſage in the Prophet *Ezekiel*, Ch. xxix. 3, 9, 10. where the *Almighty* thus ſpeaks to *Pharaoh*, one of their Monarchs: *Behold, I am againſt thee,* Pharaoh, *King of* Egypt, *the great Dragon that lieth in the Midſt of his* Rivers, *which hath ſaid, My* River *is mine own, and I have made it for myſelf. And the Land of* Egypt *ſhall be deſolate, and waſte; and they ſhall know that I am the Lord; becauſe he hath ſaid, The* River *is mine, and I have made it. Behold, therefore, I am againſt thee, and thy* Rivers, *and I will make the Land of* Egypt *utterly waſte, and deſolate, from the Tower of* Syene, *even unto the Border of* Æthiopia. The Searcher of Hearts ſaw in this Prince a Pride that was inſupportable; a Mind elate with Security, and Confidence in the Inundations of the *Nile*, even ſo far as to imagine himſelf and his Country abſolutely independent on the Influence of Heaven; as if the happy Effects of theſe Inundations had been wholly owing to his own Care and Labour, or the Toils of his Anceſtors: *The* River *is mine*, ſaid he arrogantly, *and I have made it.*

Before

Before we conclude our Obſervations on the Manners of the *Egyptians*, we think it neceſſary to refer our Readers to the different Paſſages interſperſed in the Hiſtory of *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, *Jacob*, *Joſeph*, and *Moſes*, which confirm, and illuſtrate great Part of what we meet with in prophane Authors, upon this Subject. They will there admire the conſummate Policy that reigned throughout *Egypt*, both in the Court, and the Reſt of the Kingdom; they will be ſurprized at the Vigilance of the Prince, who had his Attention every-where; and who had, even in thoſe early Days, a regular Court, with a choſen Miniſtry, and Armies well diſciplined, of every Order of Soldiery, Horſe, Foot, and armed Chariots: They will with Pleaſure obſerve the ſeveral Intendants over Provinces, with the Guards placed at all the publick Granaries; and prudent and exact Diſpenſers of the Corn lodged therein; as alſo a Court compoſed of Great-Officers of the Crown, a Captain of the Guards, a Cup-bearer, and a Maſter of the Pantry; in ſhort, every Officer requiſite for the Palace of a great Prince, and what ever could contribute to the Luſtre of a Crown. But the ſerious Reader will moſt admire the Fear of *God*'s Threatenings, that reigned in the *Pagan* Kingdom; of *God*, the Inſpector of all Actions, and the impartial Judge of Sovereigns themſelves; and will not be a little ſurprized, to find Adultery held in ſuch Abhorrence amongſt *Heathens*, and acknowledged as a Crime ſufficient to prove the Deſtruction of a flouriſhing State.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Egyptian *Monarchs; ſome Account of the famous* Seſoſtris; *his ſingular Education; his extenſive Conqueſts; his numerous and ſtately Buildings; his vain Glory, and Death.* Helen *not in* Troy, *when the* Greeks *beſieged it.* Cheops, *and* Cephrenus, *two mercileſs and impious Tyrants. The Account of* Sennacherib's *Defeat in* Herodotus, *compared with the Scripture-Account of the ſame Tranſaction; twelve Kings at on once in* Egypt; Pſammeticus *proves too ſtrong for all the Reſt;* Aſhdod, *the Siege thereof the longeſt of any mentioned in Hiſtory; the* Phœnicians *the firſt who ſailed round the Cape of* Good Hope, *by Order of* Pharaoh-Necho; *the Inſolence, and Blaſphemy of* Pharaoh-Hophra, *the Cauſe of his Deſtruction; his Daughter married by* Cyrus, *and is the Cauſe of the Invaſion and Conqueſt of* Egypt, *by the* Perſians.

HAVING now given an Account of the moſt remarkable Curioſities amongſt the *Egyptians*; of the Nature of their Government; their Manners, and Cuſtoms; their Arts and Sciences; their Commerce; their Soldiery; with the Fertility of their Country; and the ſeveral Commodities peculiar to it; the Thread of our Story requires, that we ſhould ſay ſomething of the reſpective Monarchs, by whom they were governed. And here we ſhould be very much at a Loſs, ſhould we pretend to give our Readers an exact Detail of all the Princes who ſway'd the *Egyptian* Sceptre, ſince moſt of them are only tranſmitted down to us by their Names; and Antiquity has not any Part of Hiſtory, which is more obſcure, or uncertain, than that of the firſt Kings of *Egypt*. That Nation, inſolently, and, we may add, ſtupidly, conceited of their Antiquity, and Nobility, were pleaſed with loſing themſelves in an Abyſs of infinite Ages, which ſeemed to carry their Pretenſions backward to Eternity. Were we to believe all that their own Hiſtorians alledged of this Dream, the *Egyptians* were governed ſucceſſively, at firſt, by Gods, and afterwards by Demi-Gods, or Heroes, for a Series of more than twenty Thouſand Years; but the Abſurdity of this vain and fabulous Claim is eaſily ſeen through, and refuted.

Theſe Gods, and Demi-Gods, were ſucceeded by Men who held the Reins of Government; and of theſe *Manetho* has left us thirty *Dynaſties*, or Principalities. This *Manetho*, who was one of the *Egyptian* High-Prieſts, and had the Keeping of the ſacred Archives, had a Tincture of the *Grecian* Learning. He has written a Hiſtory of *Egypt*, which he pretends to have extracted from the Writings of *Mercury*, and other antient Memoirs, preſerved in the Records of the *Egyptian* Temples. He drew up this Hiſtory in the Reign, and at the Command, of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. If his thirty *Dynaſties* are allowed to have been ſucceſſive, they will make up a Series of more than Five Thouſand three Hundred Years, to the Reign of *Alexander the Great*; but, it is evident, that this is a manifeſt Forgery. Beſides, *Eratoſthenes*, a Hiſtorian of *Cyrene*, who was ſent for to *Alexandria*, by *Ptolomy Evergetes*, has given us a Catalogue of thirty-eight Kings of *Thebes*, all different from thoſe of *Manetho*. It has coſt the Learned Abundance of Trouble and Labour, to reconcile theſe Difficulties; which, nevertheleſs, there has not any of them been able effectually to do: The beſt Method certainly, to accompliſh it, is, to take it for granted, with almoſt all the preſent Writers upon this Subject, that the Kings of theſe different *Dynaſties* did not reign ſucceſſively after one another; but that many of them ſway'd the Sceptre at the ſame Time, in different Provinces of *Egypt*.

The whole Country was divided into four principal *Dynaſties*; one of which was of *Thebes*, a ſecond of *Thin*, a third of *Memphis*, and the fourth of *Tanis*. We have already premiſed, that we pretend not to give our Readers an exact Detail of all the Princes who have reigned in *Egypt*; we ſhall only confine ourſelves, for the Generality, to the Memoirs left us by *Herodotus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, without being over-ſcrupulous in obſerving the exact Order wherein they ſucceeded each other; which, as we hinted before, is very obſcure, and uncertain, at leaſt in the Beginning; or pretending to reconcile thoſe

two Hiſtorians where they differ. The Deſign of both of them, and of *Herodotus* eſpecially, was not to lay before us an accurate Account of the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Egypt*; but only to point out to us thoſe Princes, whoſe Hiſtory appeared to them the moſt important and inſtructive. We ſhall follow the ſame Plan, and hope to be forgiven, if we neither plunge ourſelves, nor our Readers, into a Labyrinth of Difficulties, which are inextricable; and from which the moſt Knowing find it no eaſy Matter to diſengage themſelves, when they pretend to follow the Thread of Hiſtory, and to fix and aſcertain the ſeveral Periods thereof: Thoſe who are curious to inquire into ſuch Things, may have Recourſe to thoſe learned Labours, where this Subject is fully diſcuſs'd. It is neceſſary to premiſe, however, that *Herodotus*, upon the Credit of *Egyptian* Prieſts, whom he had conſulted, has tranſmitted down to us a Number of Oracles, and extraordinary Tranſactions, which a diſcerning Reader will eaſily perceive to be fabulous.

The antient Hiſtory of *Egypt* contains the Term of two Thouſand, one Hundred, and fifty-eight Years, which may naturally be divided into three Periods; the firſt of which begins with the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, founded by *Menes*, or *Mizraim*, the Son of *Cham*, in the Year of the World, 1816, and ends with the Deſtruction thereof by *Cambyſes*, King of *Perſia*, in the Year of the World, 3497: This Period conſiſts of One Thouſand ſix Hundred and ſixty-three Years. The ſecond Period is interwoven with the Hiſtory of the *Perſians* and *Grecians*, and reaches down to the Death of *Alexander* the *Great*; which happen'd in the Year of the World, 3681, and conſequently includes the Term of two Hundred and two Years. The third Period, is that wherein *Egypt* was erected into a new Monarchy, by the *Lagides*, or the *Ptolomies*, Deſcendants from *Lagus*, to the Death of *Cleopatra*, the laſt Queen of *Egypt*, ſo celebrated in Hiſtory, in the Year of the World 3974; and this laſt Period includes the Space of two Hundred and ninety-three Years. At preſent, we ſhall only treat of the firſt Period, becauſe the ſecond being interwoven with the Hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and *Greeks*, as we have before obſerved; and the laſt being ſubſequent to that, will come in much more properly in another Place.

It is unanimouſly agreed by all Hiſtorians, that *Menes* was the firſt King of *Egypt*; it is pretended likewiſe, and not altogether without Foundation, that he is the ſame with *Mizraim*, the ſecond Son of *Cham*, called in Scripture *Ham*, who, as is well known, was the ſecond Son of *Noah*. When the Deſcendants of *Noah*, after being diſappointed by the Confuſion of Tongues, in their mad Undertaking at the Tower of *Babel*, diſperſed themſelves into various Countries, *Cham*, as is by all agreed, retired to *Africa*; and there is great Reaſon to believe, that it was this their common Anceſtor, whom the *Africans* afterwards worſhipped as a God, under the Name of *Jupiter Hammon*.

Cham had four Sons, *Chus*, *Mizraim*, *Phut*, and *Canaan*; the firſt of whom ſettled in the *Aſiatic Ethiopia*; the ſecond in *Egypt*, which is, for that Reaſon, frequently called in Scripture by his Name, and by that of *Ham*, his Father; whilſt the third poſſeſs'd himſelf of that Part of *Africa*, which lies Weſt-ward of *Egypt*; and the fourth of *Paleſtine*, which, for that Reaſon, is alſo called the Land of *Canaan*, from his Name. The *Canaanites* are certainly the ſame People, who are always termed *Phœnicians* by the *Greeks*, though no Reaſon can at preſent be given for their calling them by that foreign Appellation, nor yet for their never making Uſe of their true and proper Name. As to *Mizraim*, it is generally agreed that he is the ſame with *Menes*; it is alſo allowed by all, that he was the firſt King of *Egypt*, as we before obſerved; and that he was the Inſtitutor of the Worſhip of the Gods, and of the Ceremonies uſed in their Sacrifices.

Buſiris, ſome Ages after him, built the famous City of *Thebes*, and made it the Seat of his Empire; we have already taken Notice of the Magnificence and Grandeur thereof, wherefore we ſhall not add any Thing farther, concerning it here. It is neceſſary however, to apprize our Readers, that this Prince is not to be confounded with that *Buſiris*, ſo infamous in Hiſtory for his Cruelties.

After him, *Oſymandyas* erected many ſtately Edifices, which are deſcribed at Length by *Diodorus Siculus*; and one of which was adorned with divers Pieces of Sculpture, and Painting, all exquiſite in their Kind, repreſenting the ſeveral Occurrences in his Expedition againſt the *Barbarians*, an *Aſiatic* Nation; (and, indeed, the *Egyptians* called all foreign Nations by that Name, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* did afterwards) againſt whom he had marched with an Army of Four Hundred Thouſand Foot, and Twenty Thouſand Horſe. In another Part of this magnificent Structure was drawn an Aſſembly of Judges, whoſe Preſident wore the Image of *Truth*, hanging by a Chain at his Breaſt, with her Eyes ſhut, and ſurrounded with Books; an Emblem admirably calculated, to point out their Duty to Judges, which conſiſts in a perfect Knowledge of the Laws, and an equal Impartiality in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. The Portrait of the King himſelf was likewiſe drawn in this Building, making an Offering to the Gods, of Gold and Silver, which he drew yearly from the *Egyptian* Mines, to the Amount of ſixteen Millions.

Not far from this noble Edifice, was ſeen a magnificent Library; the firſt that we find mentioned any-where in Hiſtory. On the Front of it was this Inſcription, *The Office of the Diſeaſes of the Soul*; a very juſt one, as we have already obſerved; ſince Men were cured thereby of Ignorance, the moſt dangerous Diſeaſe to which the Soul is liable. It was inrich'd with Statues, repreſenting all the Deities of the *Egyptians*, each of which the King had taken Care to diſtinguiſh with ſuitable Offerings; as if he had been deſirous of tranſmitting it down to Poſterity, that his Life and Reign had been crowned with Piety to the Gods, and Juſtice to Men.

Notwithſtanding, whatever had been ſaid of his ſumptuous Edifices, his Tomb ſurpaſſed them all in Magnificence; being incompaſs'd with a Circle of ſolid Gold, a Cubit or half a Yard in Breadth, and three hundred and ſixty-five in Circumference. The upper Side of this Circle, or Plate, was divided into three hundred and ſixty-five equal Parts, to repreſent all the Days of the Year; every Part having the Day of the Year, and the Heliacal Riſings and Settings of the Stars on that Day marked thereon. For, even ſo early as in this Prince's Time, the *Egyptians* divided the Year into twelve Months, each conſiſting of thirty Days; to which they added every Year five Days and ſix Hours, which makes a compleat ſolar Year bating about eleven Minutes:

Minutes: In ſhort, Spectators were at a Loſs, which moſt to admire in this ſtately Monument, the Richneſs of its Materials, or the Ingenuity and Induſtry of the Workmen employ'd thereon.

Uchoreus, one of the Succeſſors of *Oſymandyas*, built the City of *Memphis*; which was a hundred and fifty *Stadia*, or above ſeven Leagues in Circumference; and ſtood at the Point of *Delta*, on the *Weſt*-Side of the *Nile*, where that River divides itſelf into ſeveral Streams, or Branches. On the *South* of the City he raiſed a high Mole; and on the Right and Left he dug deep Moats, to receive the River, which were lin'd with Free-Stone; and near the City were raiſed ſtrong Cauſeys, all deſign'd to ſecure it from the Inundations of the *Nile*, and the Irruptions of the Enemy. Its advantagious Situation, and Strength, which was ſo great, that it, in a great Meaſure, commanded both the *Nile*, and the whole Country, ſoon tempted the *Egyptian* Kings to fix their Court there, and make it their Reſidence; of which Honour it kept Poſſeſſion, till it was forc'd to reſign it to its Rival *Alexandria*, built many Years after, by *Alexander the Great*, as we have before obſerv'd.

The next Sovereign of *Egypt*, who demands our Attention, is *Mœris*; the Prince, who made the famous Lake, which bore his Name; to correct the Irregularities of the *Nile*; which, as we have already obſerv'd, was the nobleſt, and moſt wonderful of all the Works of the ſeveral Kings of *Egypt*; as it was infinitely the moſt uſeful, and advantagious; accordingly, *Herodotus* gives that the Preference over the Labyrinth, the Pyramids, or whatever elſe was moſt curious.

The *Egyptians* had long acknowledg'd the Sovereignty of Princes of their own Nation, when a great Part of *Lower Egypt*, and even *Memphis* itſelf, was invaded by Strangers, from *Arabia*, or *Phœnicia*, call'd *Hycſos*, or Shepherd-Kings, in the *Egyptian* Language: *Upper Egypt*, however, remain'd unconquer'd; and the Kingdom of *Thebes* ſubſiſted till the Time of *Seſoſtris*. The Dominion of theſe foreign Princes laſted about two hundred and ſixty Yeart. Under one of theſe Monarchs, whom the Scripture calls *Pharaoh*, a Name common to all the Kings of *Egypt*, the Patriarch *Abraham* arriv'd there with his Wife *Sarah*, whoſe uncommon Beauty brought him into no ſmall Danger; for it reaching the Ears of that Prince, ſhe was by him taken from *Abraham*, in the Belief that ſhe was not his Wife, but his Siſter; however, ſhe was afterwards reſtor'd again to the Patriarch, aſſoon as the King, though a Heathen, came to be inform'd of the contrary.

After the Expiration of the above-mention'd Term of Two hundred and ſixty Years, *Thethmoſis*, or *Amoſis*, expell'd the Shepherd-Kings; and by that Means obtain'd the Government of *Lower Egypt*. Many Years after the Reign of this Prince, *Joſeph* was brought into *Egypt* by *Iſhmaelite*-Merchants, and ſold as a Slave to *Potiphar*, Captain of the King's Guards. In this Station he continued for a conſiderable Time; till by a Series of moſt ſurprizing Events, or rather, to ſpeak more properly, by the immediate Intervention, and Interpoſition of the Divine Providence, he was made known to the King; and by him rais'd to be his Prime Miniſter, and Superintendant over all his Dominions; to the Preſervation not only of all the *Egyptians*, but even of his own Brethren, the Children of *Iſrael*. We ſhall not enlarge here upon a Story ſo well known to the World; only we muſt not paſs over in Silence, that it is obſerv'd by *Juſtin*, the Abridger of *Trogus Pompeius*, an excellent Hiſtorian of the *Auguſtan* Age; that *Joſeph*, the youngeſt of *Jacob*'s Children, whom his Brethren, being inſtigated by Envy, had ſold, as a Slave, to foreign Merchants, being endu'd with the Interpretation of Dreams, and the Knowledge of Futurity, preſerv'd *Egypt*, by his uncommon Wiſdom, from a threaten'd Famine, and was highly favour'd and honour'd by *Pharaoh*. *Juſtin*, however, aſcribes this his Knowledge of Futurity, and the Interpretation of Dreams, to *Joſeph*'s great Proficiency in the Magick Art; which, he ſays, he learn'd in *Egypt*.

Some Years after, the Patriarch *Jacob* went into *Egypt*, with his whole Family; where they met with all the good Treatment imaginable from the *Egyptians*, as long as the Memory of *Joſeph*, and his important Services were freſh in their Minds; but, after his Death, ſays the Scripture, *There aroſe up a new King over* Egypt, *which knew not* Joſeph. This Prince, known alſo in Scripture by the Name of *Pharaoh*, according to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, was call'd *Rameſes Miamum*. He reign'd thirty-ſix Years, and made the *Iſraelites* groan under the moſt intolerable Oppreſſions.. *He ſet over them Task-Maſters to afflict them with their Burthens, and they built for* Pharaoh *Treaſure-Cities*, Pithom *and* Raamſes. *And the* Egyptians *made the Children of* Iſrael *to ſerve with Rigour, and they made their Lives bitter with hard Bondage, in Mortar, and in Brick, and in all Manner of Service in the Field: All their Service wherein they made them ſerve was with Rigour.* This Prince, or rather Tyrant, had two Sons, *Amenophis*, and *Buſiris*; the eldeſt of which, *Amenophis*, ſucceeded him; conſequently, he was the *Pharaoh*, under whoſe Reign the *Iſraelites* went out of *Egypt*, and who was drown'd in attempting to follow them through the *Red Sea*.

Father *Tournemine*, however, does not agree herein with Archbiſhop *Uſher*; for he makes *Seſoſtris*, of whom we ſhall ſpeak immediately, the *Pharaoh*, who raiſed that heavy Perſecution againſt the *Iſraelites*, and oppreſſed them with the moſt grievous Labours. This is perfectly conformable to the Account given of this Prince by *Diodorus Siculus*; who informs us, that he did not employ any but Foreigners in his *Egyptian* Works; according then to that Learned Father, we may place the memorable Event of the Paſſage of the *Red Sea*, and the Deſtruction of the *Egyptians*, under his Son *Pheron*; and the Character *Herodotus* gives him, of being an impious Prince, greatly ſtrengthens the Probability of this Conjecture: Be that as it will, we have already premiſed, that we do not propoſe to enter into a Diſcuſſion of theſe intricate Points.

Beſides this, *Diodorus*, in ſpeaking of the *Red Sea*, has tranſmitted down to us a Paſſage, worth our Obſervation: A Tradition, ſays that Hiſtorian, has obtain'd throughout the whole Nation; and has been handed down, from Father to Son, Time out of Mind, that an extraordinary Reflux, or ebbing of the Tide, had ſo intirely dry'd up that Sea, that its Bottom was plainly to be ſeen; and that a violent Flood ſoon after reſtor'd the Waters

ters to their former Channel: It is very evident, that this refers to the miraculous Paſſage of *Moſes*, and the Children of *Iſrael* over the *Red Sea*; and we have made this Remark, on Purpoſe to apprize our Readers, not to paſs over, without Obſervation, theſe precious Remains of Antiquity; eſpecially when, like this, they have any Reference to *Holy Writ*.

To return from whence we have digreſſed, Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſays, that *Amenophis* left two Sons; one of whom was call'd *Seſothis*, or *Seſoſtris*; and the other *Armais*: It is generally thought, that this Prince was the ſame with him, whom the *Greeks* have tranſmitted down to us under the Name of *Belus*, as they did his two Sons, under thoſe of *Ægyptus* and *Danaus*: The eldeſt of whom, *Seſoſtris*, was not only the moſt powerful Monarch, that had ever reign'd in *Egypt*, but the greateſt Conqueror of whom Antiquity can boaſt.

His Father, either by Inſpiration, or out of ſome particular Whim, or, as the *Egyptians* pretend, by the Advice of an Oracle, form'd the Deſign of rendering him a Warrior; which he went about like a true *Egyptian*, that is, greatly, and nobly. To this End, he order'd all the Male-Children, who were born on the ſame Day as *Seſoſtris*, to be brought to his Court; where they were look'd after with the ſame Care, as if they had been his own; having exactly the ſame Education as *Seſoſtris*, near whom they had each of them an Apartment, where they were alſo dieted. The natural Conſequences of this were, that he could not have provided him with more able, and faithful Miniſters, nor with Officers more zealouſly deſirous of the Succeſs of his Arms; ſince all of them look'd upon *Seſoſtris*, as one who was, in a Manner, their Brother, as well as their Prince.

The principal Part of their Education conſiſted, in inuring them, from their moſt tender Age, to a hardy and laborious Life; in order that they might, one Day be, capable of ſuſtaining with Eaſe, the toilſome, but glorious Fatigues of War. To that End, they were not ſuffer'd to take any Refreſhment, before they had well-breath'd themſelves, in running a Race, either on Foot, or Horſe-back; beſides, they accuſtom'd themſelves very much to Hunting, which was their uſual Exerciſe.

It is obſerv'd by *Ælian*, that *Seſoſtris* was inſtructed by *Mercury*, or *Hermes*, in all Manner of Points, neceſſary to be known, in Order to the well-governing a State. This *Mercury* was the ſame whom the *Greeks* call'd *Triſmegiſtus*; that is, *thrice greateſt*; and *Egypt*, the Country where he was born, is thought to have been indebted to him, for the Invention of almoſt all thoſe Arts, which were known to her Sons. The two Books, however, which now bear his Name, have ſuch evident Marks of Novelty therein, that, at preſent, there is No-body doubts their having been forged by ſome more modern Hand. There was, likewiſe, another *Mercury*, greatly celebrated amongſt the *Egyptians*, for his uncommon Knowledge; who was abundantly more antient than this, of whom we have been treating; and *Jamblicus*, an *Egyptian* Prieſt, aſſures us, that it was uſual, with the *Egyptians*, to affix the Name of *Hermes*, or *Mercury*, to all new Books, or Inventions.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd, when *Seſoſtris* was advanc'd more in Years, his Father ſent him againſt the *Arabians*, for his Initiation in the Art of War; where the young Prince learned to bear Hunger, and Thirſt, and ſubdued a Nation, which had never been conquered before; thoſe who were his Companions in his Education, being likewiſe the conſtant Partners of his Toils, and his inſeparable Attendants in Arms. Inured by this Succeſs to warlike Labours, he was next ſent by his Father, to try his Fortune *Weſt-ward*; where he fell upon *Libya*, and the greateſt Part of that vaſt Region became the Reward of his Bravery. Whilſt he was abſent upon this Expedition, his Father died, and left him capable of the greateſt Atchievements; whereupon he formed no leſs a Deſign than the Conqueſt of the whole World.

But, before he ſet out from his Kingdom, he prudently provided for his own Security at Home, by gaining the Heart of his Subjects, by his Generoſity, Affability, Juſtice, and a moſt popular and engaging Behaviour. Neither was he leſs careful to ſecure himſelf of the Hearts of his Officers and Soldiers, (who were always ready to ſhed the laſt Drop of their Blood for him) being fully perſuaded, that his Enterprizes could not be attended with Succeſs, unleſs his Army were attach'd to his Perſon, by all the various Ties of Eſteem, Affection, and Intereſt. He alſo divided his Kingdom into thirty-ſix Governments, or *Nomi*, which he conferred upon Perſons of the greateſt Merit, and the moſt aſſured Fidelity.

In the mean While, he did not neglect making vaſt military Preparations, ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Deſign he had formed. He levied almoſt innumerable Forces, and put at their Head Officers of the moſt conſummate Bravery, and an eſtabliſhed Reputation, who were chiefly ſelected out of that Body of young Warriors, who had been his Companions in his Education. Of ſuch Officers he had no leſs than ſeventeen Hundred, each of them capable of inſpiring his Troops with the utmoſt Reſolution, a Love of Diſcipline, and an ardent Zeal for the Service of their Prince. On reviewing his Forces, they amounted to Six Hundred Thouſand Foot, and Twenty-four Thouſand Horſe, as alſo Twenty-ſeven Thouſand armed Chariots.

At the Head of this formidable Army, he ſet out from his Dominions, and began his Expedition with *Ethiopia*, a vaſt Empire, on the *South* of *Egypt*. He reduced it to Subjection, and impoſed thereon a yearly Tribute, which was paid in Ivory, Iron, and Gold. He had alſo equipp'd a Fleet of four Hundred Veſſels, with which ſailing down the *Red-Sea*, he made himſelf Maſter of all the Iſlands lying upon thoſe Coaſts: Then, marching at the Head of his Land-Army, he over-ran and ſubdued *Aſia*, with an amazing Rapidity. He even penetrated farther into the *Indies*, than was done by *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, or, ſome Ages after, by *Alexander* himſelf; for, he reduced the Countries beyond the *Ganges*, and carried his Arms as far as the *Ocean*: We may eaſily judge from hence how impoſſible it was for the neighbouring Countries to reſiſt him.

He then turned his Arms *North-ward*, and ſubdued *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and the *Scythians*, as far as the River *Tanais*. To perpetuate the Memory of his Succeſs, he left a Colony in the antient Kingdom of *Colchis*, ſituated towards the *Eaſtern-*

Eaſtern-Shore of the *Black-Sea*, where the *Egyptian* Cuſtoms and Manners were retained for Ages after. *Herodotus* ſaw divers Monuments of his Victories, diſperſed up and down *Aſia Minor*, from one Sea to the other; and the following Inſcription was to be ſeen in various Countries, engraven on Stone-Pillars: SESOSTRIS, *King of Kings, ſubdued this Country by his Arms.* Theſe Columns were to be met with even in *Thrace*; and his Empire extended from the *Danube* to the *Ganges*; but the Scarcity of Proviſions in *Thrace* put a Stop to his rapid Career, and prevented his penetrating farther into *Europe*.

In the Courſe of his Conqueſts, he met with ſome Nations, who defended their Liberty with great Bravery, whilſt others yielded them up tamely, without any Reſiſtance; and *Seſoſtris* took great Care, to have this their different Behaviour recorded, in hieroglyphick Characters, on the Monuments erected to his Victories, conformably to the Practice of the *Egyptians*. But there was one Circumſtance prodigiouſly ſingular, and remarkable in the Character of this Conqueror; ſo ſingular, that, we believe, he was never imitated therein by any other. It was this, that he never had a Thought of preſerving his Acquiſitions; but, contented with the Glory of having vanquiſhed and ſpoiled ſo many Nations, and ravaged the World for nine Years, he confined his Dominion almoſt within the narrow Limits of antient *Egypt*, reſerving only a few neighbouring Provinces, which he annexed thereto; for there is not the leaſt Trace, or Foot-ſtep left of the Continuance of this new Empire, either under *Seſoſtris* himſelf, or any of his Succeſſors.

His Career being ſtopt, as we obſerved before, by the Want of Proviſions in *Thrace*, he returned Home, loaden with the Spoils of the conquer'd Nations, and followed with an infinite Number of Captives, and covered with more Glory than had ever been acquired by any of his Predeceſſors. The Glory we here mean, however, is not a true, ſolid, and well-grounded Glory; but that falſe and noiſy Glory, to celebrate whoſe Praiſe ſo many Pens have been unjuſtly employ'd, though it invades Nations with Arms and Violence, ſpreads Deſolation, wherever it goes, and is attended with innumerable Miſchiefs.

But, though *Seſoſtris* is not to be vindicated, for invading ſuch Numbers of Nations who never injured him, he was adorned with many Qualities which were highly Praiſe-worthy: He rewarded his Officers and Soldiers with a Magnificence truly royal, and, in ſo doing, ſhewed a particular Regard to every Man's Rank and Merit; He not only thought it his Duty, but took a Pleaſure in enabling the Companions of his Victories, to enjoy peaceably the Remainder of their Days, in a ſweet Retirement, as the juſt Fruit of their Labours. But, as for himſelf, being always ſollicitous for his own Reputation, and ſtill more to render his Greatneſs a real Bleſſing and Advantage to his Subjects, he employed the Repoſe, allowed him by Peace, in Works rather calculated to inrich *Egypt*, than to immortalize his own Name; Works, wherein the Art and Induſtry of the Workman gain greater Admiration, than the prodigious Sums expended thereon.

A Hundred ſtately Temples, being as many Monuments of his Gratitude, to the tutelar Gods of all the Cities, for his Succeſs, were the firſt, as well as the moſt illuſtrious Teſtimonies of his Victories; and he took great Care to have it recorded by Inſcriptions thereupon, that theſe noble Works had been raiſed without the Toil of any of his Subjects. He eſteemed it his Glory to be tender of them, and to employ none but Captives, in theſe Monuments of his Conqueſts. The Scripture takes Notice of a Circumſtance of the ſame Nature, in ſpeaking of *Solomon*'s Buildings. 2 *Chron.* viii. 9. *But of the Children of* Iſrael *did* Solomon *make no Servants for his Work.* But *Seſoſtris* valued himſelf the moſt, upon the Coſt and Ornaments he beſtowed on the Temple of *Vulcan*, at *Peluſium*, in Acknowledgment of that God's protecting him, when on his Return from his Conqueſts, his Brother *Armais* had formed the Deſign to deſtroy him, together with his Wife and Children, by ſetting the Apartment on Fire, wherein he lay.

Notwithſtanding his numerous Buildings, however, the greateſt and moſt beneficial Labour of *Seſoſtris* was, his raiſing a conſiderable Number of high Cauſeys, throughout the whole Extent of *Egypt*, on which new Cities were built, as a Security for both Men and Beaſts, againſt the Inundations of the *Nile*. Beſides this, he cut divers Canals on both Sides of the River, from *Memphis* to the Sea, to facilitate the carrying on of Commerce, and the conveying Proviſions from one Place to the other; as alſo, to ſettle an eaſy Correſpondence, between Cities the moſt diſtant from one another: Beſides the Advantage accruing to Trade, by the Means of theſe Canals, *Egypt* was thereby rendered, in a Manner, inacceſſible to the Cavalry of her Enemies; which had frequently harraſs'd her, before, by repeated Invaſions. He proceeded ſtill farther; for, to ſecure the *Egyptians* from the Incurſions of her Neighbours, the *Syrians*, and *Arabians*, who, of all others, were the moſt to be dreaded, for the Ravages they committed; he fortified all the *Eaſtern* Coaſt from *Peluſium* to *Heliopolis*, which is more than ſeventy Leagues.

In Effect, *Seſoſtris* might have been placed at the Head, of the moſt illuſtrious and boaſted Heroes of Antiquity, had not the Luſtre of his warlike Actions, and his pacifick Virtues, been ſullied by his ardent Thirſt after Vain-glory, and his taking ſuch a ſecret Pleaſure in his own Greatneſs, as made him forget he was a Man. The Kings and Chiefs of the vanquiſhed Nations, came at certain appointed Time, to do Homage to their Conqueror, and pay him the Tribute impoſed on them; this Opportunity *Seſoſtris*, being elate with his Conqueſts, laid Hold on, to diſplay his Grandeur, as he thought, to the greateſt Advantage. To this End, when he either went to the Temple, or entered his Capital, he cauſed theſe Princes four abreaſt, to be put to his Chariot, harneſs'd like Horſes; and valued himſelf upon his being thus drawn, by the Maſters and Lords of other Nations. What we are yet more ſurprized at, is, that *Diodorus Siculus* reckons this extravagant and inhuman Piece of Vanity, amongſt this Hero's moſt ſhining Actions.

Another Foible of this Monarch's was, that he ſeems to have thought it beneath him to die like other Men; for, being become blind in his old Age, he fell by his own Hands, after a Reign of thirty-three Years, and left his Kingdom flowing with infinite Riches. His Empire, however, reached not beyond the fourth Generation; but even in the Reign of *Tiberius*, magnificent Monuments were re-

remaining, which teſtify'd how great the Extent thereof had been in his Time; and what immenſe Tributes were paid thereunto.

We return now to ſome Occurrences, which ſhould have been mentioned before, as they happened within this Period of Time; had we not omitted them, that we might not break the Thread of the Hiſtory, and we ſhall only touch upon them now *en paſſant*. Much about the Time whereof we are now ſpeaking, ſeveral Colonies of the *Egyptians* eſtabliſhed themſelves in divers Parts of the World. That Colony, in particular, which *Cecrops* led out of *Egypt*, built twelve Cities, or rather as many Towns, which he formed into a petty Monarchy, known by the Name of the Kingdom of *Athens*; which was afterwards changed into a Republick, and became one the moſt famous in Hiſtory.

We have already obſerved, that *Armais*, the Brother of *Seſoſtris*, had formed the Deſign to deſtroy him by Fire, in his Return from his Conqueſts; but not ſucceeding therein, he was oblig'd to fly for his Safety: Accordingly he withdrew into *Peloponneſus*, where he ſeized upon the Kingdom of *Argos*, which had been founded about four Hundred Years before, by *Inachus*.

It was probably much about the ſame Time, and during the Abſence of *Seſoſtris*, that *Buſiris*, the Brother of *Amenophis*, and Uncle to this great Conqueror, ſo infamous amongſt the Antients, for his Cruelties, tyrannized upon the Banks of the *Nile*, and barbarouſly cut the Throats of all the Strangers, who landed in his Country. It was about the ſame Time, likewiſe, that *Cadmus* arrived in *Greece*, from *Syria*, or rather *Phœnicia*, and carried thither with him the Invention of Letters. Some pretend that theſe were *Egyptian* Characters, and that *Cadmus* himſelf was a Native of *Egypt*, not of *Phœnicia*; accordingly the *Egyptians*, who aſcribed the Invention of every Thing to their own Countrymen, and boaſted that they were more antient than any other Nation, did not fail to give their *Mercury* the Honour of inventing Letters.

However that be, the Learned are generally agreed, that the Characters carried by *Cadmus* into *Greece*, were *Phœnician*, or *Syrian*; and that theſe Letters were the ſame with thoſe uſed by the *Iſraelites*; the *Hebrews*, and all the Inhabitants of *Canaan* in general, being always called *Phœnicians* by the *Greeks*; and the *Phœnicians*, as being a ſmall People, being again comprehended under the general Name of *Syrians*. In Effect, *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his Notes upon the *Chronicon* of *Euſebius*, proves that the *Greek* Letters, as alſo thoſe of the *Latin* Alphabet, which were formed from thence, derive their Original from the antient *Phœnician* Characters, which were the ſame with the *Samaritan*, made Uſe of by the *Jews*, before the *Babyloniſh* Captivity. It muſt be obſerved, however, that the Number of the Letters, carried by *Cadmus* into *Greece*, were only ſixteen, and that the other eight were added afterwards; four by *Palamedes*, at the Siege of *Troy*, between which, and the Time of *Cadmus*, there was an Interval of above two Hundred and fifty Years; and four more by *Simonides*, a conſiderable Time after that.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd, that is, to the Hiſtory of the Kings of *Egypt*, whom we ſhall hereafter place in the ſame Order as *Herodotus*, *Pheron* ſucceeded to the Kingdom, but not to the Glory of his Father *Seſoſtris*. One Action, related by *Herodotus*, of this Prince, is a ſufficient Teſtimony, how greatly he degenerated from the religious Sentiments of his great Father. The *Nile* happening one Year to overflow to the Height of above eighteen Cubits, and by that Means laying waſte greateſt Part of the Country; the King, inraged at the Deſolation, occaſioned by this extraordinary and unuſual Inundation of the River, threw a Javelin at it, as it were to chaſtiſe its Inſolence; and he was imediately puniſhed with the Loſs of his Sight for his audacious Impiety.

To this Prince, according to *Herodotus*, ſucceeded *Proteus*, who was of *Memphis*; where his Temple was ſtill ſtanding, in the Time of that Hiſtorian, and wherein was a Chappel, dedicated to *Venus* the *Stranger*; who, it is judged, was the ſame with the celebrated *Helen* of the *Greeks*. For, during the Reign of this Prince, *Paris*, the Son of *Priam*, King of *Troy*, returning Home with *Helen*, whom he had ſtolen, was driven by a Storm into the *Canopic* Mouth of the *Nile*, from whence he was conducted to *Proteus* at *Memphis*. Hereupon, that Prince, who was a Lover of Juſtice, boldly and ſeverely reproached the laſcivous *Trojan*, with his monſtrous Perfidy, and Ingratitude; in ſeducing and carrying off the Wife of his generous Hoſt, *Menelaus*, and with her all the Riches he could find in his Palace: He added, that, if he did not puniſh him with Death, which was but the juſt Reward of his enormous Crime, it was entirely owing to the Mercy of the *Egyptians*, who were ſcrupulous of imbruing their Hands in the Blood of Strangers; but that, nevertheleſs, he would detain *Helen*, with all the Wealth brought with her, in order to reſtore them to their lawful Proprietor; and that, as for himſelf, he muſt either quit his Dominions in three Days, or expect to be treated as an Enemy.

Paris had no Remedy; he was oblig'd to obey the King's Injunction, and purſue his Voyage; which he did, and arrived at *Troy*, whither he was ſoon followed by the *Grecian* Army. The *Greeks* immediately ſummoned the *Trojans* to ſurrender *Helen*, and with her all the Treaſure that had been ſtolen from her injured Husband; to which the *Trojans* anſwered, that neither the one nor the other were in their City. In Effect, ſays *Herodotus*, with great Reaſon, what Probability is there, that ſo old and ſo wiſe a Prince as *Priam*, ſhould choſe to ſee his Children ſlain, and his Country ruined before his Face, rather than give the *Greeks* the Satisfaction they demanded; and that when it was ſo juſt, and reaſonable in itſelf? But it was to no Purpoſe the *Trojans* affirmed, and confirmed it with the Solemnity of an Oath, that *Helen* was not in their City, the *Greeks* firmly prepoſſeſſed with the Opinion that they were trifled with, perſiſted obſtinately in their Unbelief. It being reſolved above, (continues the ſame Hiſtorian) that the *Trojans*, by the entire Deſtruction of their City, ſhould teach the aſtoniſhed World this Leſſon, *That great Crimes are attended with as great and ſignal Puniſhments, from the angry Gods.* *Menelaus*, on his Return from *Troy*, made the *Egyptian* Court in his Way, when King *Proteus* reſtored him *Helen*, with all her Treaſure. *Herodotus* pretends to prove, from ſome Paſſages in *Homer*, that this Poet was no Stranger to this Circumſtance, that *Paris* was driven to *Egypt*, by a Storm.

The next *Egyptian* Monarch, mentioned by *Herodotus*, is *Rhampſinitus*; but, as to the Treaſury

erected

erected by him; his being the richeſt of all his Predeceſſors, or Succeſſors, with his Deſcent into *Hell*, as they are recorded by that Hiſtorian, they have ſo much the Air of a Romance, and Fable, that we ſhall not trouble our Readers with the Recital thereof. 'Till the Deceaſe of this Prince, Juſtice and Moderation prevailed in *Egypt*; but in the two following Reigns, Violence and Extortion uſurped their Places, and rendered the whole Kingdom a Scene of Deſolation and Miſery.

The two Princes, whoſe Tyranny occaſioned this melancholly Alteration in that Country, were *Cheops*, and *Cephrenus*, truly Brothers, by their Conformity to each other in their Manners; both of them ſeeming to vye with each other, which of them ſhould ſurpaſs the other in the moſt flagrant Impiety towards the Gods, and the moſt barbarous Inhumanity to their Subjects. *Cheops* reigned fifty Years, and his Brother *Cephrenus*, after him, fifty-ſix. They kept the Temples ſhut during the whole Time of their long Reigns, and prohibited the Offering of Sacrifices, under the ſevereſt Penalties: On the other Hand, they oppreſſed their Subjects with the moſt grievous, and, at the ſame Time, uſeleſs Labours; and ſacrificed the Lives of an infinite Number of Men, only to gratify a ſenſeleſs Ambition, of immortalizing their own Names, by the moſt enormous and expenſive Piles of Building. It is remarkable, that thoſe ſtately Pyramids, which have been ſo long the Admiration of Mankind, were the Fruits of their Impiety, and mercileſs Cruelty.

To theſe two Giants in Wickedneſs ſucceeded *Mycerinus*, the Son of *Cheops*; but of a very different Character from his Father: He not only did not imitate him in his Behaviour, but he purſued a Conduct quite contrary, and abhorred his Actions. He opened again the Temples of the Gods, reſtored the uſual Sacrifices, and applied himſelf to comfort his Subjects, and make them forget their paſt Miſeries; believing himſelf ſet over them only to diſplay his Juſtice, and let them enjoy all the Satisfaction, which naturally reſults from an equitable and peaceful Adminiſtration. He heard their Complaints with Humanity and Condeſcenſion, dry'd up their Tears, eaſed their Miſery, and did not look upon himſelf ſo much their Maſter, as their Father. A Conduct ſo human and commendable, naturally gained him the Affections of his People; all *Egypt* reſounded with his Praiſes, and his Name commanded the Love and Veneration of every one. It was reaſonable to have hoped, that a Behaviour ſo prudent, and ſo engaging, would have obtained him the Protection of the Gods; but the Event proved quite otherwiſe: The Death of an only Daughter, who was tenderly beloved by him, and the Comfort of his Life, ſenſibly afflicted him, and was the Beginning of his Misfortunes. He ordered extraordinary Honours to be paid to her Memory, which were not diſcontinued, even in the Time of *Herodotus*; and that Hiſtorian ſays, that in the City of *Sais* exquiſite Perfumes were burning all Day, at the Tomb of that Princeſs, and that, at Night, it was illuminated by a Lamp.

This excellent Prince being informed by an Oracle, that he ſhould not be allowed to reign a longer Term than ſeven Years, expoſtulated with the Gods thereupon; and deſired to know, why his Father and Uncle, two Tyrants equally impious, had been indulged in the Bleſſing of ſo long and happy a Reign, whilſt he, who had been ſo careful to render his Government as equitable and mild as poſſible, was to ſway the Sceptre for ſo ſhort a Term, and even that was to be unfortunate. To which he was anſwered, that the Equity and Clemency of his Reign, were the very Cauſes of its being ſo ſhort and unhappy; becauſe it was the Will of the Gods, that the *Egyptians* ſhould be oppreſſed for the Term of a hundred and fifty Years, as a Puniſhment for their Wickedneſs; and that therefore his Reign, which had been deſtined to be of an equal Length with thoſe of his Father and Uncle, was ſhortened on Account of his exceſſive Lenity. He likewiſe built a Pyramid, but much inferior in its Dimenſions to that of his Father.

Next to *Mycerinus*, according to *Herodotus*, was *Aſychis*, who enacted the Law, already mentioned, relating to Loans, which diſabled a Son from borrowing any Sum, without giving the Body of his Father in Security. By this Law it was farther provided, that in Caſe the Son did not take Care to redeem his Father's Body, by Repayment of the Sum borrowed, both himſelf, and his Children, ſhould be deprived for ever of the Rites of Sepulture; than which, a greater Ignominy could not befal an *Egyptian*. This Prince valued himſelf for having ſurpaſſed all his Predeceſſors, in building a Pyramid of Brick, more magnificent, at leaſt in his Opinion, than any that had been erected before: Accordingly, this Inſcription was ingraven thereon, by the Founder's Order. *Compare me not with Pyramids of Stone; which I excel as much, as* Jupiter *does all other Gods.*

As *Herodotus* has not aſcertained the preciſe Time that the ſix laſt mentioned Monarchs reigned, we will ſuppoſe all the ſix to have taken up the Term of one hundred and ſeventy Years, which is allowing them to have reigned about thirty Years one with another; notwithſtanding which, there will be an Interval of near three hundred Years, to the Reign of *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian*; wherein we ſhall place ſome Facts, which are recounted in *Holy Writ*.

Pharaoh, King of *Egypt*, gave his Daughter in Marriage to *Solomon*, King of *Iſrael*; who reſided in that Part of *Jeruſalem*, called the City of *David*, until he had built her a Palace; *for he ſaid, My Wife ſhall not dwell in the Houſe of* David, *King of* Iſrael, *becauſe the Places are holy whereunto the Ark of the Lord hath come*, 2 Chron. viii. 11.

Jeroboam fled to *Seſonchis*, or *Seſac*, called in Scripture *Shiſhak*, from the Wrath of *Solomon*; who would have killed him, becauſe it had been propheſied to him, by *Ahijah* the *Shilonite*, that he ſhould reign over Ten of the Tribes of *Iſrael*. Hereupon, *Jeroboam* ſtaid in *Egypt* till *Solomon*'s Deceaſe; after which he returned to *Judea*, and putting himſelf at the Head of the Ten Tribes, wreſted them from *Rehoboam*, and made himſelf King over them.

But that was not all the Misfortune that befel *Rehoboam*; for in the fifth Year of his Reign, *Seſac* marched againſt *Jeruſalem*, becauſe *Judah* had tranſgreſſed againſt the Lord. *Shiſhak* brought with him in this Expedition, twelve hundred arm'd Chariots, and ſixty thouſand Horſes, and the People that were with him were without Number. With theſe he made himſelf Maſter of all the fortify'd Cities of *Judah*, and advanc'd as far as *Jeruſalem*.

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Hereupon, the Princes of *Iſrael* humbled themſelves, and implor'd the divine Protection; upon which *God* told them, by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, that he would not utterly deſtroy them, as they had deſerv'd, but would grant them ſome Deliverance; but that, nevertheleſs, they ſhould be Servants to *Shiſhak*, that they might know the Difference between the Service of *God*, and the Service of the Kingdoms of the Countries. Accordingly, *Shiſhak*, after having pillaged the Houſe of the *Lord*, and the King's Houſe, of all its Treaſures, and taken away the three hundred Shields of Gold, which *Solomon* had made, rais'd the Siege, and retir'd from *Jeruſalem*.

It was, doubtleſs, during this Interval, that *Zara*, or *Zerah*, King of *Ethiopia*, who muſt certainly have reign'd over *Egypt* likewiſe, ſince that would otherwiſe have lain between him, and *Paleſtine*; invaded *Aſa*, King of *Judah*, at the Head of a Million of Men, and three hundred arm'd Chariots. Againſt this formidable Army *Aſa* march'd out boldly, with a much inferior Force, in full Reliance on *God* whom he ſerv'd; and ranging his Army in Order of Battle, thus addreſſed himſelf to the *Almighty*. Lord, *It is nothing with thee to help, whether with many, or with them that have no Power: Help us, O* Lord, *our* God; *for we reſt on thee, and in thy Name we go againſt this Multitude: O* Lord, *thou art our* God; *let not Men prevail againſt thee.* 2 Chron. xiv. 11, 12. A Prayer offer'd up with ſuch a firm Faith, could not fail of being heard; accordingly, *God* ſtruck the *Ethiopians* with a panick Fear; inſomuch that they betook themſelves to a precipitate Flight, and were irrecoverably defeated; being deſtroy'd before the *Lord*, and before his Hoſt.

The next *Egyptian* Monarch that occurs, was *Anyſis*, who was blind; and during whoſe Reign, *Sabacon*, the *Ethiopian* before-mention'd, entred *Egypt* with a numerous Army, and made himſelf Maſter thereof; being incited to undertake this Expedition, by an Oracle, which promiſed him Succeſs. When he had conquer'd it, however, he govern'd with great Clemency, Juſtice, and Wiſdom; of which (we think) one admirable Regulation of his, amongſt others, is a ſufficient Inſtance. He did not puniſh with Death, ſuch Criminals as had been convicted of capital Offences (unleſs, as we preſume, they were guilty of Murther) but reſerv'd them for the Reparation of the Cauſeys, on which the Cities to which they belong'd were ſituate: By this Means they were made beneficial to the Publick, who reap'd the Advantage of their Labour; and, at the ſame Time, were ſufficiently puniſh'd for the Crimes they had committed. We ſubmit it to thoſe who are competent Judges, whether our Felons at home, under a proper Regulation, might not be render'd more advantagious to the Publick, than they are at preſent, by being tranſported. *Sabacon*, likewiſe, built ſeveral magnificent Temples; amongſt others, one in the City of *Bubaſtus*; of which *Herodotus* gives us a long and elegant Deſcription. What is moſt remarkable, and ſurprizing in this Prince is; that, after a Reign of fifty Years, the Time appointed by the Oracle, he voluntarily quitted *Egypt*, for his old Kingdom of *Ethiopia*; and left the Throne to *Anyſis*, who had conceal'd himſelf all this While in the Fens. It is believ'd, that this *Sabacon* is the ſame with *So*, King of *Egypt*; whoſe Aſſiſtance *Hoſhea*, King of *Iſrael*, in vain implor'd, againſt the *Aſſyrian* Monarch *Shalmaneſer*.

Subſequent to *Anyſis*, is *Sethon*, or *Sethos*, who reign'd fourteen Years; and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Sevechus*, the Son of *Sabacon*, *Sual*, or *So*, the *Ethiopian* laſt mention'd; who reign'd ſo long over *Egypt*. This Prince was ſo far from diſcharging the Duty of a Monarch, that he affected the Character of a Prieſt; and accordingly, cauſed himſelf to be conſecrated High-Prieſt of *Vulcan*. He even abandon'd himſelf ſo far to Superſtition, that he intirely neglected providing for the Defence of his Kingdom by Arms; and paid very little Regard to thoſe of the military Profeſſion; being fully perſuaded he ſhould never have any Occaſion for their Aſſiſtance. Wherefore, he not only did not give himſelf any Trouble to gain their Affections, but depriv'd them of their Privileges; and even went ſo far as to take from them the Lands, aſſign'd them for many Ages, by the Bounty of his Predeceſſors.

As might reaſonably have been apprehended, he was ſoon made ſenſible of their Reſentment, in a War wherein he was ſuddenly engag'd with the *Arabians* and *Aſſyrians*; and from which he was only deliver'd by the miraculous Protection of the God he ſerv'd: At leaſt, if *Herodotus* is to be believ'd; who intermingles Abundance of Fable with his Account of this War. *Sennacherib*, (for ſo *Herodotus* calls the Prince of the *Arabians*, and *Aſſyrians*) having entred *Egypt* with a numerous Army, the *Egyptian* Officers and Soldiers abſolutely refuſed to march againſt him. Hereupon, the Prieſt of *Vulcan*, being reduc'd to ſuch an Extremity, had Recourſe to his God; and, on imploring his Protection, was bid to march couragiouſly againſt the Enemy with what few Men he could raiſe. He obey'd the God, without Heſitation; and with a Handful of Tradeſmen, Mechanicks, and Strangers, who join'd him, march'd to *Peluſium*, where *Sennacherib*'s Army was incamp'd. The Night following, an infinite Number of Field-Rats entred the Enemy's Camp, and gnawing in Pieces their Bow-Strings, and the Thongs that held their Shields, render'd them incapable of making any Defence: Hereupon, being thus diſarm'd, they were oblig'd to retreat with great Precipitation; and in ſo doing, loſt the moſt Part of their Forces. In Acknowledgment for this Deliverance, *Sethon*, when he return'd Home, cauſed his own Statue to be erected in the Temple of *Vulcan*, holding a Rat in his Right-Hand; and with theſe Words iſſuing out of his Mouth: *Let the Man who beholds me, learn to reverence the Gods.*

It is evident, at firſt Sight, that this Story, dreſs'd up as it is here, in this Manner, by *Herodotus*, is only an Alteration of what we are told in the Second Book of *Kings*, concerning *Sennacherib*, King of *Aſſyria*. We may there ſee, how that proud Prince, having ſubdu'd all the Nations adjacent, and made himſelf Maſter of all the other Cities of *Judah*, reſolv'd to beſiege *Hezekiah* in his Capital, *Jeruſalem*. The Miniſters of this religious Monarch, in Contradiction to his Commands, and the repeated Remonſtrances of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who promis'd them, that God would infallibly protect them, if they would rely intirely upon him, ſent ſecretly to *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, for Aſſiſtance. Relief was promiſed them, and

and the united Forces of thoſe two Powers march'd to the Defence of *Jeruſalem*, at the Time appointed; but were met, and vanquiſh'd by the *Aſſyrians* in a pitch'd Battle: Which done, *Sennacherib* purſu'd them into *Egypt*, and intirely laid waſte the whole Country. On his Return from thence victorious, the very Night before he was to have made a general Aſſault on *Jeruſalem*; when thoſe, who had adviſed the relying on *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia*, had given over all Hopes; and every Heart fail'd, as believing their Caſe deſperate, excepting the King and the Prophets; the Deſtroying Angel from the Lord viſited the Camp of the *Aſſyrians*, and ſlew a hundred fourſcore and five thouſand of them; proving thereby, undeniably, according to the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, that the Word, and Promiſe of the God of *Iſrael*, was always to be firmly rely'd on.

This we now know to be the Truth of the Fact; but, as that would have been far from redounding to the Honour of the *Egyptians*, they have endeavour'd to wreſt it to their own Advantage, by diſguiſing, and corrupting it, in the Manner before related. The Prophet *Iſaiah* had foretold, on different Occaſions; that this Expedition of the *Egyptians*, and *Ethiopians*, concerted ſeemingly with ſuch Prudence, and conducted with equal Ability, for the Relief of the *Jews*, with the united Forces of two powerful Kingdoms, ſhould not only be of no Service to *Jeruſalem*, but ſhould prove the Deſtruction of *Egypt* itſelf; whoſe ſtrongeſt Cities ſhould be reduc'd; and the Inhabitants of all Ages, and Sexes, carry'd away Captives. It was, undoubtedly, in this Period, that the famous *No-Ammon*, ſpoken of by the Prophet *Nahum*, when he foretold the utter Ruin of *Nineveh*, was ſo totally deſtroy'd. That Prophet ſays, that *ſhe was carried away* —— that *her young Children were daſhed in Pieces at the Top of all the Streets*; that the Enemy *caſt Lots for her honourable Men*; *and all her great Men were bound in Chains.* He obſerves alſo, that all theſe Misfortunes befel her, when *Egypt and Ethiopia were her Strength*; *and it was infinite.* This clearly points out the Time, of which we have been ſpeaking, when *Tharaka*, call'd in Scripture *Tirhaka*, King of *Ethiopia*, and *Sethon*, join'd their Forces, in vain, for the Recovery of *Jeruſalem*. Authors are divided in their Opinion, where this *No*, or *No-Ammon* ſtood; the Vulgate gives the Name of *Alexandria*, to that City which the *Hebrew* calls *No-Ammon*; ſuppoſing, undoubtedly, that *Alexandria* was afterwards built on the ſame Spot, on which that was ſituated; but Dean *Prideaux*, and the learned *Bochart*, judge, that it was the ſame with *Thebes*, call'd by the *Greeks*, *Dioſpolis*; or the City of *Jupiter*: And thus much, indeed, may be ſaid, in Support of the latter Opinion; that the *Egyptian Ammon* was the ſame with the *Grecian Jupiter*, or *Zeus*; and that the magnificent Remains of *Thebes*, correſpond very well with the Character given in Scripture of this celebrated City, and her intire Ruin.

From the Foundation of the *Egyptian* Monarchy, to the Reign of *Sethon*, the *Egyptian* Prieſts reckon'd three hundred and forty one Generations of Men; which, allowing three Generations to amount to a hundred Years, made up a Series of eleven thouſand, three hundred ſixty ſix Years, and eight Months: They reckon'd likewiſe an equal Number of Prieſts and Kings; which latter, if they were to be believ'd, had ſucceeded each other, without Interruption, under the Name of *Pyromis*; an *Egyptian* Word, which ſignifies *good*, and *virtuous*: To confirm this, the Prieſts ſhew'd *Herodotus*, three hundred and forty one Wooden Statues of theſe *Pyromis*, ranged in Order in a great Hall: Such was the abſurd Pride, and Folly of the *Egyptians*; they were fond of laying Claim to an Antiquity, to which no other Nation pretended; and to which they were far from being able to make good their Pretenſions.

To *Sethon*, who reign'd but fourteen Years, ſucceeded *Tharaka*, or *Tirhaka*, King of *Ethiopia*; the ſame who unfortunately join'd *Sethon* with his Forces, for the Relief of *Jeruſalem*: He ſway'd the Sceptre eighteen Years, and was the laſt *Ethiopian* Monarch, who reign'd in *Egypt*. After his Deceaſe, the *Egyptians* could not come to any Agreement about the Succeſſion; but continued in a State of Anarchy, for the Space of two Years; during which, conſequently, they were involv'd in perpetual Diſorders. At laſt, twelve of the principal Noblemen combining together, ſeiz'd upon the Kingdom, and divided it into as many petty Monarchies; having previouſly agreed amongſt themſelves, that each of them ſhould govern his own Territories, with equal Power and Authority; without any Thought of invading, or ſeizing on the Dominions of the Reſt.

They conceiv'd it abſolutely neceſſary to make this Agreement; and alſo to bind it with horrid Imprecations, upon whoever ſhould violate it, in order to evade the Accompliſhment of an Oracle; which had foretold, that which of them ſoever, in offering his Libation to *Vulcan*, ſhould make Uſe of a Brazen Bowl to perform that Ceremony, he ſhould certainly become Maſter of all *Egypt*. For fifteen Years, theſe twelve Princes reign'd together in great Harmony; and believing they ſhould continue ſo to do, were deſirous of leaving a laſting Monument of their Concord to Poſterity. To this End, they jointly, and at their common Expence, built the famous Labyrinth; which, as we have obſerv'd before, was a magnificent Pile of Building, conſiſting of twelve large Palaces, conjoin'd together; which had, under them, as many ſubterraneous Structures, of an equal Magnitude, Number, and Proportion, to the Rooms above.

In Proceſs of Time, however, an Accident altogether undeſign'd, put a Period to the Unity, which had, till then, ſubſiſted between theſe twelve Monarchs: For, one Day, as they were all aſſiſting at a ſolemn, and periodical Sacrifice, in the Temple of *Vulcan*, the Prieſts having preſented each of the Reſt with a Golden Bowl for the Libation, one was wanting for *Pſammiticus*; whereupon, that Prince, without any Deſign, ſupply'd the Want of the Bowl, and perform'd the Ceremony of the Libation, with his Brazen Helmet; each of them wearing one, at that Solemnity. This Accident made no ſmall Impreſſion upon the Reſt, and recall'd to their Remembrance the Prediction of the Oracle beforemention'd; wherefore, they judg'd it highly neceſſary, to provide againſt any Attempts he might form; and with one Accord, baniſh'd him into the Fens.

There *Pſammiticus* ſpent ſome Years, waiting for a favourable Opportunity, to revenge himſelf upon the eleven Kings, for the Affront they had put upon him; when News was brought him, that Men of Braſs were landed in *Egypt*: Theſe

were *Carians*, and *Ionians*, both *Grecian* Colonies, who had been driven into *Egypt* by a Storm; and were cased all over, from Head to Foot, with Brazen Armour. Hereupon, *Psammiticus* immediately call'd to Mind an Oracle, which had foretold, that he should be assisted by Men of *Brass*, who should come to him from beyond the Sea; and he doubted not but the Prophecy would now be accomplish'd. Accordingly, he entred into a League with these Strangers; engaged them, by great Promises, to stay with him; levy'd Forces privately; put the *Greeks* at the Head of them; and giving Battle to the eleven Kings, entirely defeated them, and remain'd sole Master of *Egypt*.

As this Prince ow'd his Exaltation, if not his Preservation, to the *Ionians*, and *Carians*, he gratefully gave them Settlements in *Egypt*; which had, till then, been shut against all Strangers; and by an Assignment of sufficient Lands, and fix'd Revenues, brib'd them to forget their native Country. By his Order also, they had *Egyptian* Children put under their Tuition, that they might learn the *Greek* Tongue; and on this Occasion, and by this Means, the *Egyptians* began to carry on a Commerce with the *Greeks*. From this Time also, according to *Herodotus*, the *Egyptian* History, which was before interlarded with pompous Fables, the Inventions of Priests, begins to be more authentick, and to be depended on.

No sooner was *Psammiticus* well settled upon the Throne, but he engag'd in a War with the King of *Assyria*, about the Boundaries of the two Monarchies. This Rupture was of long Continuance; for, after *Syria* had fallen under the Power of the *Assyrians*, the *Holy Land* lying between those two Powers, was a perpetual Subject of Discord to them, as it was afterwards to the *Ptolomies*, and the *Seleucidæ*: They were always contending for it; and it became, alternately, the Prey of the one, or the other, according as either of them prov'd the strongest. This was the Case, in the Time of *Psammiticus*; that Prince finding himself peaceable Possessor of all *Egypt*, and having restor'd the antient Constitution, thought it became him to look to his Frontiers, and secure them against his Neighbour, the *Assyrian*, whose Power increased daily; to which End he entred *Palestine*, at the Head of a powerful Army.

Probably, we are to refer to the Beginning of this Reign, the Observation of *Diodorus Siculus*; that the *Egyptians*, being provok'd to see the Preference over them given to the *Greeks*, who were plac'd in the Right Wing, by the King himself, quitted his Service, to the Number of above two hundred thousand; and retir'd into *Ethiopia*, where they met with an advantagious Settlement.

However that be, *Psammiticus* entering *Palestine* (as we before observ'd) found his Career stopp'd by *Azotus*; call'd in Scripture *Ashdod*, one of the principal Cities of that Country. This gave him so much Trouble, that it requir'd a Siege of twenty nine Years, to make him Master thereof; antient History does not mention any other Siege, which lasted such a prodigious While. This Place was, of old, one of the five capital Cities of the *Philistines*; but the *Egyptians*, having seiz'd it, many Years before the Reign of *Psammiticus*, had fortified it with such particular Care, that it became their strongest Fortress on that Side; neither could the *Assyrian* penetrate into *Egypt*, till he had made himself Master of that Town; which was effected by *Tartan*, one of his Generals, as may be seen, *Isaiah* xx. 1. *Sennacherib* being the same Prince, who is there call'd *Sargon*. The *Assyrians* maintain'd themselves in Possession thereof, till the Time that *Psammiticus* reduc'd it; and it cost the *Egyptians* the long Siege we have just mention'd, to recover it from them. This is suppos'd to have happen'd, about seven Years after the Captivity of *Manasseh*, King of *Judah*.

During this Period, the *Scythians* quitting the Coasts of the *Palus Mœotis*, made Incursions into *Media*, defeated *Cyaxares*, the King thereof, and ravaged all the *Upper Asia*; whereof they kept Possession twenty eight Years. They likewise push'd their Conquests into *Syria*, quite to the Frontiers of *Egypt*; but *Psammiticus*, going out to meet them, managed Matters so well, by his Presents, and Intreaties, that he prevail'd on them to proceed no farther; and thereby deliver'd his Dominions from those dangerous Enemies.

Till the Reign of this Prince, the *Egyptians* had been fully possess'd with the Belief, that they were the most antient People upon Earth; but he was desirous to be yet more throughly convinc'd thereof, and to that End, had Recourse to a very extraordinary Experiment; if any Credit is to be given to this Story. He order'd two Children, newly born, of poor Parents, to be educated in the Country, in two separate Cells, which were kept continually shut: They were committed to the Charge of a Shepherd, who was to feed them with Goat's Milk, as some say; though others will have it, they were to be suckled by Nurses, whose Tongues were cut out; and he was expresly commanded, neither to suffer any Person to enter these Cells, nor to speak one Word himself, in the hearing of these Children. He did so; and at the End of two Years, as he was entring the Cells, with the necessary Food for them, they both cry'd out, with their Hands extended towards their Foster-Father; *Bekkos, Bekkos*. The Shepherd, surpriz'd to hear a Language that was entirely new to him, but which was frequently repeated afterwards, inform'd the King thereof; and he ordering the Children to be brought before him, that he might himself be a Witness of the Truth of the Fact, both of them, in his Presence, began to lisp their little Gibberish. There was nothing wanting now, but to discover what Nation us'd that Word; and, at last, it was found to be the Term by which the *Phrygians* call'd *Bread*: Hereupon, the *Egyptians* were oblig'd to resign to them the Honour of being the most antient People; notwithstanding it was a Title of which they had been long in Possession, and of the Honour of which they were not a little jealous. We have already insinuated, that this Story does not seem to deserve much Credit; since it is universally agreed, and generally known, that such Persons as are born deaf, are likewise necessarily dumb; not through any Defect in their Organs of Speech, which have been found to be as perfect in them as others, but because, having never heard any articulate Sounds, they are thereby wholly incapacitated from uttering any. *Psammiticus*, after a long Reign, dy'd in the twenty fourth Year of *Josiah*, King of *Judah*; and was succeeded in the Throne by his Son *Nechao*.

This Prince was the same with the *Pharaoh Necho*, so frequently mention'd in Scripture: It was he, who, as we have observ'd before, attempted

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to open a Communication between the *Nile*, and the *Red Sea*, by a Canal cut from one to the other: They were diſtant from each other, at leaſt, an hundred *Stadia*; and above a hundred and twenty Thouſand Labourers periſh'd in the Attempt; after which, he deſiſted from proceeding any farther therein, becauſe that, having conſulted an Oracle about the Succeſs thereof, the Anſwer return'd was; *That it would open a Door for* Barbarians *to enter his Dominions*: The *Egyptians* (as has been obſerv'd already) call'd all other Nations by that Name.

Nechao, however, met with better Succeſs, in another Enterprize, whereof he might have made great Advantage. He had then divers *Phœnician* Mariners in his Service, they being, at that Time, the ableſt Sailors in the Univerſe; and ſome of theſe taking Shipping in the *Red Sea*, with Deſign to diſcover the Coaſts of *Africa*, happily ſucceeded therein; ſailing almoſt round that vaſt Continent, and returning to *Egypt*, the third Year after their ſetting out, through the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*. This Voyage was very extraordinary, in an Age when the Compaſs was not known; and was perform'd one and twenty Centuries before *Vaſco de Gama*, a *Portugueze*, by the Diſcovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, in the Year 1497, found out the ſame Way to the *Eaſt-Indies*, by which thoſe *Phenicians* had come from thence into the *Mediterranean*.

It was much about this Time, that the *Babylonians*, and *Medes*, having deſtroy'd *Nineveh*, the former became ſo formidable, that they drew upon themſelves the Jealouſy of all their Neighbours. *Nechao*, amongſt the Reſt, being alarm'd with the Danger, advanc'd to the *Euphrates*, at the Head of a powerful Army, in Order to put a Stop to their Progreſs. In ſo doing, he was obliged to take his Rout a-croſs *Judea*; for which Reaſon, *Joſiah*, King of *Judah* (who was ſo famous for his uncommon Piety) was reſolv'd to oppoſe his Paſſage. With this View, he rais'd all the Forces of his Kingdom, and poſted himſelf in the Valley of *Megiddo*, a City on the Side of *Jordan*, belonging to the Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, and call'd *Magdolus* by *Herodotus*. *Nechao* being appriz'd of this, ſent him Word, that his Arms were not deſign'd againſt him, but againſt Others, who were the antient Enemies of his Houſe; and that he had engaged in this Expedition by the Incitement of *God* himſelf, who was with him; that, therefore, he adviſ'd him, not to intermeddle therewith, nor oppoſe him; ſince that would be, in a Manner, oppoſing *God*; and muſt, neceſſarily, turn to his Deſtruction. *Joſiah*, however, was not to be mov'd with theſe Reaſons; for, undoubtedly, he did not believe, that this *Heathen* Prince had any Commiſſion from *God*, to undertake this War, but only, that he pretended ſuch a Commiſſion, whereas, he engaged therein ſolely out of Motives of human Policy: Wherefore, as he was ſenſible, that the bare marching of ſo powerful an Army through his Dominions, would not fail to ruin the Country; and beſides, might be afraid, that the Victor, after the Defeat of his Enemy, might turn his Arms againſt him, and deprive him of Part of his Dominions, he perſiſted in his Reſolution of oppoſing his Paſſage. He did ſo, and was not only vanquiſh'd by *Nechao*, but unfortunately receiv'd a fatal Wound, whereof he dy'd ſoon after at *Jeruſalem*, whither he had order'd himſelf to be carry'd: Thus he made Way for the Calamities, which were impendent over the *Jews*; and which had only been delay'd, on Account of his good Reign.

Nechao, being encouraged by this Victory, continu'd his March towards the *Euphrates*, where he defeated the *Babylonians*, and reduc'd *Carchemiſh*, a large, and ſtrong City in thoſe Parts; which he ſecur'd, by leaving a good Garriſon therein: This done, he ſet out on his Return to his own Kingdom, from which he had been abſent about three Months. Being inform'd by the Way, that *Jehoahaz*, Son to *Joſiah*, had been proclaim'd King at *Jeruſalem*, in his Father's Room, without any Application having been made to him for his Conſent; he order'd that unhappy Prince to meet him at *Riblah*, in the Land of *Hamath*; where he no ſooner arriv'd, but *Nechao* put him in Chains, and ſent him Priſoner into *Egypt*, where he ended his Days in Confinement. From thence he purſued his March, and advanc'd to *Jeruſalem*; where he made *Eliakim*, another of the Sons of *Joſiah*, King, in the Room of his Brother; gave him the Name of *Jehoiakim*; impos'd a yearly Tribute upon the Land, of a hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold; amounting in all, according to Dr. *Cumberland*, to 40,435 *l.* 3 *s.* 1 *d.* 2 *q.* which done, he return'd triumphant to *Egypt*.

Herodotus, in his Account of this Expedition of *Nechao*'s, and of the Victory gain'd by him at *Megiddo*, which he calls *Magdolus*, ſays, that he afterwards took the City *Cadytis*; which, he informs us, was ſituated in the Mountains of *Paleſtine*, and was equal in Extent to *Sardis*; which was not only the Capital of *Lydia*, at that Time, but of all *Aſia Minor*. This Deſcription of the Situation, and Extent of *Cadytis*, can only agree with *Jeruſalem*; which was the only City, that could be compar'd to *Sardis*, in both thoſe Reſpects. Beſides, it appears plainly from Scripture, that *Nechao*, after the Defeat of *Joſiah*, made himſelf Maſter of *Jeruſalem*; ſince he was there in Perſon, when he gave the Crown to *Jehoiakim*. In Effect, the very Name *Cadytis*, which, in *Hebrew*, ſignifies *Holy*, demonſtrates it clearly to have been the City of *Jeruſalem*; as is evidently prov'd by the Learned Dean *Prideaux*. For, from the Time that *Solomon*, by building of the Temple, had render'd *Jeruſalem* the only Place of Worſhip for all *Iſrael*, it was diſtinguiſh'd from all the other Cities, by the Epithet *Holy*; and in the *Old Teſtament*, it was call'd *Air Hakkodeſh*, that is, the *City of Holineſs*, or the *Holy City*. It even bore this Title upon their Coins, and the Shekel was inſcrib'd, *Jeruſalem Keduſha*; that is, *Jeruſalem the Holy*. In Proceſs of Time, for the Sake of Brevity, the Word *Jeruſalem* was omitted, and only *Keduſha* reſerv'd; and the *Syriac* being the prevailing Language, in the Time of *Herodotus*, *Keduſha*, by a Change uſual in that Dialect, of (*ſh*) into (*th*) was made *Kedutha*; to which *Herodotus* giving a *Greek* Termination, it became *Cadytis*.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd, *Nabopolaſſar*, King of *Babylon*, obſerving, that ſince *Carchemiſh* had been wreſted from him by *Nechao*, all *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, had revolted from him, and no longer acknowledg'd his Dominion; and being ſenſible, that his great Age, and Infirmities, would not allow him to march againſt the Rebels in Perſon, made his Son *Nabuchadonoſor*, call'd in Scripture, *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nebuchadrezzar*, his Aſſociate, or Partner in the Empire; and ſent him,

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at the Head of a powerful Army, into those Parts. This young Prince defeated the Army of *Nechao* near the *Euphrates*, recover'd *Carchemish*, and reduc'd the revolted Provinces to his Obedience, as the Prophet *Jeremiah* had foretold. In this Expedition, he took from the *Egyptians*, all that had belong'd to them, from the River of *Egypt*, to the *Euphrates*; which comprehended all *Syria*, and *Palestine*; for, as the *Euphrates* was the *North-East* Boundary of *Syria*, the River of *Egypt* was the *South-West* Boundary of *Palestine*. To prevent Mistakes, however, it is proper to observe, that this River of *Egypt*, so frequently mention'd in Scripture, as the Boundary of *Palestine*, on that Side towards *Egypt*, is by no Means to be understood of the *Nile*; but of a small River, or Brook, nam'd *Sihor*, which running a-cross the Desart, that lay between the two Nations, was the common Boundary of both. So far the Land promis'd to the Posterity of *Abraham*, and divided amongst them by Lot, extended.

After this Defeat, *Necho* was oblig'd to keep himself within his own Territories, and after having reign'd sixteen Years, left the Kingdom to his Son *Psammis*; who reign'd only six Years, and of whom History has left us very little worthy Recital: All we know of him is, that he went upon an Expedition into *Ethiopia*; and that the *Elians* sent a splendid Embassy into *Egypt*, during his Reign. The Purport of this Embassy was, that, having establish'd the *Olympic* Games with such Care, and under such excellent Regulations (at least, as they imagin'd) that nothing could be added to their Perfection, and even Envy itself could not find any Fault with them (at least, as they imagin'd) they were desirous of the Opinion of the *Egyptians* thereupon, whom they esteem'd the wisest and most sensible People in the World, as believing themselves sure of their Approbation. Hereupon, *Psammis* assembled the *Egyptian* Sages, to know their Sentiments on this Head; and after every Thing had been heard, that could be alledg'd in Praise of this Institution, the *Elians* were ask'd, whether their Fellow-Citizens, and Strangers, were admitted indifferently to these Exercises; and they answer'd, That they were open alike to both; upon which the *Egyptians* reply'd, that the Rules of Justice would have been observ'd better, if Strangers only had been admitted to these Exercises; because it would be very difficult for the Judges, in their Award of the Victory, and Prize, not to incline the Ballance in Favour of their Fellow-Citizens.

To *Psammis* succeeded his Son *Apries*, call'd in Scripture *Pharaoh Hophra*; who reign'd twenty-five Years; the first of which were as remarkably happy, as those of any of his Predecessors: He carry'd his Arms into *Cyprus*; attack'd the City of *Sidon* both by Sea and Land; took it; and made himself Master of all *Phœnicia*, and *Palestine*. Such uncommon, and unlook'd for Success, swell'd him up with Pride; and by the Testimony of *Herodotus*, he was so puff'd up with Insolence, and so far infatuated, that he boasted, it was not in the Power of the Gods themselves to dethrone him: So firmly establish'd was his Power, in his Opinion. It was with a View to these his arrogant Sentiments, that the Prophet *Ezekiel* puts these vain, and impious Words into his Mouth; *My* River *is mine own, and I have made it for myself.* The True God, however, of whom he was wholly ignorant, convinc'd him afterwards, that he had a Master, and that he was only a meer Man, and a miserable Wretch; He threatned him by his Prophets, long before he afflicted him, with all the Calamities, wherewith he had resolv'd to chastise and humble his Pride.

A little after *Hophra* had ascended the Throne, *Zedekiah*, King of *Judah*, sent an Embassy to him, to engage him to enter into a mutual Alliance; and the next Year, unmindful of the Oath he had taken to the King of *Babylon*, he broke out into an open Rebellion against him. Notwithstanding the many Injunctions from God to his People, not to have Recourse to *Egypt*, or repose any Confidence in her; notwithstanding their repeated Misfortunes, from their having rely'd upon that Nation, they still thought them their most sure Refuge in Times of Danger, and could not forbear making their Application to them.

This had already happen'd under the Reign of that Religious Prince *Hezekiah*, and had given Occasion of God's Message to his People, by the Prophet *Isaiah*. *Wo to them that go down to* Egypt *for Help, and stay on Horses, and trust in Chariots, because they are many; but they look not unto the Holy One of* Israel, *neither seek the Lord.* —— *The* Egyptians *are Men, and not God, and their Horses Flesh, and not Spirit; when the Lord shall stretch out his Hand, both he that helpeth shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall down, and they shall fall together.* However, neither the good King, who was utterly against sending to *Egypt* for Assistance, nor the Prophet, were regarded, and nothing but the most fatal Experience could open their Eyes, and convince them of the Truth of the divine Threatnings.

The *Jews* behav'd just in the same Manner, on this Occasion; *Zedekiah*, notwithstanding all *Jeremiah*'s strenuous Remonstrances to the contrary, was fully bent upon an Alliance with King *Apries*; who being elate with the late Success of his Arms, and confident, that nothing was able to resist his Power, declar'd himself the Protector of *Israel*, and promis'd them a Deliverance, from the Hands of *Nabuchodonosor*. Hereupon, the *Almighty*, justly incens'd, that a wretched Mortal should dare to obtrude himself into his Place, thus express'd his Mind upon this Head to the Prophet *Ezekiel* xxix. 2, 3, 4. *Son of Man, set thy Face against* Pharaoh, *King of* Egypt, *and prophesy against him, and against all* Egypt. *Speak and say, Thus saith the Lord God, Behold, I am against thee,* Pharaoh, *King of* Egypt, *the great Dragon that lieth in the Midst of his* Rivers, *which hath said, My* River *is mine own, and I have made it for my self. But I will put Hooks in thy Jaws, &c.* Then, after having compar'd him to a Reed, which breaks under him that leans upon it, and pierces his Hand; God adds, *Behold, I will bring a Sword upon thee, and cut off Man and Beast out of thee; the Land of* Egypt *shall be desolate and waste, and they shall know I am the Lord, because he hath said, The River is mine, and I have made it.* The same Prophet, in several other Chapters, goes on foretelling the Calamities with which *Egypt* was upon the Point of being overwhelm'd.

Zedekiah, however, was far from giving Credit to any of these Propheeies; on the contrary, when he heard of the Approach of the *Egyptian* Army, and

and ſaw *Nabuchodonoſor* with his Forces retreating from *Jeruſalem*, he imagin'd his Deliverance compleat, and was immediately ready to triumph; but his Joy was but ſhort-liv'd. The *Egyptians* ſeeing the *Chaldeans* marching on againſt them, durſt not engage ſo numerous and well-diſciplin'd an Army; but return'd back to their own Country, and left the unfortunate *Zedekiah* expos'd to all the Dangers of a War, in which they had themſelves engag'd them; and after their Retreat, *Nabuchodonoſor* again inveſted *Jeruſalem*, which he took, and burned, as *Jeremiah* had propheſy'd.

Soon after God began to inflict thoſe Puniſhments upon *Apries*, or *Pharaoh-Hophra*, with which he had threaten'd to chaſtiſe him, for his unſufferable Pride, Arrogance, and Impiety. The *Cyrenians*, a Colony of *Grecians*, who had ſettled in *Africa*, between *Libya* and *Egypt*, having ſeiz'd on, and divided amongſt themſelves, great Part of the Country belonging to the *Libyans*; the injur'd Sufferers, thus diſpoſſeſs'd of their Right, by the Violence of theſe Intruders, were forc'd to throw themſelves at the Feet of the *Egyptian* Monarch, and implore his Protection.

Apries lent a willing Ear to their Supplications, and immediately ſent a numerous Army, to attack the *Cyrenian Greeks*; but this numerous Army happening to receive an entire Defeat, and being almoſt all cut in Pieces, the *Egyptians* imagin'd they had been ſent into *Libya*, with no other View, than that, by their Deſtruction, *Apries* might have an Opportunity of governing without any Check, or Controul. Being prepoſſeſs'd with this Belief, the *Egyptians* reſolv'd to ſhake off the Yoke of this Prince, whom they now look'd upon as their Enemy; and as *Apries*, on being inform'd this Rebellion, diſpatch'd one of his Officers, nam'd *Amaſis*, to put an End thereto, and force the Revolters to return to their Duty; the Moment *Amaſis* began to harangue them for that Purpoſe, they clapp'd a Helmet upon his Head, as a Mark of the Dignity they intended him, and proclaim'd him King. *Amaſis*, both ſurpriz'd, and pleas'd, with this unexpected Offer, made no Difficulty of accepting it; and, inſtead of diſcharging the Commiſſion upon which he came, and returning to his Sovereign, ſtaid with the Mutineers, and confirm'd them in their Inſurrection.

This News being brought to *Apries*, incens'd him yet more than before; wherefore, being fully reſolv'd to puniſh *Amaſis* ſeverely, he immediately diſpatch'd *Patarbemis*, another of his great Officers, and one of the principal Lords of his Court, with Orders to put him under an Arreſt, and bring him bound before him. But *Patarbemis* was too weak to execute his Commands; and to ſeize upon a Rebel, ſurrounded with the Inſtruments of his Treaſon. This drew upon the unfortunate *Patarbemis*, the moſt unworthy and inhuman Treatment imaginable; for, on his Return, without having executed his Commiſſion, the exaſperated Monarch, never conſidering that it was only through Want of Power, and not of Will, that his Orders were not perform'd, caus'd both his Noſe and Ears to be cut off. An Outrage ſo bloody, and ſo enormous, done to a Perſon of ſuch Diſtinction as *Patarbemis*, provok'd the *Egyptians* to that Degree, that Numbers of them daily went over to the Rebels; and the Defection, which before was confin'd to the firſt Mutineers, became general. This oblig'd *Apries* to retire into *Upper Egypt*, where he made a Shift to ſupport himſelf ſome Years, whilſt *Amaſis* ſeiz'd upon the Remainder of his Dominions.

The Troubles with which *Egypt* was thus torn, gave *Nabuchodonoſor* a favourable Opportunity, to fall upon that diſtracted Kingdom; and *God* himſelf inſpir'd him with the Thought. That Prince, the Inſtrument of the divine Vengeance, (though he was himſelf ignorant thereof) to chaſtiſe a People whom Heaven had reſolv'd to puniſh, had but juſt taken *Tyre*; in the Siege whereof both himſelf and his Army had labour'd under incredible Difficulties; to reward them, therefore, for the Fatigues they had undergone, the *Almighty* gave up *Egypt* as a Prey to their Arms. But it is proper to hear *God* himſelf, expreſſing his Mind upon this Subject; the Scripture has hardly any Paſſage more remarkable than this, or which better ſhews the Sovereign Authority of our Creator over the Princes and Kingdoms of the Earth. *Son of Man*, ſays he to his Prophet *Ezekiel*, Nebuchadrezzar, *King of* Babylon, *cauſed his Army to ſerve a great Service againſt* Tyrus; *every Head was made bald, and every Shoulder was peeled: Yet had he no Wages, nor his Army for* Tyrus, *for the Service that he had ſerved againſt it. Therefore, thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold, I will give him the Land of* Egypt *for his Labour, wherewith he ſerved againſt it, becauſe they wrought for me, ſaith the Lord God.* Again, the Prophet *Jeremiah*, ſpeaking of the ſame *Nebuchadrezzar*, ſays, *He ſhall array himſelf with the Land of* Egypt, *as a Shepherd putteth on his Garment, and he ſhall go forth from thence in Peace.* Noble Expreſſions! which ſhew with what Eaſe all the Power, and Riches of a Kingdom are carry'd away, and paſs like a Garment to a new Maſter, who has no more to do than to put it on, when God is pleas'd to appoint the Revolution.

The King of *Babylon*, then, taking Advantage of the inteſtine Diviſions, into which the Rebellion of *Amaſis* had plung'd that Kingdom, march'd thither, at the Head of his victorious Army; and made an intire Conqueſt thereof, from *Migdol*, or *Magdol*, a Town on the Frontiers of *Egypt* towards the *Holy Land*, to *Syene*, the *Southermoſt* Limit thereof towards *Ethiopia*. Wherever he march'd he carry'd Deſolation and Terror; killing infinite Numbers of the Inhabitants, and laying the Country ſo waſte, that forty Years were not ſufficient to repair the Damage caus'd by his Army. Having thus made himſelf Maſter of the whole Kingdom, *Nabuchodonoſor* came to an Accommodation with *Amaſis*, and leaving him his Subſtitute, return'd to *Babylon*, laden with the richeſt of Spoils, and infinite Booty.

After the Departure of *Nabuchodonoſor*, for his own Dominions, *Apries*, or *Pharaoh-Hophra*, quitting the Place of his Concealment, advanc'd towards the Sea-Coaſts; and taking into his Pay an Army of *Carians*, *Ionians*, and other Foreigners, march'd againſt *Amaſis*, whom he engag'd near *Memphis*; the Conſequence of which was, that he was entirely defeated, taken Priſoner, led Captive to the City of *Sais*, and there ſtrangled in his own Palace. This great and tragical Event had been exactly foretold by *God*, with all the particular Circumſtances attending it. He it was, who had broken the once ſo formidable Power of *Apries*; and had put the Sword into the Hand of *Nabucho-*

donoſor, to chaſtiſe and humble that haughty Prince. *I am againſt* Pharaoh, *King of* Egypt, ſaid he, *and will break his Arms which were ſtrong, but now are broken; and I will cauſe the Sword to fall out of his Hand* —— *But I will ſtrengthen the Arms of the King of* Babylon, *and put my Sword into his Hand* — *And they ſhall know that I am the Lord.*

He even enumerates the ſeveral Towns, which were to become the Prey of the Victors, as *Pathros*, *Zoan*, *No*, *Sin*, *Aven*, *Phibeſeth*, &c. of which *Zoan* is thought to be the ſame with *Tanis*, *Sin* with *Peluſium*, *Aven* with *Heliopolis*, and *Phibeſeth* with *Bubaſtus*. He likewiſe particularly foretels the unhappy End that ſhould befal the Captive King: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Behold, I will give* Pharaoh-Hophra, *King of* Egypt, *into the Hands of his Enemies, and into the Hand of them that ſeek his Life.* Again he declar'd, That after the Term of forty Years, the *Egyptians* ſhould groan under all Manner of Calamities, and ſhould fall into ſo deplorable a State, that there ſhould be no more a Prince of the Land of *Egypt*. The Event verify'd the Prediction; ſoon after the Expiration of thoſe forty Years, *Egypt* became ſubject to the *Perſians*, and has been govern'd by Foreigners ever ſince: For, after the Downfal of the *Perſian* Monarchy, the *Egyptians* were ſucceſſively conquer'd by the *Macedonians*, the *Romans*, the *Saracens*, the *Mamalukes*, and the *Turks*; which laſt are Maſters of that Country to this Day.

Neither was the *Almighty* leſs punctual in the Accompliſhment of his Threatenings to thoſe of his own People, who, contrary to his repeated Prohibition, had retir'd into *Egypt*, after the Reduction of *Jeruſalem*, and had forc'd the Prophet *Jeremiah* along with them: After they had reach'd *Egypt*, and were arriv'd at *Tahpanhes*, or *Tanis*, the Prophet was order'd to hide ſome ſome great Stones in the Clay of a certain Brick-Kiln, which was at the Entry of *Pharaoh*'s Palace in that City; this done, the Prophet ſhewing the *Iſraelites* thoſe Stones, declar'd, that *Nebuchadrezzar* ſhould come thither in a little Time, and ſhould ſet his Throne upon thoſe very Stones, and ſpread his Royal Pavilion over them. That then he ſhould ſmite the Land of *Egypt*, and ſhould deliver ſuch as were for Death to Death; ſuch as were for Captivity to Captivity, and ſuch as were for the Sword to the Sword. In ſhort, that he ſhould ravage the whole Kingdom, and carry Fire and Sword every-where; that they ſhould themſelves fall into his Hands, and be Part maſſacred, and Part carry'd away Captives to *Babylon*; and that but a very ſmall Number of them ſhould eſcape the common Deſolation, and be at laſt reſtor'd to their native Country: Every Particular of this was fulfill'd to a Tittle, in *God*'s appointed Time.

After the tragical End of *Apries*, the Uſurper *Amaſis* became peaceable Poſſeſſor of the Crown, and fill'd the Throne for the Term of forty Years; he was, according to *Plato*, a Native of *Sais*, and was certainly a Perſon of a great Capacity, and an artful Politician; of which the following Story is an undeniable Proof.

As his Extraction was but mean, his Subjects ſhew'd him but little Reſpect, or rather, they treated him with Contempt, at the Beginning of his Reign. He was far from being inſenſible thereof, but rightly judg'd it would be the beſt Policy, to gain upon them by Affability, and Lenity, and recover them to their Duty by ſound Reaſon. To this End, therefore, he bethought himſelf of this artful Stratagem: He had a Golden Ciſtern, wherein himſelf, and thoſe who had the Honour of being admitted to his Table, waſh'd their Feet; this he caus'd to be melted down, and form'd into the Statue of a God, which done, he expos'd it to the publick Worſhip; hereupon, the People flock'd in Crowds to the Statue, and paid their Adoration to it. This was what *Amaſis* wanted; he had gain'd his Point; wherefore, having caus'd an Aſſembly of the People to be call'd, he laid before them the vile Uſes, to which this Statue had been once made ſubſervient, to which, nevertheleſs, they now thought fit to pay the greateſt Religious Honours: The *Egyptians* were a wiſe Nation, they eaſily apply'd this Hint, as the King intended they ſhould, and it had the deſir'd Succeſs; from that Time they paid him the Reſpect, that was due to his exalted Station.

Notwithſtanding *Amaſis* did not obtain the Crown as legally as might have been wiſh'd, when he had once gain'd it, his Conduct was, in ſeveral Particulars, worthy of the Imitation of the beſt lawful Princes. He dedicated the whole Morning to publick Affairs, ſuch as receiving Petitions, giving Audiences, holding Councils, &c. and the Afternoon was ſacrific'd to Pleaſure: And as, in thoſe Hours, which were given up to Diverſion, he was extreamly gay, and perhaps, might ſometimes carry his Mirth to an Exceſs, his Courtiers took the Liberty to repreſent to him the Indecency of ſuch Behaviour, eſpecially in one of his exalted Station; upon which he anſwer'd, That it was as impoſſible for the Mind to be always ſerious and intent upon Buſineſs, as it was for a Bow always to continue bent. It was this Prince, who oblig'd the Inhabitants of every Town to enter their Names in a Book, which was to be kept by the Magiſtrates, with their Profeſſion, and Manner of Living. This Regulation was thought ſo uſeful by *Solon*, that he adopted it into his Body of Laws.

He built many magnificent Structures, eſpecially at *Sais*, the Place of his Nativity; but, above all, *Herodotus* admir'd an Edifice, conſiſting only of one ſingle Stone, which was twenty-one Cubits in Front, fourteen in Height, and eight in Breadth; it had been brought from *Elephantis*, and two thouſand Men had been employ'd three Years, in bringing it from thence, upon the *Nile*. He was very obliging to the *Greeks*, to whom he granted great Privileges; he even gave the City of *Naucratis*, ſo celebrated for its Haven, to ſuch of them as were deſirous of ſettling in *Egypt*: And when the re-building the Temple of *Delphos*, which had been burnt, was in Agitation, and the Expence was computed at three hundred Talents, he ſupply'd the People of that Iſland with a very conſiderable Sum, towards diſcharging their Quota, which was ſeventy-five Talents. He likewiſe enter'd into an Alliance with the *Cyrenians*, and marry'd a Wife from amongſt them; he was alſo the only King of *Egypt*, who conquer'd the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and impos'd a Tribute thereupon.

Under his Reign the celebrated *Pythagoras* arriv'd in *Egypt*; being recommended to *Amaſis*, by the famous *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, with whom that Prince had contracted a ſtrict Friendſhip. During his Stay in *Egypt*, that Philoſopher was initiated in all the Myſteries of the *Egyptians*, and was inſtructed by their Prieſts in the moſt abſtruſe,

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and important Points of their Religion, in Order to which, he was firſt oblig'd to undergo the Operation of Circumciſion, as has been already obſerv'd; and from them it was he adopted his Favourite Doctrine of the *Metempſychoſis*, or the Tranſmigration of Souls.

In that Expedition, wherein the Great *Cyrus* ſubdu'd the moſt Part of *Aſia*, and *Africa*, *Egypt*, undoubtedly, underwent the ſame Fate with all the neighbouring Kingdoms, and ſubmitted to his Dominion; nay, *Xenophon* expreſly affirms as much, in the Beginning of his excellent *Cyropædia*; and it is probable, that, after his Deceaſe, *Amaſis* ſhook off the Yoke, and render'd *Egypt* again independent. However that be, the *Egyptians* did not long enjoy their Liberty; for *Cambyſes*, the Son of *Cyrus*, had no ſooner aſcended his Throne, than he bent all his Thoughts upon reducing *Egypt* to his Subjection, and accordingly he invaded it in the fourth Year of his Reign.

If *Herodotus* is to be credited, the Reaſon why *Cambyſes* turn'd his Arms that Way, was; becauſe that having deſir'd a Daughter of *Amaſis* in Marriage, that Prince had ſent him a Daughter of *Apries* in her Stead. This, however, can hardly be true, ſince *Apries* had been dead forty Years; and conſequently, no Daughter of his could be young enough to be Wife to *Cambyſes*: What Others have advanc'd upon this Head, is abundantly more probable, which is, that *Cyrus* himſelf, and not *Cambyſes*, made the Demand of the Daughter of *Amaſis*, inſtead of whom that Prince ſent the Daughter of *Apries*, nam'd *Nitetis*.

This Princeſs conceal'd her Birth for ſome Time, as ſhe had been deſir'd by *Amaſis*, and was contented with being thought his Daughter; till having had divers Children by *Cyrus*, and having entirely gain'd his Affections, ſhe diſclos'd the Secret to him, and ſpar'd no Pains to inſpire him with a Reſolution to call *Amaſis* to an Account, for the Injuries he had done her Father, and particularly, his Cruelty, in cauſing him to be put to Death. *Cyrus*, it is ſaid, deſign'd to have gratify'd her therein, as ſoon as his other Affairs would have given him Leave; but, being overtaken by Death, before he could put this Deſign in Execution, the Accompliſhment thereof fell to the Lot of *Cambyſes*, who was Son to *Nitetis*; and this was his Reaſon for turning his Arms againſt *Egypt*.

Juſt before his Arrival there, *Amaſis* had ended his Days, and was ſucceeded in the Throne by his Son *Pſammenitus*; whom *Cambyſes* defeated in a pitch'd Battle, and forc'd to ſhut himſelf up in *Memphis*, where he beſieged him, and ſoon made himſelf Maſter of that City. However, contrary to his uſual Cuſtom, he treated the vanquiſh'd Monarch, at firſt, with great Lenity, granting him his Life, and aſſigning him an honourable Penſion: But, being afterwards inform'd, that *Pſammenitus*, not content therewith, was ſecretly endeavouring to reaſcend the Throne, he caus'd him to be put to Death; and thereby evidently fulfill'd the Prophecy of *Ezekiel* xxx. 13. *That there ſhould be not a Prince of the Land of* Egypt. For *Pſammenitus* was the laſt of the *Egyptian* Kings, and *Egypt* became ſubject to the *Perſians*, till the Time of *Alexander the Great*; after which it was govern'd by the *Macedonians*, till the Time of the Celebrated *Cleopatra*; then it became a Province of the *Roman* Empire, till it was ſucceſſively conquer'd by three Sorts of *Mohammedans*, or *Mahometans*; the *Saracens*, *Mamalukes*, and *Turks*: The laſt of which are Maſters thereof to this Day; and ſhould they ever loſe it, we may be firmly aſſur'd, it will never more be govern'd by an *Egyptian*.

The Reign of *Pſammenitus* laſted but half a Year; all *Egypt* ſubmitted immediately to the Conqueror; as will be ſeen more at large, when we come to treat of the Hiſtory of the *Perſians* and *Grecians*, with which the Hiſtory of the *Egyptians* will be interwoven for the future, till the Death of *Alexander the Great*; when *Egypt* will be erected into a new Monarchy, under *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Lagus*, one of that Prince's Generals, till at the Death of *Cleopatra* it becomes a Province of the *Roman* Empire, as has been already obſerv'd.

CHAP. VII.

The Hiſtory of the Aſſyrians; *various Opinions about the Antiquity of the firſt* Aſſyrian *Empire*; *the moſt probable Account thereof*; Nimrod *undoubtedly its Founder*; *ſome Account of* Nineveh, *one of the Capitals of the* Aſſyrian *Empire*; *as alſo of the Conqueſts of* Ninus, *and* Semiramis, *two of the firſt Monarchs of that Empire*; *ſome Account of* Babylon, *the other Capital of that Empire*; *the immenſe Riches contain'd in the Tower of* Babel; *All taken away, and the Tower deſtroy'd by* Xerxes, *&c.*

HAVING now given our Readers the Antient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, as far as it is not interwoven with the Hiſtory of other Nations, which Part thereof will more properly be introduc'd in another Place, we think the Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians* next demands the Preference, and for the ſame Reaſons for which we before gave it to the *Egyptians*: That is, not only becauſe they were one of the moſt antient People in the Univerſe, but becauſe their Hiſtory has a great Connection with that of the *Jewiſh* Nation; and we often find them making their Appearance, in the *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*. Their moſt powerful Monarchs, *Pul*, *Tiglath-Pileſer*, *Salmanezer*, *Sennacherib*, *Nabuchodonoſor*, and divers Others, being in the Hands of God, only ſo many Inſtruments of his Vengeance, whereof he made Uſe, to puniſh the Sins and Prevarications of his

his People. *He will lift up an Enſign to the Nations from far, and will hiſs unto them from the End of the Earth, and behold, they ſhall come with Speed ſwiftly.* Says the Prophet *Iſaiah*, v. 26. *God* himſelf put the Sword into their Hands, and appointed their daily Marches: It was he who fill'd their Soldiers with Courage, and render'd their Armies indefatigable and invincible, whilſt Terror and Conſternation march'd before them, as their Harbingers.

The Hiſtory, then, of this formidable People, muſt, we believe, be acceptable to the Publick; the *Aſſyrian* Empire having been, indiſputably, one of the moſt powerful in the World. As to the Length of its Duration, Authors have been divided in their Opinions on that Head; ſome, as *Cteſias*, who is follow'd therein by *Juſtin*, believing it to have continu'd thirteen hundred Years; whilſt Others, with *Herodotus*, reduce it to five hundred and twenty. This Difference of Opinion may, probably, have ariſen from the various Viciſſitudes to which it was ſubject, during the Courſe of ſeveral Ages that it ſubſiſted; the Power, and Extent of Empire, of ſome of its Monarchs having been conſiderably greater, than in the Reigns of ſome Others; and this, perhaps, may ſerve, in ſome Meaſure, to reconcile this Diverſity of Sentiments in thoſe Writers.

In Effect, the Hiſtory of thoſe early Times is ſo obſcure; all the Helps we can get from the Antients are ſo inſufficient, as they diſagree widely amongſt themſelves; and the Accounts of the Moderns are ſo different from each other, upon that Head; that it is very difficult, if not impoſſible, to lay down any Poſition concerning it, which a candid Writer can aſſert to be certain, and inconteſtable. When Certainty, therefore, is not to be come at, we believe, any reaſonable Perſon will be ſatisfy'd with Probability. And in our Opinion, the moſt likely Way not to be deceiv'd, is to make the *Aſſyrian* Empire equal, in Point of Antiquity, with its two Capitals, the City of *Babylon*, and *Nineveh*. Now we are aſſur'd from Scripture, that theſe were built by *Nimrod*, who, undoubtedly, was a great Conqueror; and, in all Probability, the firſt, and moſt antient, that ever aſpir'd after that vain Title; though too many have follow'd his Steps ſince, to the Deſtruction of great Part of Mankind.

According to the Account ſent by *Caliſthenes*, a Philoſopher, in *Alexander*'s Retinue, to the celebrated *Ariſtotle*, the Preceptor of that great Prince, the *Babylonians* reckon'd their City to have been built, at leaſt, 1903 Years, when that Prince made his triumphant Entry into *Babylon*; which deduces their Origin from the Year of the World, 1771, that is, a hundred and fifteen Years after the Deluge. This Computation differs but a few Years from the Time when we ſuppoſe *Nimrod* founded that City. It muſt be confeſs'd, indeed, that the Account of *Caliſthenes* is not eſteem'd authentick by the Learned, becauſe it does not agree with any other Accounts of that Matter; but the Conformity we find between it, and that given by the *Holy Scriptures*, ought, we think, to make it deſerve a little Regard.

Upon theſe Conſiderations, in our Opinion, we may very well allow, that *Nimrod* was the Founder of the firſt *Aſſyrian* Empire; which ſubſiſted, though with ſome Viciſſitudes, as to its Extent, and Glory, upwards of 1450 Years, from the Time of *Nimrod*, to the Death of *Sardanapalus*, its laſt Monarch, who burnt himſelf, with all his Wives, and Treaſures; that is, from the Year of the World, 1800, to the Year 3257.

We think it, then, evident, that *Nimrod* was the firſt King of the *Aſſyrians*; and there is great Reaſon to believe, that he was the ſame with *Belus*, who was afterwards worſhipp'd as a God, under that Name; the Word *Belus* being deriv'd from *Baal*, which ſignifies *Lord*; by which Title, *Nimrod*'s Subjects might, probably, call him.

The *Scripture* informs us, that he was the Son of *Chus*, or *Cuſh*, who was the eldeſt Son of *Cham*, or *Ham*, the ſecond Son of *Noah*; and conſequently, that he was the Great Grandſon of that good Patriarch. We are told likewiſe in *Holy Writ*, that he was *a mighty Hunter before the Lord*; in applying himſelf to which laborious, and indeed dangerous Exerciſe (for ſo it was at that Time) he ſeems, by all Circumſtances, to have had two Things in View. The firſt of theſe was, to gain the Affections of the People round about him, by delivering them from the Fury, and Dread of wild Beaſts, which abounded in thoſe Countries where he fix'd his Empire; and the next was, to train up Numbers of young Men by this hardy Exerciſe, to endure Labour, and Fatigue; to form them to the Uſe of Arms; and to inure them to a Kind of Diſcipline, and Obedience to Command; to the End that, at a proper Time, after they were accuſtom'd to ſubmit to his Orders, and were well diſciplin'd, he might employ them for other Purpoſes, of more Importance than Hunting.

There are ſome Traces ſtill remaining, in antient Hiſtory, of this Stratagem of *Nimrod*'s; whom moſt prophane Authors have confounded with his Son, *Ninus*: For, *Diodorus Siculus* has the following Paſſage; "*Ninus*, the moſt antient of the "*Aſſyrian* Monarchs, mention'd in Hiſtory, per- "form'd great Actions; being naturally of a "martial Diſpoſition, and ambitious of that Glory, "which is the Fruit of Valour, he arm'd a con- "ſiderable Number of young Men, that were "brave, and vigorous, like himſelf, train'd them "up a long Time in laborious Exerciſes, and "Hardſhips, and thereby inur'd them to bearing "the Fatigues of War patiently, and to facing "Dangers, with Courage, and Intrepidity." What the ſame Author adds, that *Ninus* enter'd into an Alliance with the King of the *Arabians*, and join'd his Forces with his Brothers, ſeems to have been deriv'd from an antient Tradition; from whence we may gather, that the Sons of *Chus*, who, conſequently, were *Nimrod*'s Brothers, all ſettled themſelves in *Arabia*, along the *Perſian* Gulph, from *Havilah* to the Ocean; and liv'd near enough their Brother, either to lend him Aſſiſtance, or to receive it from him.

What the ſame Hiſtorian farther ſays of *Ninus*, That he was the firſt Monarch of the *Aſſyrians*, agrees exactly with what the *Scripture* tells us of *Nimrod*, That *he began to be mighty upon the Earth*. That is, he procur'd himſelf an advantagious Eſtabliſhment; built Cities, ſubdu'd his Neighbours, and united divers People under the ſame Government, by the Bond of the ſame Laws; and ſo form'd, and moulded them all together into one State, which, for thoſe early Ages, was of a conſiderable Extent, notwithſtanding it was bounded by the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; and which, in ſucceeding Ages, made new Acquiſitions, by

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little and little, and, at laſt, extended its Conqueſts to a prodigious Degree.

The greateſt Part of prophane Writers aſcribe the founding of *Babylon*, call'd in Scripture, *Babel*, one of the Capitals of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, to *Semiramis*, and the Reſt to *Belus*; whereas, we are aſſur'd of the contrary from *Holy Writ*. In Effect, it is evident, that they are all miſtaken, if they ſpeak of the very firſt founding of that City; for it ow'd its Beginning neither to *Semiramis*, nor yet to *Nimrod*, but to the Vanity and Folly of thoſe People mention'd in *Geneſis* xi. 4. who were deſirous of building a City, and a Tower, which ſhould reach to Heaven, and ſhould render their Names immortal: That is, to the united Endeavours of the greateſt Part of Mankind, who were jointly engag'd in this mad Undertaking.

Joſephus, in his *Hiſtory of the Jews*, Book I. Chap. 4. informs us, that one of the *Sibyls*, who certainly muſt have been very antient, and whoſe Fictions cannot be imputed to the indiſcreet Zeal of any *Chriſtians*, affirms, That the Gods overthrew the Tower by an impetuous Wind, and a violent Hurricane. Had there been any Foundation for this Aſſertion, *Nimrod*'s Raſhneſs, and Preſumption, muſt have been very great, to rebuild a City, and a Tower, which the *Almighty* himſelf had overthrown, with ſuch Marks of his Diſpleaſure. But the *Scripture* does not aſſert any Thing like it; and we can hardly believe, ſo remarkable an Occurrence would have been paſs'd over, by *Moſes*, in Silence, had it been Fact; wherefore, it is very probable, that the Building remain'd in the ſame Condition wherein it was, when *God* prevented the going on with the Work, by the Confuſion of Languages; and that the ſtupendous Pile conſecrated to *Belus*, which is deſcrib'd by *Herodotus*, was this very Tower, which the Sons of Men were vain enough to attempt raiſing to the Clouds.

It is farther probable, that this ridiculous Deſign being defeated by ſuch an aſtoniſhing Miracle, as could not have been wrought by any one but the *Almighty* himſelf, every one abandon'd the Place, which muſt have ſtruck him with Terror; and that *Nimrod* was the firſt, who afterwards ſett'ed therein with his Friends, and Confederates; and having ſubdu'd all that liv'd round about it, began his Empire there, though he did not confine it to ſo narrow a Compaſs, *And the Beginning of his Kingdom was* Babel, &c. Gen. x. 10. The other Cities, which the *Scripture* mentions in the ſame Verſe, were all in the Land of *Shinar*, which was certainly the Province, whereof *Babylon* became the Metropolis.

From this Country *Nimrod* advanc'd into *Aſſyria*, where he built *Nineveh*, which was likewiſe the Capital of the *Aſſyrian* Empire, *De Terra illa egreſſus eſt Aſſur, & ædificavit Nineveh.* Gen. x. 11. For, in that Manner do many learned Men underſtand that Text, which, in our Verſion, is render'd, *Out of that Land went forth* Aſhur, *and built* Nineveh; looking upon the Word *Aſſur* there as the Name of a Province, and not of the firſt Man, who took Poſſeſſion thereof; as if it were, *He went forth* into *Aſſur*, that is, into *Aſſyria*; and this is certainly the moſt natural Meaning of that Text. Beſides, the Country of *Aſſyria* is deſcrib'd, in one of the Prophets, by the Name of *the Land of* Nimrod. *And they ſhall waſte the Land of* Aſſyria *with the Sword, and the Land of* Nimrod *in the Entrances thereof; thus ſhall he deliver us from the* Aſſyrian, *when he cometh into our Land, and when he treadeth within our Borders.* Micah i. 6. It, probably, deriv'd its Name from *Aſſur*, call'd in Scripture, *Aſhur*, the ſecond Son of *Shem*, and Grandſon of *Noah*; who is believ'd to have ſettled himſelf and his Family there, and muſt, conſequently, have been either driven out, or reduc'd under Subjection, by this firſt Uſurper, and Conqueror, *Nimrod*.

However, there is great Reaſon to preſume, that this Prince, after having poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Provinces of *Aſhur*, did not make an ill Uſe of his Conqueſts; ſince we find, from *Scripture*, that he did not ravage them like a Tyrant, but, on the contrarary, fill'd, and adorn'd them, with noble Cities; whereby he is believ'd to have render'd himſelf as much belov'd by his new Subjects, as he was before by his old ones: Inſomuch that the Hiſtorians, who have not examin'd into the Bottom of this Affair, have thought, that he made Uſe of the *Aſſyrians* to ſubdue the *Babylonians*.

Amongſt others, he built one City more large and magnificent than the Reſt, which he called *Nineveh*, from the Name of his Son *Ninus*, in order to eternize the Memory of that young Prince. On the other Hand, the Son, in his Turn, being full of Veneration for his Father, was willing that they who had obeyed him as their Sovereign, ſhould adore him as their God, and oblige other Nations to render him the ſame Worſhip. For it ſeems very evident, that *Nimrod* was the ſame Perſon with the famus *Belus*, of the *Babylonians*, their firſt Monarch, whom they deified for his great Actions; and thus ſhewed others the Way, to that empty Sort of Immortality, which is frequently the Reſult of Accompliſhments entirely human.

It will, no Doubt, be expected, that we ſhould give ſome Account of the prodigious Strength and Greatneſs of theſe two celebrated Cities, *Babylon*, and *Nineveh*, under thoſe Princes to whom their Building is aſcribed by prophane Authors; becauſe the Scripture ſays very little or nothing upon this Head. This Silence, however, of Scripture, in this Reſpect, though it is diſſatisfactory to our Curioſity, may be rendered an inſtructive Leſſon for our Piety. In Effect, the ſacred Writer has placed *Nimrod*, and *Abraham*, as it were, in one View before us; and he ſeems to have placed them ſo near together on Purpoſe, to give us an Example, in the former, of what is admired and coveted by Mankind; and, in the latter, of what is acceptable and well pleaſing to GOD. Theſe two Perſons, ſo unlike each other, were the two firſt and chief Citizens of two different Cities, (one earthly, and the other heavenly) built on different Motives, and different Principles; the firſt being founded on Self-love, and a Deſire of temporal Advantages, even to the Contemning of the Deity; and the latter, on the Love of GOD, and a Deſire of ſpiritual Happineſs, even to the Contemning of One's-ſelf.

We have already obſerved, that moſt of the prophane Writers have look'd upon *Ninus* as the firſt Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Empire; and for that Reaſon have aſcribed to him a great Part of the Actions of his Father *Nimrod*, or *Belus*. This Prince, having reſolved upon enlarging the Dominions left him by his Father, by new Conqueſts, very prudently began, by preparing ſuch Troops, and Officers, as would be capable of promoting his Deſigns. This done, he took the Field, having

firſt received conſiderable Body of Forces, from his Neighbours the *Arabians*; and, within the Space of ſeventeen Years, ſubdued all the Countries, which lay between *Egypt*, *India*, and *Bactria*; but did not then venture to attack either of the two laſt.

On his Return from this ſucceſsful Expedition, before he undertook any new Conqueſts, he was deſirous of immortalizing his Name, by building a City, anſwerable to the Greatneſs of his Power, which he called *Nineveh*; it was ſituated on the *Eaſtern* Banks of *Tigris*. Undoubtedly, he did no more than finiſh the Work his Father had begun, ſince we are aſſured from Scripture, that *Nimrod* founded that City; nevertheleſs, he has run away with the Honour of the Whole in prophane Hiſtory: Nor are we to wonder, if we find the founding of a City aſcribed to different Perſons; ſince it is a common Way of ſpeaking amongſt prophane Writers, to ſay ſuch a Prince built ſuch a City, though he was not the Perſon who firſt founded it, but only embelliſhed, or enlarged it.

To return from whence we have digreſſed; the Deſign of *Ninus*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was to render *Nineveh* the largeſt and nobleſt City in the Univerſe; and not to leave it in the Power of thoſe who ſhould come after him, either to build, or even hope to build ſuch. Nor was he deceived in his View, ſays the ſame *Diodorus*, (though we think, by Miſtake, ſince *Babylon* ſeems to have ſurpaſſed, or at leaſt equalled it,) for never was any City comparable to this for Greatneſs and Magnificence. It was a hundred and fifty Stadia or Furlongs in Length, and ninety in Breath, conſequently it was an Oblong; and its Circumference was four hundred and eighty Furlongs, or ſixty Miles. Accordingly, we find it ſaid, in the Prophet *Jonah*, that *Nineveh was an exceeding great City, of three Days Journey*; which we take to be meant of the whole Circuit, or Compaſs of the City: The Walls were a hundred Foot high; and ſo thick, that three Chariots might go a-breaſt upon them with Eaſe: And to add to their Strength, and Grandeur, they were fortify'd, and adorned with fifteen hundred Towers, two hundred Foot high.

When *Ninus* had finiſhed this prodigious Work, he undertook his Expedition againſt the *Bactrians*, with an Army which according to *Cteſias*, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, two hundred thouſand Horſe, and about ſixteen thouſand Chariots armed with Scythes. *Diodorus Siculus* adds, that this ought not to appear incredible, ſince, not to mention the prodigious Armies of *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, the City of *Syracuſe* alone, in the Time of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, furniſhed a hundred and twenty thouſand Foot, and twelve thouſand Horſe, beſides four hundred Veſſels, well fitted out, and provided. And a little before the Time of *Hannibal*, *Italy* was able to ſend into the Field near a Million of Men, including the Citizens and their Allies.

To return to *Ninus*, he made himſelf Maſter of Numbers of Cities, and at laſt laid Siege to *Bactra*, the Capital of the Country; where he would probably have ſeen all his Deſigns miſcarry, had it not been for the Diligence and Aſſiſtance of *Semiramis*, Wife to one of his chief Officers; a Woman of an uncommon Courage, and particularly exempt from the Weakneſs of her Sex. This Heroine, ſo renowned in Hiſtory, was born at *Aſcalon*, a City of *Judæa*, where, according to *Diodorus*, ſhe was reported to have been miraculouſly nurſed, and brought up by Pigeons; that Hiſtorian himſelf, however, looks upon this Circumſtance as entirely fabulous. Be that as it will, it was *Semiramis* who directed *Ninus* in what Manner to attack the Citadel, and by her Means he took it; which done, he became Maſter of the City, wherein he found an immenſe Treaſure. Hereupon, the King fell violently in Love with her; and her Husband being an Obſtacle in his Way, conceived a ſtrong Averſion againſt him; which that unfortunate Officer perceiving, he killed himſelf, to avoid the Effects thereof; after which *Ninus* married her.

Some Time after his Return to *Nineveh*, he had a Son by her, whom he called *Ninus*; not long after which he died, and left *Semiramis* the Government of the Kingdom. In Return, the Queen erected a magnificent Monument, in Honour of his *Memory*; *which was to be ſeen long after the Deſtruction of Nineveh.* There ſeems to us little Appearance of Truth, in what ſome Authors advance, concerning the Manner how *Semiramis* came to the Throne: According to them, ſhe firſt ſecur'd the chief Men of the State, and attach'd them to her Intereſt, by Favours, and large Promiſes; this done, ſhe ſollicited the King, with great Importunity, to intruſt her with the Sovereign Power, for five Days. Having no Suſpicion of any ill Deſign, *Ninus* yielded to her Intreaties, and all the Provinces of the Empire were commanded to obey her; which Order was comply'd with, but too punctually, for the unfortunate Monarch; who was put to Death, either immediately, or after ſome Years Impriſonment.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd; after this Princeſs had aſcended the Throne, ſhe apply'd all her Thoughts to the immortalizing her Name, and covering the Meanneſs of her Extraction, by the Greatneſs of her Exploits, and Undertakings. In Order to this, ſhe propos'd to herſelf, to ſurpaſs all her Predeceſſors in Magnificence; to which End, ſhe undertook the building, or rather, enlarging the mighty *Babylon*; in who Work ſhe employ'd two Millions of Men, who were collected out of all the Provinces of her vaſt Empire. Some of her Succeſſors, however, *Nebuchadnezzar*, in particular, not thinking what ſhe had done ſufficient, added new Works and Embelliſhments to that City; of all which we ſhall treat together, in Order to give our Readers a more clear, and diſtinct Idea, of that ſtupendous Capital of the *Aſſyrian* Empire.

The principal Works, which render'd it ſo famous, were the *Walls*, the *Keys*, the *Bridge*; the *Lake*, *Banks*, and *Canals*, for draining the River; the *Palaces*, *Hanging-Gardens*, and the *Temple* of *Belus*: Theſe were all Works of ſuch a ſurprizing Magnificence, as is almoſt beyond Comprehenſion.

The Walls were every Way prodigious; being eighty-ſeven Foot thick, three hundred and fifty high, and four hundred and eighty Furlongs, or ſixty of our Miles, in Compaſs. The Walls went round the City, and form'd an exact Square, each Side of which was a hundred and twenty Furlongs, or fifteen Miles in Length; and all built of large Bricks, cemented together, with Bitumen (a Kind of glutinous Slime, produc'd out of the Earth of that Country) which binds much ſtronger than Lime, and ſoon grows harder than the Bricks, or Stone:

Stones themſelves, which it cements together. Theſe Walls were ſurrounded with a vaſt Ditch, fill'd with Water, and lin'd with Brick, on both Sides, after the Manner of a Scarp, or Counterſcarp: And the Earth that was dug out of it, made the Bricks wherewith the Walls were built; wherefore, from the vaſt Height, and Breadth of the Walls, we may judge of the Greatneſs of the Ditch.

On every Side of this vaſt Square were twenty-five Gates, which were all made of ſolid Braſs; accordingly we find, that when *God* promis'd *Cyrus* the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, he tells him, That *he will break in Pieces their Gates of Braſs*. Between every two of theſe Gates were three Towers, and four more at the four Corners of this great Square; and between each of theſe Corners, and the next Gate in every Side, were three more; and every one of theſe Towers was ten Foot higher than the Walls: But this is to be underſtood only of thoſe Parts of the Wall, where Towers were neceſſary. For ſome Parts lying againſt Moraſſes, always full of Water, where they could not be approach'd by an Enemy, had no Need of Towers for their Defence.

From the twenty-five Gates, in each Side of this large Square, went twenty-five Streets, in ſtrait Lines, to the Gates, which were directly over-againſt them, in the other oppoſite Side; inſomuch, that the whole Number of the Streets were fifty, each fifteen Miles long, whereof twenty-five went one Way, and twenty-five the other, directly croſſing each other at Right Angles. Beſides theſe, were alſo four Half-Streets, which were built but on one Side, as having the Wall on the other; theſe went round the four Sides of the City next the Walls, and were each of them two hundred Foot broad; the Reſt being but a hundred and fifty. By theſe Streets, thus croſſing each other, the whole City was cut out into ſix hundred ſeventy-ſix Squares, each of which was four Furlongs and a half on every Side, that is, two Miles and a Quarter in Compaſs. Round theſe Squares, on every Side towards the Streets, ſtood the Houſes, which did not join together, but had void Spaces between them: They were all three or four Stories high, and beautify'd with all Manner of Ornaments towards the Streets. The Space within, in the Middle of each Square, was likewiſe all void Ground; and was employ'd for Yards, Gardens, and ſuch other Uſes.

A Branch of the *Euphrates* ran quite acroſs the City, entering in on the *North*-Side, and going out on the *South*. On each Side of the River was a Key, and a high Wall built of Brick and Bitumen, of the ſame Thickneſs as the Walls that went round the City. In theſe Walls, over-againſt every Street, that led to the River, were Gates of Braſs, and from them Deſcents by Steps to the River, for the Convenience of the Inhabitants, who us'd to paſs from one Side to the other in Boats, before the Bridge was built. Theſe brazen Gates were always open by Day, and ſhut by Night.

The Bridge, which was not inferior to any of the other Buildings, either in Beauty, or Magnificence, was a Furlong in Length, and thirty Foot broad. It was built with ſurprizing Art, to ſupply the Defect of a Foundation in the Bottom of the River, which was all ſandy. The Arches were of large Stone, faſten'd together with Chains of Iron, and melted Lead. Before the building of the Bridge was begun, the Courſe of the River was diverted another Way, and the Channel laid dry; and as every Thing was prepar'd before-hand, both the Bridge, and the Keys, were built in that Interval.

The *Lake*, *Banks*, *Canals*, *Works*, which were in all Ages the Admiration of the Skilful, were not inferior to thoſe before-mention'd; and were yet more uſeful than magnificent. In the Beginning of the Summer, on the Sun's melting the Snow upon the Mountains of *Armenia*, there aroſe a vaſt Increaſe of Waters, which running into the *Euphrates*, in the Months of *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, made it overflow its Banks, and caus'd ſuch another Inundation, as that of the *Nile* in *Egypt*. To prevent, therefore, the Damages, which both the City and Country ſuſtain'd from theſe Inundations, two artificial Canals were cut, at a pretty good Diſtance above the Town, which diverted the Courſe of theſe Waters into the *Tigris*, before they reach'd *Babylon*: And to ſecure the Country yet more from the Danger of Inundations, and keep the River within its Channel, prodigious artificial Banks were rais'd, on both Sides, of Brick cemented with Bitumen, which begun at the Head of the artificial Canals, and reach'd down below the City.

To facilitate the making of theſe Works, it was neceſſary to turn the Courſe of the River another Way; for which Purpoſe, an immenſe artificial Lake was dug to the *Weſt* of *Babylon*; which, according to the loweſt Computation, was forty Miles ſquare, and a hundred and ſixty in Compaſs; and in Depth thirty-five Foot, according to *Herodotus*, and ſeventy-five, according to *Megaſthenes*. When this Lake was finiſh'd, the whole River was turn'd into it, by an artificial Canal cut in the *Weſt*-Side of it, till the whole Work was finiſh'd, and then it was return'd again into its former Channel. However, to prevent the River's overflowing the *City*, through the Gates above-mention'd, this Lake, with the Canal that ran into it, was ſtill preſerv'd: And the Water receiv'd into the Lake, at the Time of the Overflowings, was kept there all the Year, as in a common Reſervatory, for the Benefit of the Country, to be let out by Sluices, at all convenient Times, for the watering of the Lands below it. So it equally ſerv'd the Convenience of *Babylon*, and alſo of that Part of the Province, in improving their Lands, and making them more fertil. *Beroſus*, *Megaſthenes*, and *Abydenus*, attribute all theſe Works to *Nebuchadnezzar*; but *Herodotus* tells us, that the Bridge, the Banks, and the Lake, were the Work of *Nitocris*, his Daughter-in-Law. Perhaps, *Nitocris* finiſh'd what *Nebuchadnezzar* had left undone at his Deceaſe; on which Account, that Author might give her the Honour of the Whole.

At the two Ends of the Bridge were two Palaces, which had a Communication with each other, by a Vault, built under the Channel of the River, when it was laid dry. The old Palace, which ſtood on the *Eaſt*-Side of the River, was thirty Furlongs, or three Miles three Quarters in Compaſs; and the new Palace, which ſtood on the *Weſt*-Side of the River, oppoſite to the other, was ſixty Furlongs, or ſeven Miles and a half in Circumference. It was ſurrounded with three Walls, one within another, between each of which there was a conſiderable Space. Both theſe Walls, and thoſe of the other Palace, were adorn'd with great Variety of Sculpture, repreſenting all Kinds of Ani-

Animals, carv'd to the Life. Amongſt the Reſt, was an admirable Repreſentation of Hunting; wherein *Semiramis* was drawn throwing her Javelin at a Leopard, whilſt her Husband *Ninus* was killing a Lion.

But what was moſt remarkable, and indeed aſtoniſhing, in the new Palace, were the famous Hanging-Gardens, ſo celebrated amongſt the *Greeks*. They conſiſted of a Square of four hundred Foot, on every Side; and were carry'd up into the Air by ſeveral large Terraſſes, rais'd one above another, till the higheſt equall'd the Height of the City-Walls. The Aſcent was from Terraſs to Terraſs, by Stairs ten Foot wide. The Whole was ſuſtain'd by vaſt Arches, built upon Arches, one above another, and ſtrengthen'd by a Wall, which ſurrounded it on every Side, and twenty-two Foot thick. The Floors of all theſe Terraſſes were laid in this Manner: Large flat Stones, ſixteen Foot long, and four broad, were firſt laid over the Arches; and over thoſe was a Lay of Reeds, intermingled with a great Quantity of Bitumen, above which were two Rows of Brick, well cemented together with Plaiſter; over all which were laid thick Sheets of Lead, upon which was laid the Mould of the Garden. All this Floorage was deſign'd to keep the Moiſture of the Mould from running down through the Arches. The Mould, or Earth, laid thereon, was of ſuch Depth, as to ſuffice for the largeſt Trees to take Root therein; and accordingly, ſuch were planted all over it, on every Terraſs; as were alſo all other Trees, Plants, and Flowers, that were proper for a Pleaſure-Garden. On the upper Terraſs was an Aqueduct, or Engine, that drew Water out of the River, with which the whole Garden was water'd. In the Spaces between the ſeveral Arches, upon which this whole Structure reſted, were a Range of large and magnificent Rooms, which were very light, and had the Advantage of a moſt agreeable Proſpect. *Amyitis*, the Conſort of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and Daughter of *Aſtyages*, King of the *Medes*, having been bred in *Media*, had taken great Delight in the Mountainous and Woody Parts of that Country; which made her deſirous of having ſomething that ſhould reſemble them at *Babylon*: Wherefore *Nebuchadnezzar*, being willing to gratify her therein, caus'd theſe ſtupendous Gardens to be rais'd; a Work of ſuch prodigious Labour, and Expence, as could not be ſurpaſs'd, but by the Vanity of the Undertaking.

The Temple of *Belus* was another of the great Works, which render'd *Babylon* one of the Wonders of the World. What made this Temple moſt remarkable was a prodigious Tower, a Furlong high, that ſtood in the Midſt thereof. At the Foundation, it was a Square, each Side of which was a Furlong, or ſix hundred Foot in Length; conſequently, the whole Circumference thereof was half a Mile. It conſiſted of eight Towers, built one above the other; and becauſe each Tower decreas'd gradually, ſo as to be leſs than that which ſupported it, *Strabo* calls the Whole a Pyramid. As this Tower far exceeded the greateſt of the *Egyptian* Pyramids in Height, there is good Reaſon to believe, what *Bochart* aſſerts, that it was the very ſame which was there built, at the Confuſion of Tongues; for, its Dimenſions were prodigious enough to anſwer the Deſcription given of it in *Scripture*; beſides which, ſeveral prophane Authors have atteſted, that it was all built of Brick and Bitumen, as the Tower of *Babel* was evidently, by the Teſtimony of *Holy Writ*.

The Aſcent to it was by Winding-Stairs, made on the Out-ſide, which went eight Times round it, in a ſloping Line from Bottom to Top; and by its decreaſing, or benching in, at each Story, it made the ſame Appearance, as if there had been eight Towers, one above another; and this, probably, gave Riſe to the Report, that there were eight ſeveral Towers; whereas, the Whole was but one, of a prodigious Height. Theſe eight Towers, or Stories, were each of them ſeventy-five Foot high; and therein were many large Rooms, with arch'd Roofs, ſupported by Pillars; which were all made Parts of the Temple, after the Tower became conſecrated to that idolatrous Uſe: The uppermoſt Story was the moſt ſacred, and it was there their chief Devotions were perform'd. Over the Whole, on the Top of the Tower, was an Obſervatory, by the Benefit of which, the *Babylonians* made a greater, or at leaſt, an earlier Progreſs in Aſtronomy, than any other Nation. For, when *Alexander* took *Babylon*, *Caliſthenes* the Philoſopher, who attended him thither, found they had Aſtronomical Obſervations for 1903 before, which made their Account reach back to the hundred and fifteenth Year after the Flood, and conſequently, was within fifteen Years of the building the Tower of *Babel*. For the Confuſion of Tongues, which follow'd immediately upon the building that Tower, happen'd in the Year when *Peleg* was born, which was a hundred and one Years after the Flood, and fourteen Years before theſe Obſervations began.

Till the Time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Tower of *Belus* conſiſted of no more than this Tower alone; and the Rooms therein ſerv'd all the Occaſions of that idolatrous Worſhip. But he enlarged it conſiderably, by vaſt Buildings erected round it, in a Square; each Side of which was two Furlongs, which made the Whole a Mile in Circumference; that is, eighteen hundred Foot more than the Square of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*.

This Temple ſtood till the Time of *Xerxes*; but that Prince, on his Return from his *Grecian* Expedition, demoliſh'd it entirely, after having plunder'd it of all its Riches; which in Statues, Tables, Cenſers, Cups, and other ſacred Veſſels, of maſſy Gold, were immenſe. Undoubtedly, he did this, to reimburſe himſelf for his Charges in that unfortunate Expedition.

Amongſt the Statues of maſſy Gold, was one, ſaid by *Diodorus Siculus*, to have been forty Foot high; and which, perhaps, was the very ſame, which *Nebuchadnezzar* erected in the Plains of *Dura*. *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Golden Image, indeed, is ſaid to have been ſixty Cubits, that is, ninety Foot high; but this muſt certainly be underſtood of the Image, and Pedeſtal, both together: For, that Image being ſaid to have been but ſix Cubits broad, or thick, it is impoſſible the Statue alone ſhould have been ſixty high; ſince that makes the Height ten Times its Breadth, or Thickneſs, which exceeds all the Proportions of a Man, meaſuring the ſlendereſt Man living at the Waiſt. As it is not ſaid, however, in *Scripture*, where this Image was meaſur'd, perhaps, it was from Shoulder to Shoulder; and then the Proportion of ſix Cubits broad, will bring the Height exactly to the Meaſure mention'd by *Diodorus*; for the Height of a Man being generally adequate, to four and a half be-

between the Shoulders, it muſt, according to this Proportion, have been twenty-ſeven Cubits high, which is forty Foot, and a half.

Beſides, *Diodorus* tells us, That this Image weigh'd a thouſand *Babyloniſh* Talents of Gold, which, according to *Pollux*, who, in his *Onomaſticon*, reckons a *Babyloniſh* Talent weigh'd ſeven thouſand *Attic* Drachma's, amounts to three Millions and a half of our Money. But, if we advance the Height of the Statue to ninety Foot, without the Pedeſtal, it will increaſe the Value to an incredible Sum; wherefore, it is neceſſary to include the Pedeſtal alſo in the Height mention'd by *Daniel*.

There were Numbers of other Images, and ſacred Utenſils alſo in that Temple, all of ſolid Gold, as has been already obſerv'd; inſomuch that thoſe particularly enumerated by *Diodorus*, excluſive of the Statue above-mention'd, weigh'd five thouſand three hundred Talents, which, with the Amount of that Image, came to above twenty-one Millions *Sterling*: Beſides which, we may well allow as much more in Treaſure, and Utenſils, not ſpecify'd, which was a prodigious Sum. But it was the Collection of near two thouſand Years, for ſo long that Temple had ſtood.

All this *Xerxes* took away, when he deſtroy'd it; and undoubtedly, to recruit himſelf with the Plunder, was what excited him to demoliſh it, as we have already obſerv'd; what other Reaſon ſoever he might pretend for it. *Alexander the Great*, on his Return to *Babylon*, from his *Indian* Expedition, intended to have rebuilt it, being no Ways deterr'd by the Greatneſs of the Undertaking. In Order thereunto, he ſet ten thouſand Men at Work, to clear away the Rubbiſh; but, after they had labour'd at it two Months, that Prince dy'd, before they had finiſh'd ſo much of their Labour; which put a Stop to their farther Proceedings. Had *Alexander* liv'd, and made that City the Seat of his Empire, as it was then believ'd he would, the Glory of *Babylon* would, no Doubt, have been carry'd to as great a Height, as ever *Nebuchadnezzar* intended, and it would again have become the *Queen* of the *Eaſt*.

Such were the chief Works, which have render'd *Babylon* ſo famous; ſome of which are are aſcrib'd by prophane Authors to *Semiramis*, to whom it is now high Time to return.

When ſhe had finiſh'd all theſe great Undertakings, ſhe thought fit to make a Progreſs through the ſeveral Parts of her Empire; and, wherever ſhe came, left Monuments of her Magnificence, by the many noble Structures ſhe erected, either for the Conveniency, or the Ornament of her Cities: She apply'd herſelf, particularly, to have Water brought by Aqueducts to ſuch Places as wanted it, and to make the Highways eaſy, by cutting through Mountains, and filling up Vallies. In the Time of *Diodorus*, divers Monuments were ſtill to be ſeen in many Places, with her Name inſcrib'd upon them.

The Influence this Heroine had over the Minds of her People ſeems very extraordinary; ſince we find her Preſence alone ſufficient to repreſs a Sedition. One Day, as ſhe was dreſſing her Head, Word was brought her, of a Tumult in the City. Whereupon, ſhe went out immediately, with her Head half dreſs'd, and did not return till the Diſturbance was entirely appeas'd. On this Account, a Statue was erected to her Memory, repreſenting her in that very Attitude, and Undreſs, which had not hinder'd her from flying to her Duty.

Not ſatisfy'd with the vaſt Extent of the Dominions left her by the King, her Husband, ſhe enlarged them by the Conqueſt of a great Part of *Ethiopia*. Whilſt ſhe was in that Country, ſhe had the Curioſity to viſit the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, and enquire of the Oracle how long ſhe had to live. According to *Diodorus*, the Anſwer ſhe receiv'd was, That ſhe ſhould not die till her Son *Ninyas* conſpir'd againſt her, and, that after her Death, one Part of *Aſia* would pay her divine Honours.

Her greateſt, and laſt Expedition, was to the *Indies*: On this Occaſion, ſhe rais'd an innumerable Army, out of all the Provinces of her Empire, and appointed *Bactra* for the Place of Rendezvous. As the Strength of the *Indians* conſiſted chiefly in the great Number of their Elephants, this artful Queen had a Multitude of Camels, accoutred after the Manner of Elephants, in Hopes of deceiving the Enemy thereby. 'Tis ſaid, that *Perſeus*, long after, us'd the ſame Stratagem againſt the *Romans*; but neither of them found their Account in this Artifice. The *Indian* King, having Notice of her Approach, ſent Ambaſſadors to ask who ſhe was, and with what Right, having never receiv'd any Injury from him, ſhe came wantonly to invade his Dominions: He aſſur'd her, at the ſame Time, her Audaciouſneſs ſhould ſoon meet with the Puniſhment it deſerv'd. Tell your Maſter (reply'd the Queen) that, in a little Time, I will inform him in Perſon who I am. Hereupon, ſhe march'd directly towards the *Indus*, and having prepar'd a competent Number of Boats, attempted to paſs it, with her Army: Their Paſſage was a long Time diſputed, but, after a bloody Fight, ſhe put her Enemies to the Rout. Above a thouſand of their Boats were ſunk, and above an hundred thouſand of their Men were taken Priſoners. Encourag'd by this Succeſs, the Queen advanc'd forthwith into the Country; leaving ſixty thouſand Men behind, to guard the Bridge of Boats, which ſhe had built over the River. This was juſt what the King deſir'd, who fled on Purpoſe, to bring her to an Engagement, in the Heart of his Country. Aſſoon as he thought her far enough advanc'd, he fac'd about, and a ſecond Engagement enſu'd, more bloody than the firſt. The counterfeit Elephants could not long ſuſtain the Shock of the true ones, which routed her Army, and cruſh'd whatever came in their Way. *Semiramis* did all that was poſſible, to rally, and encourage her Troops, but in vain. The King, perceiving her engag'd in the Fight, advanc'd towards her, and wounded her in two different Places, but not mortally. The Swiftneſs of her Horſe ſoon carry'd her beyond the Reach of her Enemies. As her Men crowded in Throngs to the Bridge, to repaſs the River, great Numbers of them periſh'd, through the Diſorder and Confuſion, unavoidable on ſuch Occaſions. When thoſe that could make their Eſcape were ſafe over, the deſtroy'd the Bridge, and by that Means ſtopp'd the Enemy; whom the King likewiſe, in Obedience to an Oracle, had order'd not to paſs the River, nor purſue *Semiramis* any farther. Hereupon, the Queen, having made an Exchange of Priſoners at *Bactra*, return'd to her own Dominions with ſcarce one Third of her Army; which (according to *Cteſias*) conſiſted of three hundred thouſand Foot, and fifty thouſand Horſe; beſides the Camels, and Chariots arm'd for War, of which ſhe had

had a very conſiderable Number. This Heroine, and *Alexander* after her, were the only Perſons, who ever ventur'd to carry their Arms beyond the River *Indus*.

We muſt own, we are ſomewhat puzzled with an Objection, which may be rais'd againſt the extraordinary Things related of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*; as they don't ſeem to agree with the Times ſo near the Deluge: Such vaſt Armies, we mean, ſuch a numerous Cavalry, ſo many Chariots arm'd with Scythes, and ſuch immenſe Treaſures of Gold and Silver; all which ſeem to be of a later Date. The ſame may likewiſe be ſaid of the Magnificence of the Buildings aſcrib'd, to thoſe Monarchs. 'Tis probable, the *Greek* Hiſtorians, who came ſo many Ages afterwards, deceiv'd by the Likeneſs of Names, through their Ignorance in Chronology, and the Reſemblance of one Event with another, may have aſcrib'd ſuch Things to more antient Princes, as belong'd to thoſe of a later Date: Or have attributed a Number of Exploits, and Enterprizes to one, which ought to be aſcrib'd to divers of them who ſucceeded one another.

Some Time after her Return from this Expedition, *Semiramis* diſcover'd that her Son was plotting againſt her, and one of her principal Officers had offer'd him his Aſſiſtance. She then call'd to Mind the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*; and, taking it as a Warning that her End was approaching, without inflicting any Puniſhment on the Officer, who was taken into Cuſtody, ſhe voluntarily abdicated the Throne, reſign'd the Government into the Hands of her Son, and withdrew from the Sight of Men; hoping ſpeedily to attain to the divine Honours, promis'd her by the Oracle: And indeed, we are told, ſhe was worſhipp'd by the *Aſſyrians*, under the Form of a Dove: She liv'd ſixty-two Years, of which ſhe reign'd forty-two.

Juſtin's Account of *Semiramis*, That after her Husband's Deceaſe, not daring either to commit the Government to her Son, who was then too young, or openly to take it upon herſelf, ſhe govern'd under the Name and Habit of *Ninyas*; and that, after having reign'd in that Manner above forty Years, ſhe fell paſſionately in Love with her own Son, and, on endeavouring to bring him to a criminal Compliance, was ſlain by him; is ſo deſtitute of all Appearance of Truth, that, to go about to confute it, would be but loſt Time. It muſt, however, be own'd, that moſt of the Authors, who have ſpoken of *Semiramis*, give us but a very diſadvantageous Idea of her Chaſtity.

Ninyas, the Son of *Ninus*, and *Semiramis*, was in no Reſpect like thoſe two Great Princes, from whom he receiv'd his Life, and to whoſe Throne he ſucceeded. Wholly intent upon his Pleaſures, he ſhut up himſelf within his Palace, and ſeldom ſhew'd himſelf to his People. To keep them, however, in their Duty, he had always at *Nineveh* a certain Number of Regular Troops, furniſh'd every Year by the ſeveral Provinces of his Empire; at the Expiration of which Term, they were ſucceeded by the like Number of other Troops; the King placing a Commander at the Head of them, on whoſe Fidelity he could depend. He had Recourſe to this Method, that the Officers might not have Time to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, and to form any Conſpiracies againſt him. His Succeſſors, for thirty Generations, follow'd his Example, and even out-did him in Indolence. Their Hiſtory is abſolutely unknown; not the leaſt Traces thereof being now remaining.

The firſt, we meet with afterwards, is *Pul*; who, as the *Scripture* informs us, invading the Land of *Iſrael*, had a thouſand Talents of Silver given him by *Menahem*, King of the *Ten Tribes*, to engage him to lend that Uſurper Aſſiſtance, and ſecure him on the Throne. This *Pul* is ſuppos'd to be the King of *Nineveh*, who repented, with all his People, at the preaching of *Jonah*. He is alſo thought to be the Father of *Sardanapalus*, the laſt King of the *Aſſyrians*, call'd, according to the Cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Nations, *Sardan-Pul*, that is, *Sardan*, the Son of *Pul*.

That Prince ſurpaſs'd all his Predeceſſors in Effeminacy, Luxury, and Cowardice. He never went out of his Palace; but ſpent all his Time amongſt a Company of Women, dreſs'd, and painted, like them, and employ'd, like them, at the Diſtaff. He plac'd all his Happineſs and Glory, in the Poſſeſſion of immenſe Treaſures; as alſo in feaſting, rioting, and indulging himſelf in all the moſt infamous and criminal Pleaſures. Conformably to this Taſte, he had two Verſes put upon his Tomb, when he dy'd, whoſe Signification was, that he carry'd away with him all that he had eaten, and all the Pleaſures he had enjoy'd, but left many, and exquiſite Delights behind him.

Hæc habeo quæ edi, quæque exaturata libido
Hauſit: At illa jacent multa & præclara relicta.

An Epitaph (as *Ariſtotle* juſtly obſerves) fit for a Hog, not a King.

Arbaces, Governor of *Media*, having found Means to get into the Palace, and with his own Eyes ſeen *Sardanapalus* in the Midſt of an infamous Seraglio; enrag'd at ſuch a Spectacle, and not able to bear, that ſo many brave Men ſhould be ſubject to a Prince, more effeminate and womaniſh than the Women themſelves, immediately form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him; wherein *Beleſis*, Governor of *Babylon*, and ſeveral Others, readily join'd with him. On the firſt Rumour of this Revolt, the King hid himſelf in the inmoſt Part of his Palace; as might very well have been expected from ſuch a Prince. He ventur'd, however, afterwards, to take the Field with ſome Forces, who yet continu'd faithful, but was overcome, and purſu'd to the Gates of *Nineveh*. There he ſhut himſelf up, in Hopes the Rebels would never be able to reduce a City ſo well fortify'd, and ſtor'd with Proviſions for a conſiderable Time. In Effect, the Siege laſted long; and, as it had been declar'd by an antient Oracle, that *Nineveh* could never be taken, unleſs the River itſelf became an Enemy to the City, *Sardanapalus* looking upon the Thing as impoſſible, believ'd himſelf very ſecure. But, when he ſaw, that the *Tigris*, by a violent Inundation, had thrown down twenty *Stadia* of the City-Wall, and, by that Means, open'd a Paſſage to the Enemy, he underſtood the Meaning of the Oracle, and concluded himſelf loſt. He reſolv'd, however, to die in ſuch a Manner, as, in his Opinion, ſhould cover the Infamy of his ſcandalous and effeminate Life. To this End, he order'd a Pile of Wood to be made in his Palace, and ſetting Fire to it, burnt himſelf, his Eunuchs, his Women, and his Treaſures. *Athenæus* makes theſe Treaſures amount to a thouſand Myriads of Talents of Gold, and to ten times as many Talents of Silver; which, without reckoning any Thing elſe, is a Sum that exceeds all Credibility.

dibility. A Myriad contains ten thouſand; and one ſingle Myriad of Talents of Silver is worth thirty Millions, *French* Money, above a Million and a half *Sterling*. A Man is loſt, if he attempts to ſum up the whole Value; which induces us to believe, that *Athenæus* muſt have very much exaggerated in his Computation; however, we may be aſſur'd, from his Account, that the Treaſures were immenſely great.

Plutarch, in his ſecond Treatiſe, dedicated to the Praiſe of *Alexander the Great*, wherein he examines in what the *True Greatneſs* of Princes conſiſts, after having ſhewn, that it can ariſe from nothing but their own *perſonal Merit*, confirms it by two very different Examples, taken from this Part of the Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians*, of which we are treating. *Semiramis*, and *Sardanapalus* (ſays he) both govern'd the ſame Kingdom; both had the ſame People, the ſame Extent of Country, the ſame Revenues, the ſame Forces, and Number of Troops; but they had not the ſame Diſpoſitions, nor the ſame Views. *Semiramis*, raiſing herſelf above her Sex, built magnificent Cities; fitted out Fleets; arm'd Legions; ſubdu'd neighbouring Nations; penetrated into *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*; and carry'd her victorious Arms to the Extremities of *Aſia*; ſpreading Conſternation and Terror every-where. Whereas, *Sardanapalus*, as if he had entirely renounc'd his Sex, ſpent all his Time in the Heart of his Palace; perpetually ſurrounded with a Company of Women, whoſe Habit and Manners he had aſſum'd; applying himſelf with them to the Spindle, and the Diſtaff; neither underſtanding, nor doing any Thing but ſpinning, eating, and drinking, and wallowing in all Manner of infamous Pleaſure. Accordingly, a Statue was erected to him, after his Death, whereby he was repreſented in the Poſture of a Dancer; with an Inſcription upon it, in which he addreſs'd himſelf to the Spectator, in theſe Words; *Eat, drink, and be merry; every Thing elſe is nothing*. An Inſcription, very ſuitable to the Epitaph, he himſelf had order'd to be put upon his Monument.

Plutarch herein judges of *Semiramis*, as almoſt all the prophane Hiſtorians do of the Glory of Conquerors. But, if we would make a true Judgment of Things, was the unbounded Ambition of that Queen much leſs blameable, than the Diſſoluteneſs of *Sardanapalus*? Which of the two Vices did moſt Miſchief to Mankind?

We are not to wonder that the *Aſſyrian* Empire ſhould fall under ſuch a Prince; but, undoubtedly, it was not till after having paſs'd through various Revolutions, common to all States, even to the greateſt, during the Courſe of ſeveral Ages. This Empire had ſubſiſted above 1450 Years.

Of the Ruins of this vaſt Empire were form'd three conſiderable Kingdoms; that of the *Medes*, which *Arbaces*, the principal Head of the Conſpiracy, reſtor'd to its Liberty; that of the *Aſſyrians* of *Babylon*, which was given to *Beleſis*, Governor of that City; and that of the *Aſſyrians* of *Nineveh*, the firſt King whereof took the Name of *Ninus* the younger.

In Order to underſtand the Hiſtory of the ſecond *Aſſyrian* Empire, which is very obſcure, and whereof there is but little ſaid in Hiſtory, it is proper, and abſolutely neceſſary, to compare what is ſaid of it by the prophane Authors, with what we find of it in *Holy Scripture*. By the Help of this double Light, we may have a clearer Idea of the two Empires of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*, which, for ſome Time, were ſeparate, and diſtinct, and afterwards united, and confounded together. We ſhall firſt treat of this ſecond *Aſſyrian* Empire, and then return to the Kingdom of the *Medes*.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the ſecond Aſſyrian *Empire; Of its moſt powerful Monarchs*, Tiglath-Pileſer, Salmaneſer, Sennacherib, Eſarhaddon, Nebuchadnezzar *the firſt and ſecond*, &c. *Of the Kingdom of the* Medes; *The Policy of* Dejoces, *a Deſcription of* Ecbatane, *the Capital of* Media; *its Deſtruction by* Nebuchadnezzar; *Of the Deſtruction of* Nineveh, *in Return, by* Cyaxares; *Of the Kings of* Lydia; *Of the great Riches, and Overthrow of* Crœſus, *the laſt of the* Lydian *Monarchs*.

THIS ſecond *Aſſyrian* Empire laſted two hundred and ten Years; reckoning to the Year, in which *Cyrus*, who was become abſolute Maſter of the *Eaſt*, by the Death of his Father *Cambyſes*, and his Father-in-Law, *Cyaxares*, publiſh'd the famous Edict, whereby the *Jews* were permitted to return into their own Country, after a ſeventy Years Captivity, at *Babylon*.

The firſt King we meet with, of this ſecond Empire, is *Beleſis*, who is the ſame as *Nabonaſſar*, from whoſe Reign began the famous Aſtronomical *Epoch* at *Babylon*, call'd, from his Name, the *Æra* of *Nabonaſſar*. In the *Holy Scriptures* he is call'd *Baladan*. He reign'd but twelve Years, and was ſucceeded by his Son, *Merodac Baladan*.

This is the Prince, who ſent Embaſſadors to King *Hezekiah*, to congratulate him on the Recovery of his Health, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. After him, there reign'd ſeveral other Monarchs at *Babylon*, with whoſe Story we are entirely unacquainted. We ſhall, therefore, proceed to the Kings of *Nineveh*.

The firſt of theſe is *Tiglath-Pileſer*, which is the Name given by the *Holy Scripture*, to the Prince, who is ſuppos'd to be the firſt that reign'd at *Nineveh*, after the Deſtruction of the antient

Aſſy-

Assyrian Empire. He is call'd *Thilgamus* by *Ælian*; and is said to have taken the Name of *Ninus* the younger, in Order to honour, and distinguish his Reign, by the Name of so antient, and illustrious a Prince.

Ahaz, King of *Judah*, whose incorrigible Impiety could not be abated, either by the divine Favours, or Chastisements, finding himself attack'd at once by the Kings of *Syria* and *Israel*, robb'd the Temple of Part of its Gold and Silver, and sent it to *Tiglath-Pileser*, to purchase his Friendship, and Assistance; promising him, besides, to become his Vassal, and to pay him Tribute. The *Assyrian* Monarch, finding so favourable an Opportunity of adding *Syria* and *Palestine* to his Empire, readily accepted the Proposal. Accordingly, advancing that Way with a numerous Army, he beat *Rezin*, took *Damascus*, and put an End to the Kingdom erected there by the *Syrians*; as *God* had foretold, by his Prophets *Isaiah* and *Amos*. From thence he march'd against *Phacea*, and took all that belong'd to the Kingdom of *Israel* beyond *Jordan*, or in *Galilee*. But he made *Ahaz* pay very dear for his Protection, still exacting of him such exorbitant Sums of Money, that, for the Payment of them, he was oblig'd, not only to exhaust his own Treasures, but to take all the Gold and Silver from the Temple. Thus this Alliance serv'd only to drain the Kingdom of *Judah*; and to bring into its Neighbourhood the powerful Kings of *Nineveh*; who became so many Instruments, afterwards, in the Hand of *God*, for the Chastisement of his People.

The next *Assyrian* Monarch, we meet with in *Scripture*, is *Salmanesser*, probably, Son to *Tiglath-Pileser*, who prov'd a severe Scourge to *Israel*. For, *Sabacus*, the *Ethiopian* whom the *Scripture* calls *So*, having made himself Master of *Egypt*, *Hosea*, King of *Samaria*, enter'd into an Alliance with him, hoping, by that Means, to shake off the *Assyrian* Yoke. To this End, he withdrew from his Dependance upon *Salmanesser*, and refus'd to pay him any further Tribute, or make him the usual Presents.

The haughty *Assyrian*, to punish him for this Presumption, march'd against him with a powerful Army; and, after having subdu'd all the Plain Country, shut him up in *Samaria*, where he kept him closely besieg'd for three Years. At the End thereof, he took the City; loaded *Hosea* with Chains; threw him into Prison for the rest of his Days; carry'd away the People captive; and planted them in *Halah* and *Habor*, Cities of the *Medes*. Thus was the Kingdom of *Israel*, or of the *Ten Tribes*, destroy'd, as *God* had often threaten'd, by his Prophets. This Kingdom, from the Time of its Separation from that of *Judah*, lasted about two hundred and fifty Years.

It was at this Time that *Tobit*, with *Anne* his Wife, and his Son *Tobias*, was carry'd captive into *Assyria*; where he became one of the principal Officers to King *Salmanesser*; who dy'd, after having reign'd fourteen Years, and was succeeded by his Son, *Sennacherib*.

This Prince, who is also call'd *Sargon* in *Scripture*, assoon as he was settled on the Throne, renew'd, as is believ'd, the Demand of the Tribute, exacted by his Father from *Hezekiah*, the Son of *Ahaz*. Whether the latter refus'd it, or no, is not determin'd in *Scripture*, but the *Assyrian* declar'd War against that good Prince, and even enter'd *Judea* with a mighty Army, where he carry'd all before him. *Hezekiah*, griev'd to see his Kingdom pillag'd, sent Embassadors to desire Peace upon any Terms; whereupon, *Sennacherib*, seemingly mollify'd, enter'd into Treaty with *Hezekiah*, and demanded an immense Sum of Gold and Silver; which that holy King exhausted both the Treasures of the Temple, and his own Coffers, to pay. But the *Assyrian*, regarding neither the Sacredness of Oaths, nor Treaties, still continu'd the War, and push'd on his Conquests more vigorously than ever. Nothing was now able to withstand his Power; and of all the strong Places of *Judah*, none remain'd in the Power of *Hezekiah*, but *Jerusalem*, which was also reduc'd to the utmost Extremity.

At this very Juncture, *Sennacherib* was inform'd, that *Tirhakah*, King of *Ethiopia*, who had join'd Forces with the King of *Egypt*, was advancing to succour the besieg'd City. Now, it was contrary to the express Command of *God*, as well as the Remonstrances of *Isaiah*, and *Hezekiah*, that the chief Rulers at *Jerusalem* had requir'd any foreign Assistance. Hereupon, the *Assyrian* Prince march'd immediately to meet the approaching Enemy; after having writ a Letter to *Hezekiah*, full of Blasphemy, against the *God* of *Israel*; whom he insolently boasted, he would speedily vanquish, as he had done all the Gods of the other Nations round him. In short, he defeated the *Egyptians*, and pursu'd them even into their own Country; which he laid entirely waste; and returning laden with rich Spoils, encamp'd again before *Jerusalem*.

It was, probably, during *Sennacherib*'s Absence, which was pretty long, or, at least, some little Time before, that *Hezekiah* fell sick, and was cur'd in a miraculous Manner; and that (as a Sign of *God*'s fulfilling the Promise he had made of curing him so perfectly, that, within three Days, he should be able to go to the Temple) the Shadow of the Sun went ten Degrees backwards, upon the Dial of the Palace. Hereupon, *Merodach Baladen*, King of *Babylon*, hearing of the miraculous Cure of *Hezekiah*, sent Embassadors to him, with Letters, and Presents, to congratulate him upon that Occasion; and to inform themselves of the Miracle, that had happen'd upon Earth, at this Juncture, with Respect to the Sun's Retrogradation ten Degrees. *Hezekiah* was not a little sensible of the Honour done him by this Prince; which made him very forward to shew the Embassadors the Riches and Treasures he possess'd; and to let them see the whole Magnificence of his Palace.

Humanly speaking, there was nothing in this Proceeding, but what was allowable, and commendable; but, in the Eyes of the Supreme Judge, which are infinitely more piercing, and delicate, than ours, this Action discover'd a lurking Pride, and secret Vanity, with which his Righteousness was offended. Accordingly, he instantly appriz'd the King, by his Prophet *Isaiah*, that the Riches, and Treasures, he had been shewing to those Embassadors, with so much Ostentation, should, one Day, be transported to *Babylon*; and that his own Children should, likewise, be carry'd thither, to become Servants in the Palace of that Monarch. This was then utterly improbable; for, the King of *Babylon*, at the Time of which we are speaking, was in Friendship and Alliance with *Jerusalem*, as appears by his having sent Embassadors thither;

thither; nor did *Jeruſalem* then ſeem to have any Thing to fear from any but the *Aſſyrian* Monarch, who was, at that Time, very formidable, and had declar'd openly againſt her. But the Fortune of thoſe two States was to change, and the Word of *God* was literally accompliſh'd.

To return to *Sennacherib*; after he had ravag'd *Egypt*, and taken a vaſt Number of Priſoners, he came back with his victorious Army, encamp'd before *Jeruſalem*, and beſieg'd it anew. The City ſeem'd to be inevitably loſt: 'Twas without Refuge, and without Hope from the Hands of Men; but it had a powerful Protector in Heaven, whoſe jealous Ears had heard the impious Blaſphemies utter'd by the King of *Nineveh* againſt his ſacred Name. In one ſingle Night, an hundred and eighty-five thouſand of his Army periſh'd by the Sword of the Deſtroying Angel. After ſo terrible a Blow, this pretended King of Kings (for ſo he call'd himſelf) this Triumpher over Nations, and Conqueror of Gods, was oblig'd to return to his own Country, with the miſerable Remnant of his Army, cover'd with Shame and Confuſion. Nor did he ſurvive his Defeat a few Months, but only to make a Kind of an honourable Attonement, by his Sufferings, to *God*, whoſe Supreme Majeſty he had preſum'd to inſult; and who now, to uſe the Scripture-Terms, having *put a Ring into his Noſe, and a Bit into his Mouth*, as unto a wild Beaſt, made him return in that humbled, afflicted Condition, through thoſe very Countries, which, a little before, had beheld him ſo haughty and imperious.

Upon his Arrival at *Nineveh*, being enrag'd at his Diſgrace, he treated his Subjects in a moſt cruel, and tyrannical Manner. The Effects of his Fury fell moſt heavily upon the *Jews* and *Iſraelites*, of whom he caus'd great Numbers to be maſſacred every Day; ordering their Bodies to be left expos'd in the Streets, and ſuffering no Man to give them Burial. During this Perſecution, *Tobit* diſobeying the King's Command, and burying his unfortunate Countrymen, who were kill'd, was oblig'd to conceal himſelf for ſome Time, to avoid *Sennacherib*'s Cruelty, and had all his Effects confiſcated. In ſhort, the King's ſavage Temper render'd him ſo inſupportable to his own Family, that his two eldeſt Sons conſpir'd againſt him, and kill'd him in the Temple, under the Eyes of his God *Niſroch*, as he lay proſtrate before him. But theſe two Princes, being oblig'd, after this Parricide, to fly into *Armenia*, *Eſarhaddon*, their younger Brother, aſcended the Throne.

We have already obſerv'd, that after *Merodach Baladan*, there was a Succeſſion of Kings at *Babylon*, of whom Hiſtory has tranſmitted nothing but the Names. The Royal Family becoming extinct, there was an eight Years *Interregnum*, full of Troubles and Commotions; of which *Eſarhaddon*, taking Advantage, made himſelf Maſter of *Babylon*; and annexing it to his former Dominions, reign'd over the two united Empires thirteen Years.

He alſo re-united *Syria* and *Paleſtine* to the *Aſſyrian* Empire; they having revolted from it in the preceding Reign: This done, he enter'd the Land of *Iſrael*, where he took as many as were left there, and carry'd them into *Aſſyria*, except an inconſiderable Number that eſcap'd his inquiſitive Eye. And that the Country might not become a Deſart, he ſent Colonies of idolatrous People, taken out of the Countries beyond the *Euphrates*, to dwell in the Cities of *Samaria*. Then was fulfill'd the Prediction of *Iſaiah*, *Within threeſcore and five Years ſhall* Ephraim *be broken, that it be no more a People*. This was exactly the Space of Time, which interven'd between the Prediction and the Event; and the People of *Iſrael* did then truly ceaſe to be a viſible Nation, what was left of them being altogether mix'd, and confounded with other Nations.

Having thus poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Land of *Iſrael*, *Eſarhaddon* ſent ſome of his Generals, with Part of his Army, into *Judea*, to reduce that Country likewiſe under his Subjection. Theſe Generals defeated *Manaſſeh*, and having taken him Priſoner, brought him to *Eſarhaddon*; who put him in Chains, and carry'd him a Priſoner to *Babylon*. But *Manaſſeh*, having afterwards appeas'd the Wrath of *God*, by a ſincere and lively Repentance, obtain'd his Liberty, and return'd to *Jeruſalem*.

In the mean Time, the Colonies, that had been ſent into *Samaria*, in the Room of its antient Inhabitants, were grievouſly infeſted with Lions. And the King of *Babylon* being inform'd, that the Cauſe of that Calamity was their not worſhipping the *God* of the Country, order'd an *Iſraelitiſh* Prieſt to be ſent to them, from among the Captives taken in the Cities of *Samaria*, to teach them the Worſhip of the *God* of *Iſrael*. But theſe Idolaters, contented with admitting the true *God* amongſt their antient Divinities, worſhipp'd him jointly with their falſe Deities. This corrupt Worſhip continu'd afterwards, even to the Time of our Saviour; and was the Source of the Averſion entertain'd by the *Jews* againſt the *Samaritans*.

Eſarhaddon dying, after a proſperous Reign of thirty-nine Years over the *Aſſyrians*, and thirteen over the *Babylonians*, was ſucceeded by his Son, *Saoſduchinus*, who is call'd in Scripture *Nabuchodonoſor*, which Name was common to the Kings of *Babylon*. To diſtinguiſh this, therefore, from the Others, he is call'd *Nabuchodonoſor* the firſt.

Tobit was ſtill alive at this Time, and dwelt among other Captives at *Nineveh*; where, perceiving that his End approach'd, he foretold his Children the ſudden Deſtruction of that City; of which, at that Time, there was not the leaſt Appearance. He adviſ'd them, therefore, to quit *Nineveh*, before its Ruin came on, and to depart, aſſoon as they had bury'd him and his Wife.

The Ruin of Nineveh *is at Hand* (ſays the good old Man) *abide no longer here, for I perceive the Wickedneſs of the City will occaſion its Deſtruction.* Theſe laſt Words are very remarkable, *the Wickedneſs of the City will occaſion its Deſtruction.* Men may impute the Ruin of *Nineveh* to any other Reaſon, but we are taught by the *Holy Ghoſt*, that her Unrighteouſneſs was the true Cauſe of it as it will be with all other States, that will imitate her Crimes.

In the twelfth Year of his Reign, *Nabuchadonoſor* defeated the King of the *Medes*, in a pitch'd Battle fought upon the Plain of *Ragau*, and taking *Ecbatane*, the Capital of his Kingdom, he return'd triumphant to *Nineveh*. When we come to treat of the Hiſtory of the *Medes*, we ſhall give a more particular Account of this Victory.

It was immediately after this Expedition, that *Bethulia* was beſieg'd by *Holoſernes*, one of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s Generals; and that *Judith* undertook

that bold and dangerous Enterprize, which render'd her Name so famous, and deliver'd her Country.

The Defeat of the *Assyrians* before *Bethulia*, was a terrible Blow to that Empire; and *Saracus*, or *Chynaladanus*, the Prince, who succeeded *Saosduchinus*, was far from being capable of retrieving it; for he render'd himself so contemptible to his Subjects, by his Effeminacy, and the little Care he took of his Dominions, that *Nabopolassar*, a *Babylonian* by Birth, and General of his Army, usurp'd that Part of the *Assyrian* Empire, and reign'd over it twenty-one Years.

Having thus made himself Master of *Babylon*, and *Chaldea*, the better to maintain himself in his usurp'd Sovereignty, he made an Alliance with *Cyaxares*, King of the *Medes*; and joining Forces with him, laid Siege to *Nineveh*, took it, kill'd *Saracus*, and utterly destroy'd that great City. We shall speak more largely of this great Event, when we come to the History of the *Medes*. From this Time forwards, the City of *Babylon* became the only Capital of the *Assyrian* Empire.

The *Babylonians* and *Medes*, having thus destroy'd *Nineveh*, became so formidable, that they drew upon themselves the Jealousy of all their Neighbours. Accordingly, *Necho*, King of *Egypt*, was so alarm'd at their Power, that, to stop their Progress, he march'd towards the *Euphrates*, at the Head of a powerful Army, and there made several considerable Conquests: As has been already observ'd in the History of the *Egyptians*.

After the Reduction of *Carchemish* by *Necho*, all *Syria* and *Palestine* revolted from *Nabopolassar*; and neither his Age, nor Infirmities, permitting him to go in Person to recover them, he made his Son, *Nabuchodonosor*, Partner with him in the Empire; and sent him with an Army, to reduce those Countries to their former Subjection.

From this Time, the *Jews* begin to reckon the Years of *Nabuchodonosor*, viz. from the End of the third Year of *Jehoiakim*, King of *Judah*, or rather, from the Beginning of the fourth. But the *Babylonians* compute his Reign only from the Death of his Father, which happen'd two Years after.

This Prince, who was call'd *Nabuchodonosor* II. to distinguish him from *Saosduchinus*, defeated *Necho*'s Army near the *Euphrates*, and retook *Carchemish*; from whence he march'd towards *Syria* and *Palestine*, and re-united those Provinces to his Dominions. This done, he enter'd *Judea*, besieg'd *Jerusalem*, which he took, and causing *Jehoiakim* to be put in Chains, carry'd him to *Babylon*; but, being mov'd with his Repentance, and Affliction, he restor'd him to his Throne. Great Numbers also of the *Jews*, and, among the rest, some Children of the Royal Family, were carry'd captive to *Babylon*; whither all the Treasures of the King's Palace, and Part of the sacred Vessels of the Temple, were likewise transported. Thus was the Judgment, *God* had denounc'd by the Prophet *Isaiah*, to King *Hezekiah*, accomplish'd. From this famous *Epocha*, which was the fourth Year of *Jehoiakim*, King of *Judah*, we are to date the Captivity of the *Jews* at *Babylon*, so often foretold by *Jeremiah*. *Daniel*, then but eighteen Years old, was carry'd away captive among the Rest; and *Ezekiel*, some Time afterwards.

Towards the End of the fifth Year of *Jehoiakim*, dy'd *Nabopolassar*, King of *Babylon*, after having reign'd twenty-one Years. Assoon as his Son, *Nabuchodonosor*, had receiv'd the News of his Death, he set out with all Expedition for *Babylon*; and took the nearest Way through the Desart, attended only with a small Retinue; leaving the Bulk of his Army with his Generals, to be conducted to *Babylon*, with the Captives and Spoils. On his Arrival, he receiv'd the Government, from the Hands of those that had carefully preserv'd it for him, and so succeeded to all the Dominions of his Father; which comprehended *Chaldea*, *Assyria*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*; over which, according to *Ptolomy*, he reign'd forty-three Years.

In the fourth Year of his Reign he had a Dream, at which he was greatly terrify'd, though he could not call it again to Mind: Wherefore, he consulted the wise Men and Diviners of his Kingdom, requiring of them, to make known to him the Substance of his Dream. They all answer'd, that it was beyond the Reach of their Art to divine the Thing itself; and that the utmost they could do, was to give the Interpretation of his Dream, when he had made it known to them. As absolute Princes are not accustom'd to meet with Opposition, but will always be obey'd, *Nabuchodonosor*, imagining they dealt insincerely with him, fell into a violent Rage, and condemn'd them all to die. Now *Daniel*, and his three Companions, *Shadrach*, *Meshach*, and *Abednego*, were included in the Sentence; as being rank'd among the wise Men: But *Daniel*, having first invok'd his *God*, desir'd to be introduc'd to the King, to whom he reveal'd the whole Substance of his Dream. Hereupon, full of Admiration and Astonishment, after having acknowledg'd, and loudly declar'd, that the *God* of the *Israelites* was really the *God* of Gods, advanc'd *Daniel* to the highest Offices in the Kingdom; made him Chief of the Governors over all the wise Men; Ruler of the whole Province of *Babylon*; and one of the principal Lords of the Council, that always attended the Court. His three Friends were also promoted to Great Honours and Dignities.

About this Time, *Jehoiakim* revolted from the King of *Babylon*; upon which, his Generals, who were still in *Judea*, march'd against that Prince; committed all Kinds of Hostilities in his Country; shut him up in *Jerusalem*; and, at last, having taken him Prisoner (probably, in a Sally he made during the Siege) they hack'd his Body in Pieces with the Sword, and scatter'd it in the High-Way.

After his Decease, *Jechonias*, who is also call'd *Jehoiachin*, succeeded both to the Throne, and Iniquity of his Father. In the mean While, *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Lieutenants continu'd the Blockade of *Jerusalem*; and, in three Months Time, he himself came at the Head of his Army, and made himself Master of the City. Having so done, he spoil'd both the Temple, and the King's Palace, of all their Treasures; and sent them away to *Babylon*, together with all the Golden Vessels, that were left, which *Solomon* had made, for the Use of the Temple: He carry'd away likewise a vast Number of Captives; amongst whom was King *Jechonias*; his Mother; and Wives, with all the chief Officers, and Great Men of his Kingdom. In the Room of *Jechonias*, he set upon the Throne his Uncle *Mattaniah*, whom he nam'd *Zedekiah*, and who had as little Religion, and Prosperity, as his Fore-fathers: For, having made an Alliance with *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*, he broke the Oath

Oath he had taken to the King of *Babylon*; for which, the latter ſoon chaſtis'd him, and immediately laid Siege to *Jeruſalem*. The *Egyptian* Monarch's Arrival at the Head of an Army, gave the Beſieg'd ſome Hopes; but their Joy was very ſhort-liv'd; the *Egyptians* were defeated; and the Conqueror returning before *Jeruſalem*, renew'd the Siege, which laſted near a Twelve-month. At laſt, the City was taken by Storm, and a terrible Slaughter enſu'd; *Zedekiah*'s two Sons being kill'd, by *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Orders, before their Father's Face; with all the Nobles, and principal Men of *Judah*. As for *Zedekiah* himſelf, he had both his Eyes put out, was loaded with Fetters, and carry'd to *Babylon*; where he was confin'd in Priſon as long as he liv'd: The City alſo, and Temple, were pillag'd, and burnt, and all their Fortifications demoliſh'd.

Upon *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Return to *Babylon*, from his ſucceſsful War againſt *Judea*, he order'd a Golden Statue to be made ſixty Cubits high; aſſembled all the Great Men of the Kingdom, to celebrate the Dedication thereof; and commanded all his Subjects, in general, to worſhip it; threatning to caſt thoſe that ſhould refuſe into the Midſt of a burning fiery Furnace. Upon this Occaſion it was, that the three young *Hebrews*, *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*, who, with an invincible Courage, refus'd to comply with the King's impious Ordinance, were preſerv'd after a miraculous Manner, in the Midſt of the Flames. Hereupon, *Nebuchadnezzar*, who was himſelf a Witneſs of this aſtoniſhing Miracle, publiſh'd an Edict, whereby all Perſons whatſoever were forbid, upon Pain of Death, to ſpeak againſt the *God* of *Ananias*, *Miſael*, and *Azarias*: He likewiſe promoted theſe three young Men to the higheſt Honours and Employments.

In the twenty-firſt Year of his Reign, and the fourth after the Deſtruction of *Jeruſalem*, *Nebuchadnezzar* march'd again into *Syria*; and beſieg'd *Tyre*, at the Time when *Ithobal*, call'd *Ethbaal* in Scripture, was King thereof. *Tyre* was, at that Time, a ſtrong, and opulent City, which had never been ſubject to any foreign Power: It was alſo then in great Repute for its Commerce; by which many of its Citizens, were become equal to ſo many Princes, in Wealth and Magnificence. It was built by the *Sidonians*, two hundred and forty Years before the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. For, *Sidon* being taken by the *Philiſtines* of *Aſcalon*, many of its Inhabitants made their Eſcape in Ships, and founded the City of *Tyre*. And for this Reaſon, we find it call'd in *Iſaiah*, the *Daughter of Sidon*. But the Daughter ſoon ſurpaſs'd the Mother in Grandeur, Riches, and Power. Accordingly, at the Time of which we are ſpeaking, ſhe was in a Condition to reſiſt, thirteen Years together, a Monarch, to whoſe Yoke all the Reſt of the *Eaſt* had ſubmitted.

It was not till after ſo many Years, that *Nebuchadnezzar* made himſelf Maſter of *Tyre*; And his Troops had ſuffer'd incredible Hardſhips before it; ſo that, according to the Prophet's Expreſſion, *Every Head was made bald, and every Shoulder was peeled*. Before the City was reduc'd to the laſt Extremity, its Inhabitants retir'd, with the greateſt Part of their Effects, into a neighbouring Iſle, half a Mile from the Shore, where they built a new City; the Name and Glory whereof extinguiſh'd the Remembrance of the old one; which, from thence forward, became a meer Village, retaining the Name of Antient *Tyre*.

Nebuchadnezzar, and his Army, having undergone the utmoſt Fatigues, during ſo long, and difficult a Siege; and having found nothing in the Place to requite them for the Service they had render'd Almighty *God* ('tis the Expreſſion of the Prophet) in executing his Vengeance upon that City; to make them Amends, *God* was pleas'd to promiſe, by the Mouth of *Ezekiel*, that he would give them the Spoils of *Egypt*. Accordingly, *Nebuchadnezzar* conquer'd *Egypt* ſoon after; as we have more fully related in the Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*.

When this Prince had happily finiſh'd all his Wars, and was in a State of full Peace and Tranquillity, he put the laſt Hand to the Building, or rather, to the embelliſhing of *Babylon*. Our Reader may ſee, in *Joſephus*, an Account of the magnificent Structures aſcrib'd to this Monarch, by ſeveral Writers: We have mention'd a great Part of them, in the Deſcription already given of that ſtately City.

Whilſt nothing ſeem'd wanting to compleat *Nebuchadnezzar*'s Happineſs, a frightful Dream diſturb'd his Repoſe, and fill'd him with great Anxiety.

The King, juſtly ſhock'd thereat, conſulted all his wiſe Men and Magicians, but to no Purpoſe. He was oblig'd, therefore, to have Recourſe to *Daniel*, who expounded the Dream, and apply'd it to *Nebuchadnezzar* himſelf; plainly declaring to him, *That he ſhould be driven from the Company of Men for ſeven Years; ſhould be reduced to the Condition and Fellowſhip of the Beaſts of the Field, and feed upon Graſs like a Bullock; that his Kingdom, nevertheleſs, ſhould be preſerved for him, and he ſhould repoſſeſs his Throne, when he ſhould have learnt to know, and acknowledge, that all Power is from Above, and cometh from Heaven. After this, he exhorted him, to break off his Sins, by Righteouſneſs; and his Iniquities, by ſhewing Mercy to the Poor.*

All theſe Things came to paſs upon *Nebuchadnezzar*, exactly as the Prophet had foretold. At the End of twelve Months, as he was walking in his Palace, and admiring the Beauty and Magnificence of his Buildings, he ſaid, *Is not this great* Babylon, *which I have built for the Houſe of the Kingdom, by the Might of my Power, and for the Honour of my Majeſty?* Would a Prince's giving Way to a little Vanity, and being highly pleas'd with himſelf, at the Sight of ſuch noble Structures as he had erected, appear to us ſo very criminal? And yet, hardly were the Words out of his Mouth, when a Voice came down from Heaven, and pronounc'd this Sentence: *In the ſame Hour his Underſtanding went from him; he was driven from Men, and did eat Graſs like Oxen; and his Body was wet with the Dew of Heaven, till his Hairs were grown like Eagle's Feathers, and his Nails like Birds Claws.*

After the Expiration of the appointed Time, he recover'd his Senſes, and the Uſe of his Underſtanding: *He lifted up his Eyes unto Heaven* (ſays the Scripture) *and bleſſed the moſt High; he praiſed and honoured Him that liveth for ever, whoſe Dominion is an everlaſting Dominion, and his Kingdom is from Generation to Generation*: Confeſſing, *That all the Inhabitants of the Earth are as nothing before Him, and that He d.th according to His Will,*

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in the Army of Heaven, and among the Inhabitants of the Earth; and none can ſtay his Hand, or ſay unto him, What doeſt Thou?

He then recover'd his former Countenance and Form; his Courtiers went out to ſeek him; he was reſtor'd to his Throne, and became greater, and more powerful, than ever. Being affected, therefore, with the heartieſt Gratitude, he publiſh'd a ſolemn Edict, wherein he made known, through the whole Extent of his Dominions, what aſtoniſhing, and miraculous Things, *God* had wrought on his Perſon.

Within a Year after this, *Nebuchadnezzar* dy'd, having reign'd forty-three Years, reckoning from the Death of his Father. He was one of the greateſt Monarchs, that ever reign'd in the *Eaſt*; and was ſucceeded by his Son, *Evil-Merodach*, who, aſſoon as he was ſettled in the Throne, releas'd *Jechonias*, King of *Judah* (who is call'd in Scripture *Jehoiachin*) out of Priſon, where he had been confin'd near thirty-ſeven Years.

In the Reign of this *Evil Merodach*, which laſted but two Years, the Learned place *Daniel*'s Detection of the Fraud practis'd by the Prieſts of *Bel*; the innocent Artifice, by which he contriv'd to kill the Dragon, which was worſhipp'd as a God; and the miraculous Deliverance of the ſame Prophet out of the Den of Lions, where he had Victuals brought him by the Prophet *Habakkuk*.

Evil-Merodach had not reign'd above two Years, before his Luſt, and other Wickedneſs, render'd him ſo intolerable, that his own Relations conſpir'd againſt him, and put him to Death: After which, *Nerigliſſar*, his Siſter's Husband, who was Head of the Conſpiracy, was advanc'd to the Throne.

Immediately on his Acceſſion to the Crown, he made great Preparations for turning his Arms againſt the *Medes*; which induc'd *Cyaxares* to ſend for *Cyrus* out of *Perſia* to his Aſſiſtance; and a bloody Battle enſuing between the two Armies, *Nerigliſſar* was defeated, and ſlain, the fourth Year of his Reign, after having given the greateſt Proofs of his Conduct and Bravery.

On *Nerigliſſar*'s being thus kill'd, *Laboroſoarchod*, his Son, ſucceeded to the Throne; who was rather a Monſter, than a Prince. Being born with the moſt vicious Inclinations, he indulg'd them without Reſtraint, when he came to the Crown; as if he had been inveſted with ſovereign Power, only to have the Privilege of committing, with Impunity, the moſt infamous, and barbarous Actions. We need only mention two of them, to give our Readers a true Idea of this Tyrant: He ſlew the only Son of *Gobrias*, a Nobleman of the firſt Rank, becauſe he had kill'd a wild Beaſt, at a Hunting, when he himſelf had miſs'd it; and he caus'd *Gadates*, another of equal Rank, to be caſtrated, becauſe one of his Concubines had commended him for a handſome Man. It is no Wonder, ſuch ſuch a Wretch reign'd but nine Months; his own Subjects being no longer able to bear him, conſpir'd againſt him, and ſlew him.

To *Laboroſoarchod* ſucceeded *Nabonadius*, or *Labynetus*, who had likewiſe divers other Names, and is the ſame, who is call'd, in Scripture, *Belſhazzar*.

He reign'd ſeventeen Years, and is ſuppos'd to have been the Son of *Evil-Merodach*, by his Wife *Nitocris*; and conſequently, Grandſon to *Nebuchadnezzar*, to whom, according to *Jeremiah*'s Prophecy, the Nations of the *Eaſt* were to be ſubject, as alſo to his Son, and his Grandſon after him: *All Nations ſhall ſerve him, and his Son, and his Son's Son, until the very Time of his Land ſhall come.*

Nitocris is that great Princeſs, who finiſh'd the noble Works which *Nebuchadnezzar* left unfiniſh'd; eſpecially, the Walls of the City, and the Banks of the River within it. Amongſt the Reſt, ſhe caus'd her own Monument to be plac'd over one of the moſt remarkable Gates of the City; with an Inſcription, diſſuading her Succeſſors from touching the Treaſures laid up therein, without the moſt urgent and indiſpenſible Neceſſity. Accordingly, it remain'd unopen'd till the Reign of *Darius*; who, upon his breaking it open, inſtead of thoſe immenſe Treaſures, with the Hopes of which he had flatter'd himſelf, found nothing but the following Inſcription:

IF THOU HADST NOT AN INSATIABLE THIRST AFTER MONEY, AND A MOST SORDID, AVARICIOUS SOUL, THOU WOULD'ST NEVER HAVE BROKEN OPEN THE MONUMENTS OF THE DEAD.

In the firſt Year of the Reign of *Nabonadius*, or *Belſhazzar*, *Daniel* had the Viſion of the four Beaſts; which repreſented the four great Monarchies, and the Kingdom of the *Meſſiah*, which was to ſucceed them. In the third Year of the ſame Reign, he had the Viſion of the Ram and the He-Goat; which prefigur'd the Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Empire by *Alexander the Great*; and the Perſecution, which *Antiochus Epiphanes*, King of *Syria*, was to bring upon the *Jews*.

This new King came young to the Crown, and, had he been left wholly to himſelf, the *Babylonians* would have gain'd but little by the Change; for, *Xenophon* gives him the Character of an impious Prince; and it ſufficiently appears, by what is ſaid of him in *Daniel*, that he was ſo.

But, whilſt he was giving himſelf up wholly to his Pleaſures, his Mother, who was a Woman of a great Spirit, and Underſtanding, took upon her the Adminiſtration of Affairs: And to her alone it was owing, that her Son preſerv'd his Crown ſo long as ſeventeen Years, againſt ſo powerful an Enemy as *Cyrus*.

As for the young Prince, wholly regardleſs of the State, even whilſt the Enemy were beſieging him in his Capital, gave a fine Entertainment to his whole Court, upon a certain Feſtival, which was annually celebrated with great Rejoicings; but the Joy of this Feaſt was mightily diſturb'd by a Viſion; and ſtill more ſo by the Explication, which *Daniel* gave of it, that his Kingdom was taken from him, and given to the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Accordingly, that very Night, the City was taken, and *Belſhazzar* kill'd. Thus ended the *Babylonian* Empire, after having ſubſiſted two hundred and ten Years, from the Deſtruction of the firſt *Aſſyrian* Empire.

We have already taken Notice, in treating of the Deſtruction of the firſt *Aſſyrian* Empire, that *Arbaces*, General of the *Medes*, was one of the chief Authors of the Conſpiracy againſt *Sardanapalus*: And ſeveral Writers believe, that he then immediately became Sovereign Maſter of *Media*, and many other Provinces, and aſſum'd the Title of King. *Herodotus*, however, is not of that Opinion;

pinion; we ſhall relate preſently what that Celebrated Hiſtorian ſays upon this Subject; but firſt, it will be proper to obſerve, that it was under the Government of ſome of thoſe indolent, inactive, and effeminate Princes, the Predeceſſors of *Sardanapalus*, of whom Hiſtory has been entirely ſilent, as not thinking ſuch Wretches deſerv'd being mention'd, that the famous *Seſoſtris*, King of *Egypt*, extended his Conqueſts ſo far in the *Eaſt*, meeting with little Oppoſition from ſuch Princes. But, as his Power was but of a very ſhort Duration, and not ſupported by his Succeſſors, the *Aſſyrian* Empire ſoon recover'd what had been taken from it.

Plato, a curious Obſerver of Antiquities, makes the Kingdom of *Troy*, in the Time of *Priamus*, dependant upon the antient *Aſſyrian* Empire: And *Cteſias* ſays, that *Teutamus*, the twentieth King after *Ninyas*, ſent a conſiderable Body of Troops, to the Aſſiſtance of the *Trojans*; under the Conduct of *Memnon*, the Son of *Tithonus*; at the Time when the *Aſſyrian* Empire had already ſubſiſted above a thouſand Years; which agrees exactly with the Time, wherein we have plac'd the Foundation of that Empire. But the Silence of *Homer*, concerning ſo great a People, and who muſt neceſſarily have been very well known, render this Fact exceeding doubtful; or rather, ſhews it not to be true: And indeed, it muſt be own'd, that whatever relates to the Times of the antient Hiſtory of the *Aſſyrians*, is attended with inſuperable Difficulties, and great Uncertainty.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd; the *Aſſyrians*, who, for many Ages, had govern'd the Empire of *Aſia*, began to decline greatly in their Power, by the Revolt of ſeveral Nations. The *Medes* firſt threw off their Yoke, and maintain'd, for ſome Time, the Liberty they had acquir'd by their Valour; but that Liberty degenerating into Licentiouſneſs, and their Government not being well eſtabliſh'd, they fell into a Kind of Anarchy, worſe than their former Subjection. Injuſtice, Violence, and Rapine, prevail'd every-where, becauſe there was No-body that had, either Power enough to reſtrain them; or a ſufficient Authority to puniſh the Offenders. All theſe Diſorders induc'd the People to ſettle a Form of Government, which render'd the State more flouriſhing than ever it had been before.

The HISTORY *of the MEDES.*

THE Nation of the *Medes* were then divided into Tribes: The Generality of the People dwelt in Villages, when *Dejoces*, the Son of *Phraortes*, a *Mede*, by Birth, erected the State into a Monarchy. This great, and artful Man, ſeeing the perpetual Diſorders that prevail'd throughout all *Media*, reſolv'd to take Advantage of thoſe Troubles, and make them ſerve to exalt him to the Royal Dignity. This might have prov'd a dangerous Undertaking, had he not been particularly well qualify'd for it; by having an unblemiſh'd Reputation in his Country; where he paſs'd for a Man, not only regular in his own Conduct, but poſſeſs'd of all the Prudence, and Equity, neceſſary for a Monarch.

Aſſoon as he had form'd the Deſign of obtaining the Throne, he endeavour'd to render the good Qualities, that had been before obſerv'd in him, more conſpicuous than ever: Wherein he ſucceeded ſo well, that the Inhabitants of the Village where he liv'd, made him their Judge. In this Office he acquitted himſelf with great Prudence; and his Services had all the Succeſs that was expected; for he brought the People of that Village to live in a ſober and regular Manner. The Inhabitants of other Villages, whom their perpetual Diſorders ſuffer'd not to live in the ſame Tranquility, obſerving the good Order *Dejoces* had introduc'd in the Place, where he preſided as Judge, began likewiſe to addreſs themſelves to him, and make him Arbitrator of their Differences. Hereupon, the Fame of his Equity daily increaſing, all ſuch as had any Affair of Conſequence, brought it before him; expecting to find that Equity in *Dejoces*, which they could not meet with in any other.

When he found himſelf thus far advanced in his Deſigns, he judg'd it a proper Time to ſet his laſt Engines at Work, for the compaſſing his Point. He retir'd, therefore, from Buſineſs, pretending, to be over-fatigu'd with the Multitude of People, that reſorted to him from all Quarters; and would not exerciſe the Office of Judge any longer, notwithſtanding all the Importunity, of ſuch as wiſh'd well to the publick Tranquility: And whenever any Perſons addreſs'd themſelves to him, for the Redreſs of their Grievances, or to arbitrate Matters between them; he told them, that his own domeſtick Affairs would not allow him to attend thoſe of other People.

The Licentiouſneſs, which had been for ſome Time reſtrain'd, by the Management of *Dejoces*, began to prevail more than ever, aſſoon as he had withdrawn himſelf from the Adminiſtration of Affairs; and the Evil increas'd to ſuch a Degree, that the *Medes* were oblig'd to aſſemble, and deliberate upon the moſt proper Means, to put a Stop to ſo dangerous a Diſorder.

There are two very different Sorts of Ambition: The one violent, and impetuous, carries every Thing, as it were, by Storm; ſticking at no Kind of Cruelty, or Murder: The other Sort more gentle, like that of which we are ſpeaking, puts on an Appearance of Moderation and Juſtice, working under Ground (if we may uſe that Expreſſion) and yet gains its Point, as ſurely as the other.

Dejoces, who now ſaw Things ſucceeding according to his Wiſh, judg'd it Time to ſend his Emiſſaries to the Aſſembly; having firſt inſtructed them in the Part they were to act. Accordingly, when Expedients, for ſtopping the Courſe of the publick

Evils came to be propos'd, theſe his Emiſſaries, ſpeaking in their Turn, repreſented, that, unleſs the Face of the Republick was entirely chang'd, their Country would become uninhabitable; that the only Means to remedy the preſent Diſorders, was to elect a King, who ſhould have Authority to reſtrain Violence, and make Laws for the Government of the Nation; and, that then every Man could proſecute his own Affairs in Peace and Safety: Whereas, the Injuſtice, that now reign'd in all Parts, would quickly force the People to abandon the Country. This Opinion was generally approv'd; and the whole Company were convinc'd, that no Expedient could be devis'd, more effectual for curing the preſent Evil, than that of converting the State into a Monarchy. The only Thing then, that remain'd to be done, was to chooſe a King; about which their Deliberations were not long: All agreeing, there was not a Man in *Media*, ſo capable of governing, as *Dejoces*; ſo that he was immediately, with common Conſent, elected King.

Having thus aſcended the Throne, *Dejoces* endeavour'd to convince the People, that they were not miſtaken in the Choice they had made of him, for reſtoring Order. But, firſt, he reſolv'd to have his Dignity accompany'd, with all thoſe Enſigns of Royalty, that are proper to inſpire an Awe, and Reſpect for the Perſon of a Sovereign. He oblig'd his new Subjects, therefore, to build him a magnificent Palace, in the Place he appointed, which he ſtrongly fortify'd; and, this done, he choſe out from among his People ſuch Perſons, as he judg'd fitteſt to be his Guards.

Having thus provided for his own Security, he apply'd himſelf to poliſh, and civilize his Subjects; who, having been accuſtom'd to live in the Country, and in Villages, in a Manner, without Laws, and without any Civil Government, had contracted an almoſt ſavage Diſpoſition. To this End, he commanded them to build a City; marking out himſelf the Place, and the Circumference of the Walls, of which there were ſeven in Number; all diſpos'd in ſuch a Manner, that the outermoſt did not hinder the Parapet of the ſecond from being ſeen; nor the ſecond that of the third; and ſo of all the reſt. The Situation of the Place was extremely favourable for ſuch a Deſign; for it was a regular Hill, whoſe Aſcent was equal on every Side. Within the laſt, and ſmalleſt Incloſure, ſtood the King's Palace, with all his Treaſures: In the ſixth, which was next to that, were ſeveral Apartments for lodging the Officers of his Houſhold; and the intermediate Spaces, between the other Walls, were appointed for the Habitations of the People: The firſt, and largeſt Incloſure was about the Bigneſs of *Athens*: The Name of this City, which was, from that Time, the Metropolis of the *Medes*, was *Ecbatane*.

The Proſpect, and View of this Capital, was magnificent, and beautiful; for, beſides the Diſpoſition of the Walls, which form'd a Kind of Amphitheatre, the different Colours, wherewith the ſeveral Parapets were painted, form'd a delightful Variety.

After the Whole was finiſh'd, and *Dejoces* had oblig'd Part of the *Medes* to ſettle therein, he turn'd all his Thoughts to the framing, and enacting good Laws for the Welfare of the State. But, being perſuaded, that the Majeſty of Kings is moſt reſpected afar off, he began to keep himſelf at a Diſtance from his People; being almoſt inacceſſible, and inviſible to his Subjects; and not ſuffering them to ſpeak, or communicate their Affairs to him, but only by Petitions, and the Interpoſition of his Officers: And even they, who had the Privilege of approaching him, might neither laugh, nor ſpit, in his Preſence.

This great, and artful Stateſman, acted in this Manner, in Order the better to ſecure himſelf the Poſſeſſion of the Crown: For, having to deal with Men, yet unciviliz'd, and no very good Judges of true Merit; he was afraid, that too great a Familiarity with him might produce Contempt, and occaſion Plots and Conſpiracies againſt growing Power; which is generally look'd upon with envious and diſcontented Eyes: But, by keeping himſelf thus conceal'd from the Eyes of the People, and making himſelf known only by the wiſe Laws he enacted, and the ſtrict Juſtice he took Care to adminiſter to every one, he obtain'd the Reſpect, and Eſteem of all his Subjects.

It is ſaid, that, from the innermoſt Part of his Palace, he knew every Thing that was done in his Dominions; by Means of his Emiſſaries, who brought him an Account, and inform'd him, of every Tranſaction. By this Means, no Crime eſcap'd, either the Knowledge of the Prince, or the Rigour of the Law: And the Puniſhment thus treading upon the Heels of the Offence, kept the Wicked in Awe, and ſtopp'd the Courſe of Violence and Injuſtice.

This poſſibly might be ſo, to a certain Degree, during his Adminiſtration: But, there is nothing more obvious, than the great Inconveniencies neceſſarily reſulting from the Cuſtom introduc'd by *Dejoces*; and wherein he has been imitated by the reſt of the *Eaſtern* Potentates: The Cuſtom, we mean, of living conceal'd in their Palaces, and of governing, by Spies diſpers'd throughout the Kingdom; of relying ſolely upon their Sincerity for the Truth of Facts; of not ſuffering the Complaints of the Oppreſs'd, and the juſt Reaſons of innocent Perſons, to be convey'd to him any other Way, than through foreign Channels; that is, by Men liable to be prejudic'd, or corrupted; Men, that ſtopp'd up all Avenues to Remonſtrances, or the Reparation of Injuries; and that were capable of doing the greateſt Injuſtice themſelves, with ſo much the more Eaſe and Aſſurance, as their Iniquity muſt remain undiſcover'd, and conſequently unpuniſh'd. But, beſides all this, we think, the very Affectation of being inviſible, ſhews Princes to be conſcious of their ſlender Merit; which ſhuns the Light, and dares not ſtand the Teſt of a near Examination.

As to *Dejoces*, he was ſo wholly taken up with humanizing, and poliſhing the Manners of his Nation, and making good Laws for the Government thereof, that he never engag'd in any Enterprize againſt his Neighbours, though his Reign was very long; for, he did not die, till after having reign'd fifty-three Years, and was ſucceeded in his Throne, by his Son, *Phraortes*, who was nam'd likewiſe *Aphraartes*.

The ſole Affinity between theſe two Names would make one believe, that this is the King, call'd in Scripture *Arphaxad*: But, this Opinion has many other ſubſtantial Reaſons to ſupport it, as may be ſeen in Father *Monfaucon*'s learned Diſſertation; of which we ſhall make great Uſe in this Treatiſe. The Paſſage in *Judith*, That Arphaxad

phaxad *built a very ſtrong City, and call'd it* Ecbatane, has deceiv'd moſt Authors, and induc'd them to believe, that *Arphaxad* muſt be *Dejoces*; who was certainly the Founder of that City. But the *Greek* Text of *Judith*, which the vulgar Tranſlation renders *ædificavit*, ſays only, *That* Arphaxad *added new Buildings to* Ecbatane. And what can be more natural, than for the Son to put the laſt Hand to ſo conſiderable a Work, and make ſuch Additions as were wanting, upon the Father's not having liv'd to ſee it entirely compleated?

Phraortes, who was of a very warlike Temper, not being content with the Kingdom of *Media*, left him by his Father, attack'd the *Perſians*; whom he defeated in a deciſive Battle, and brought under Subjection to his Empire. Being then render'd more powerful, by the Junction of their Troops, he invaded the other neighbouring Nations, one after another; till he had made himſelf Maſter of almoſt all the Upper *Aſia*; which comprehends thoſe Countries, that are *North* of Mount *Taurus*, from *Media*, as far as the River *Halys*.

Elate with this good Succeſs, he ventur'd, next, to turn his Arms againſt the *Aſſyrians*; who, indeed, had been then weaken'd, through the Revolt of ſeveral Nations; but were, nevertheleſs, ſtill very formidable in themſelves. Hereupon, their King, *Nabuchodonoſor*, otherwiſe call'd, *Saoſduchinus*, rais'd a great Army in his own Country, and ſent Embaſſadors to ſeveral other Nations of the *Eaſt*, to require their Aſſiſtance. But they all refus'd him with Contempt, and treated his Embaſſadors ignominiouſly; thereby giving him to underſtand, that they no longer dreaded that Empire, which had formerly kept the greateſt Part of them in a ſlaviſh Subjection.

On being inform'd thereof, that Prince, who was naturally very haughty, was highly enrag'd at ſuch inſolent Treatment; ſwore by his Throne, and his Kingdom, that he would be ſeverely reveng'd of all thoſe Nations, and put them every one to the Sword: He then prepar'd for Battle, with what Forces he had, in the Plain of *Ragau*. Then was fought that great Battle, mention'd in *Judith*, which prov'd fatal to *Phraortes*, who is there call'd *Arphaxad*, for he was entirely routed; his Cavalry being put to flight, and his Chariots overturn'd, which cauſing great Diſorder, *Nabuchodonoſor* gain'd a compleat Victory. Then, taking Advantage of the Defeat and Confuſion of the *Medes*, he enter'd their Country; took their Cities; puſh'd on his Conqueſts even to *Ecbatane*; forc'd the Towers and the Walls by Storm; and gave the City to be pillag'd by his Soldiers; who plunder'd, and ſtripp'd it of all its Ornaments.

Not long after, the unfortunate *Phraortes*, who had eſcap'd into the Mountains of *Ragau*, fell himſelf into the Hands of *Nabuchodonoſor*; who, being enrag'd at his daring to invade his Dominions, caus'd that poor Prince to be cruelly ſlain. This done, he return'd to *Nineveh*, with all his Army, which was ſtill very numerous; and for four Months together, did nothing but feaſt, and divert himſelf, with thoſe that had accompany'd him in this Expedition.

When this Feaſting was over, the incens'd Monarch, mindful of his Vow, to take a ſevere Revenge of thoſe who had refus'd to join him, ſent his General *Holofernes*, with a powerful Army, to reduce them to Subjection. The Progreſs, and Cruelty of that Commander; the general Conſternation of all the People; the couragious Reſolution of the *Iſraelites* to withſtand him, in Hopes, that their *God* would defend them; the Extremity to which *Bethulia*, and the whole Nation was reduc'd; the miraculous Deliverance of that City, by the Courage and Conduct of the brave *Judith*; and the compleat Overthrow of the *Aſſyrian* Army; are what none can be Strangers to, who ever read the *Scriptures*.

After the Death of *Phraortes*, who reign'd twenty-two Years, in the Manner already related, his Son, *Cyaxares*, immediately aſcended the Throne; who was a very brave, and enterprizing Prince, and knew how to make his Advantage of the late Overthrow of the *Aſſyrian* Army. *Firſt*, he ſettled himſelf well in *Media*; which done, he conquer'd all Upper *Aſia*; but ſtill, what he had moſt at Heart was, to attack *Nineveh*, and revenge the Death of his Father, by the Deſtruction of that great, and famous City.

Accordingly, having prepar'd all Things for that Purpoſe, he march'd againſt the *Aſſyrians*, who advanc'd to meet him; having only the Remains of that great Army, which was deſtroy'd before *Bethulia*: And a Battle enſuing, the *Aſſyrians* were defeated, and driven back as far as *Nineveh*. Whereupon, *Cyaxares*, purſuing his Blow, laid Siege to that Capital; which muſt inevitably have fallen into his Hands; but that the Time was not yet come, when God deſign'd to puniſh that City for her Crimes, and for the Calamities ſhe had brought upon his People, as well as other Nations: What occaſion'd its Deliverance from the preſent Danger, was this.

A formidable Army of *Scythians*, who were come from about the *Mæotis*-Lake, had driven the *Cimmerians* out of *Europe*, and were ſtill marching under the Conduct of King *Madyes*, in Purſuit of them. The *Cimmerians*, however, had found Means to eſcape from the *Scythians*, who were advancing into *Media*; when *Cyaxares*, hearing of this Eruption, rais'd the Siege of *Nineveh*, and march'd with all his Forces againſt that mighty Army, which, like an impetuous Torrent, was going to over-run all *Aſia*. Accordingly, the two Armies engag'd, and the *Medes* were vanquiſh'd; upon which, the *Barbarians*, finding no other Obſtacle in their Way, overſpread not only *Media*, but almoſt all *Aſia*. This done, they march'd towards *Egypt*, from whence *Pſammiticus* diverted their Courſe by Preſents; as has been already obſerv'd, in the Hiſtory of *Egypt*. Then they went back into *Paleſtine*, where ſome of them plunder'd the Temple of *Venus* at *Aſcalon*, the moſt antient Temple dedicated to that Goddeſs; and ſome of them ſettled at *Berhſhean*, a City in the Tribe of *Manaſſeh*, on this Side *Jordan*; which, from them, was afterwards call'd *Scythopolis*.

For the Space of twenty-eight Years, theſe Invaders were Maſters of all the Upper *Aſia*; namely, the two *Armenia*'s, *Cappadocia*, *Pontus*, *Colchis*, and *Iberia*; during which Time they ſpread Deſolation wherever they came. As for the *Medes*, who had enter'd into a Treaty with them, they had no Way of getting rid of them, but by a treacherous Stratagem; which was this: On Pretence of cultivating, and ſtrengthening the Alliance they had enter'd into, they invited the greateſt Part of them to a general Feaſt, which was made in every Family:

mily: This done, each Maſter of the Entertainment ply'd his Gueſts with Liquor, till they were drunk; and in that Condition were the *Scythians* maſſacred. The *Medes* then repoſſeſs'd themſelves of the Provinces they had loſt; and once more extended their Empire to the Banks of the River *Halys*, which was their antient Boundary Weſtward.

The remaining *Scythians*, who were not at theſe Feaſts, having heard of the Maſſacre of their Countrymen, fled into *Lydia*, to King *Halyattes*, who receiv'd them with great Humanity. This occaſion'd a War between thoſe two Princes; *Cyaxares* immediately leading his Troops to the Frontiers of *Lydia*: And many Engagements happen'd, during the Space of five Years, with almoſt an equal Advantage on both Sides. The Battle fought in the ſixth was very remarkable, on Account of an Eclipſe of the Sun, which happen'd during the Engagement; when, on a ſudden, the Day was turn'd into a dark Night: *Thales*, the *Mileſian*, had foretold this Eclipſe. However, the *Medes*, and *Lydians*, who were then in the Heat of the Battle, equally terrify'd with this unforeſeen Event, which they look'd upon as a Sign of the Anger of the Gods, immediately retreated on both Sides, and made Peace; of which, *Syeneſis*, King of *Cilicia*, and *Nabuchodonoſor*, King of *Babylon*, were the Mediators. To render their Friendſhip more firm and inviolable, the two Princes agreed to ſtrengthen it by a Marriage-Band; and it was concluded, that *Halyattes* ſhould give his Daughter *Aryenis* to *Aſtyages*, the eldeſt Son of *Cyaxares*.

The Manner theſe People had of contracting Alliances with one another, is very remarkable. Beſides other Ceremonies, which they had in common with the *Greeks*, they had this in particular; the two contracting Parties made themſelves Inciſions in the Arms, and lick'd one another's Blood.

Aſſoon as *Cyaxares* found himſelf again at Peace, his firſt Care was to reſume the Siege of *Nineveh*, which the Eruption of the *Scythians* had oblig'd him to raiſe; and *Nabopolaſſar*, King of *Babylon*, with whom he had juſt contracted a particular Alliance, join'd with him in a League againſt the *Aſſyrians*. Having, therefore, united their Forces, they beſieg'd *Nineveh*, which they took; killing *Saracus*, their Sovereign; and utterly deſtroying that mighty City; as has been related before, in the Hiſtory of the ſecond *Aſſyrian* Empire.

This was a full, and exact Completion, of what *God* had foretold, above a hundred Years before, by divers of his Prophets, in Revenge of the bloody Cruelties, and inſatiable Avarice of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchs; who had fill'd that City with the Plunder, and Spoils of half the Nations in *Aſia*.

This done, the two Armies enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils thereof; and *Cyaxares* proſecuting his Victories, made himſelf Maſter of all the Kingdom of *Aſſyria*, except *Babylon*, and *Chaldea*, which belong'd to *Nabopolaſſar*.

After this Expedition, *Cyaxares* dy'd, and left his Dominions to his Son, *Aſtyages*, who is the Prince, call'd in Scripture, *Ahaſuerus*; and of whom, though his Reign was very long, having laſted no leſs than thirty-five Years, we have no Particulars recorded in Hiſtory. He had two Children however, whoſe Names are famous; namely, *Cyaxares*, by his Wife, *Aryenis*; and *Mandana*, by a former *Venter*: The latter of which he marry'd, whilſt his Father was yet alive, to *Cambyſes*, Son to *Achæmenes*, King of *Perſia*. And from this Match ſprung the Great *Cyrus*; who was born but one Year after his Uncle *Cyaxares* II. which laſt ſucceeded his Father, *Aſtyages*, in the Kingdom of the *Medes*; and is the ſame Prince, whom the Scripture calls *Darius* the *Mede*.

It was this Prince, likewiſe, who, by the Aſſiſtance of his Nephew, *Cyrus*, beſieg'd, and took *Babylon*; which remain'd ſubject to him, as long as he liv'd: But *Cyrus*, after his Uncle's Deceaſe, and that of his Father, *Cambyſes*, united the Kingdoms of the *Medes* and *Perſians*; and made thereof but one Empire. We ſhall begin the Hiſtory thereof, with the Reign of *Cyrus*: which will acquaint us alſo with what is preſerv'd of the Reigns of his two Predeceſſors, *Cyaxares*, and *Aſtyages*. But we ſhall previouſly give ſome Account of the Kingdom of *Lydia*; becauſe *Cræſus*, who was King thereof, is pretty much concern'd in the Tranſactions and Events, whereof we are about to treat.

The HISTORY *of the LYDIANS.*

HERODOTUS gives the Name of *Atyatides*, or Deſcendants of *Atys*, to the firſt Founders of the *Lydian* Monarchy; becauſe they deriv'd their Origin from *Lydus*, the Son of *Atys*, who gave the Name of *Lydians* to that People, who, till then, had been call'd *Meonians*.

The *Atyatides* were ſucceeded by the *Heraclidæ*, or Deſcendants of *Hercules*, who poſſeſs'd the Kingdom five hundred and five Years; and of whom, *Argo*, Great-Grandſon of *Alcæus*, Son of *Hercules*, was the firſt. The laſt was *Candaules*, who being marry'd to a Lady of exquiſite Beauty; and, being infatuated by his Paſſion for her, was perpetually boaſting of her Charms to Others. At laſt, he carry'd his Folly ſo far, that nothing would ſerve him, but that *Gyges*, one of his chief Officers, ſhould ſee her hidden Beauties, that he might judge of them by his own Eyes; as if the Husband's own Knowledge of them was not ſufficient for his Happineſs; or, the Beauty of his Wife would have ſuffer'd by his Silence. To this End, the King plac'd *Gyges* ſecretly in a convenient Place: But, notwithſtanding this Precaution, the Queen perceiv'd him when he retir'd; yet took

took no Manner of Notice thereof. Juſtly thinking, however, as the Hiſtorian repreſents it, that the moſt valuable Treaſure of a Woman is her Modeſty; ſhe ſtudy'd how to take a ſignal Vengeance for the Affront ſhe had receiv'd; and, to puniſh this Folly, and Want of Delicacy in her Husband, committed a Crime of the deepeſt Dye. Poſſibly, a ſecret Paſſion for *Gyges*, had as great Share in that Action, as her Reſentment for the Diſhonour done her. Be that as it will, ſhe ſent for *Gyges*, and gave him his Choice, whether he would expiate his Offence, either by his own Death, or the Murder of *Candaules*. *Gyges* heſitated ſome Moments thereupon; but, finding all Remonſtrances to no Purpoſe, readily determin'd upon the latter, as, no Doubt, the Queen expected; and, by the Murder of the unfortunate King, whoſe Crime proceeded only from too violent a Love, became Maſter both of his Queen, and Throne. By this Means, the Kingdom was tranſlated from the Family of the *Heraclidæ*, into that of the *Mermnades*; after having been in Poſſeſſion of the former, five hundred and five Years, as we before obſerv'd.

This Story of *Gyges*, is told by *Plato*, in a very different Manner: According to him, *Gyges* wore a Ring, whoſe Stone, when turn'd inwards towards himſelf, render'd him inviſible; inſomuch, that he ſaw others, without being obſerv'd himſelf: And by the Advantage of this Ring, together with the Concurrence of the Queen, he depriv'd *Candaules* of his Life and Throne.

The Meaning of this Fable, probably, is; that *Gyges*, in Order to compaſs his criminal Deſign, had Recourſe to all thoſe Tricks, and Stratagems, which the World terms a ſubtle, and refin'd Policy; and which dives into the moſt ſecret Purpoſes of Others, without making the leaſt Diſcovery of its own.

This Story, thus explain'd, carries with it a greater Appearance of Truth, than as it is told by *Herodotus*. *Cicero*, who alſo relates this Fable, adds thereupon, that, if a good Man were Maſter of ſuch a Ring, he would not uſe it to any wicked Purpoſe; becauſe good Men ſeek what is honeſt, and juſt; not what may be done in ſecret.

Candaules having been murder'd in the Manner before-mention'd, and *Gyges* aſcending the Throne, the *Lydians*, as might have been expected, were divided into two Parties; however, inſtead of coming to Blows, they agreed to refer the Matter to the Deciſion of the Oracle at *Delphos*, which declar'd in Favour of *Gyges*. No Doubt, the Uſurper had ſecur'd the Prieſteſs in his Intereſt, by the Promiſe of large Preſents, which had no ſmall Influence upon the Oracle's Anſwer. Accordingly, *Herodotus*, amongſt other valuable Preſents, made by *Gyges* to that Temple, mentions ſix Golden Cups, that weigh'd thirty Talents, which is above fifty thouſand Pounds Sterling.

Aſſoon as *Gyges* was in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne, he turn'd his Arms againſt *Miletos*, *Smyrna*, and *Colophon*, three powerful Cities, belonging to the neighbouring States; and, after having reign'd thirty-eight Years, he dy'd, and was ſucceeded by his Son, *Ardys*; in whoſe Reign the *Cimmerians*, who had been driven out of their Country by the *Scythæ Nomades*, invaded *Aſia Minor*, and reduc'd the City of *Sardis*, but could not make themſelves Maſters of the Citadel. *Ardys* reign'd forty-nine Years, and was ſucceeded in the Throne, by *Sadyattes*, who declar'd War againſt the *Mileſians*, and laid Siege to their City. In thoſe Days, the Sieges, which were generally nothing more than Blockades, were carry'd on very ſlowly, and laſted many Years: Accordingly, *Sadyattes* dy'd, after having reign'd twelve Years, before he finiſh'd that of *Miletos*, and was ſucceeded by his Son, *Halyattes*.

This is the Prince, who made War againſt *Cyaxares*, King of *Media*, as we have before obſerv'd; he likewiſe drove the *Cimmerians* out of *Aſia*; and attack'd, and took the Cities of *Smyrna* and *Clazomene*. He alſo vigorouſly proſecuted the War againſt the *Mileſians*, begun by his Father; and went on with the Siege of their City, which had laſted ſix Years under his Father, and continu'd as many under him. It was, at length, concluded in the following Manner: *Halyattes*, upon an Anſwer he receiv'd from the *Delphic* Oracle, had ſent an Embaſſador into the City, to propoſe a Truce for ſome Months. *Thraſybulus*, Tyrant of *Miletos*, having Notice of his Coming, order'd all the Corn, and other Proviſions, which had been laid up by him, and his Subjects, for their Support, to be brought into the publick Market; and commanded the Citizens, upon a certain Signal, that ſhould be given, to be all in general in a Humour of Feaſting and Jollity. All this was exactly comply'd with, according to his Orders; and the *Lydian* Embaſſador, at his Arrival, was in the utmoſt Surprize, to ſee ſuch Plenty in the Market, and ſuch Cheerfulneſs in the Looks of every one. He did not fail to give his Maſter an Account thereof; from whence *Halyattes* concluding, that his Project of reducing the Place by Famine would never ſucceed; preferr'd Peace to ſo fruitleſs a War, and immediately rais'd the Siege.

The next Prince, who govern'd the *Lydians*, was the famous *Cræſus*; whoſe very Name, which is become a Proverb, gives us an Idea, of a Monarch immenſely rich: In Effect, the Wealth of this Prince, to judge of it only by the Preſents he made to the Temple of *Delphos*, muſt have been exceſſively great. Moſt of thoſe Preſents were ſtill to be ſeen, in the Time of *Herodotus*, and were worth ſeveral Millions. We may, partly, account for the Treaſures of this Prince, from certain Mines that he had, ſituate (according to *Strabo*) between *Pergamus* and *Atarnes*; as alſo, from the little River *Pactolus*, whoſe Sand is ſaid to have been mix'd with Gold-Duſt; but, in *Strabo*'s Time, this River had loſt that Advantage.

This uncommon Affluence, however, which is ſomething very extraordinary, did not enervate, or ſoften the Courage of *Cræſus*: He thought it unworthy of a Prince, to ſpend his Time in Idleneſs, and Pleaſure. Wherefore, for his Part, he was perpetually in Arms; making ſeveral Conqueſts, and enlarging his Dominions, by the Addition of all the contiguous Provinces; as, *Phrygia*, *Aſſyria*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, *Pamphylia*; and all the Country of the *Carians*, *Ionians*, *Dorians*, and *Æolians*. Accordingly, *Herodotus* obſerves, that he was the firſt Conqueror of the *Greeks*; who, till then, had never been ſubject to a foreign Power: But, undoubtedly, he muſt mean only thoſe *Greeks*, that were ſettled in *Aſia Minor*.

However, there is yet one Thing more extraordinary in this Prince; which is, that, notwith-

ſtanding he was ſo immenſely rich, and ſo great a Warrior; yet, his chief Delight was in Literature, and the Sciences. His Court was the ordinary Reſidence of thoſe famous Learned Men, ſo rever'd by Antiquity, and diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Seven wiſe Men of* Greece.

Solon, one of the moſt celebrated amongſt them, after having eſtabliſh'd new Laws at *Athens*, thought he might abſent himſelf for ſome Years, and improve that Time by travelling: Accordingly, he went to *Sardis*, where he was receiv'd in a Manner ſuitable to the Reputation of ſo great a Man. *Cræſus*, attended by a numerous Court, appear'd in all his Regal Pomp and Splendor, dreſs'd in the moſt magnificent Apparel, and ſhining all over with Gold, and glittering with Diamonds. Notwithſtanding the Novelty of this Sight to *Solon*, it did not appear, that he was the leaſt mov'd at it; or that he utter'd a Word, which diſcover'd the leaſt Surprize, or Admiration: On the contrary, People of Senſe might ſufficiently diſcern, from his Behaviour, that he look'd upon all this outward Pomp, as an Indication of a little Mind, which knows not in what true Greatneſs and Dignity conſiſts. This Coldneſs and Indifference in *Solon*, at his firſt Appearance, gave the King no favourable Opinion of his new Gueſt.

Being willing, however, to try him yet farther, he afterwards order'd all his Treaſures, with his magnificent Apartments, and coſtly Furniture, to be ſhewn him; expecting, by this pompous Diſplay of his innumerable fine Veſſels, Jewels, Statues, and Paintings, to get the Better of the Philoſopher's Indifference. But, all this was not *Cræſus*; and it was *Cræſus*, whom *Solon* had come to viſit, and not the empty Pageantry of his Palace. That wiſe Philoſopher had no Notion of forming a Judgment of the King, or an Eſtimate of his Worth, by theſe outward Appendages, but only by himſelf, and his own perſonal Qualities. Were we to judge now by the ſame Rule, we ſhould find many of our Great Men wretchedly naked and miſerable.

After *Solon* had been ſhewn all, he was brought back to *Cræſus*; who ask'd him, Who was the the happieſt Man, he had met with in all his Travels? Imagining, no Doubt, the Philoſopher would have mention'd him. But, contrary to his Expectation, *Solon* anſwer'd: "One *Tellus*, a Ci-
" tizen of *Athens*, a very honeſt, and good Man;
" who had liv'd all his Days without Indigence;
" had always ſeen his Country in a flouriſhing
" Condition; had Children, that were univerſally
" eſteem'd; and, having had the Satisfaction of
" ſeeing thoſe Childrens Children, at laſt, dy'd
" glorioufly, in fighting for his Country."

Such an Anſwer as this, in which Gold and Silver were accounted as Nothing, ſeem'd, to *Cræſus*, to argue a ſtrange Ignorance and Stupidity. However, as he flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes of being rank'd in the ſecond Degree of Happineſs; he ask'd him, "Who, of all thoſe he had
" ſeen, was the next in Felicity to *Tellus?*" *Solon* anſwer'd, "*Cleobis*, and *Biton*, of *Argos*; two
" Brothers, who had left behind them a perfect
" Pattern of fraternal Affection, and of the Re-
" ſpect due from Children to their Parents. Upon
" a ſolemn Feſtival, when their Mother, who
" was a Prieſteſs of *Juno*, was to go to the Tem-
" ple, the Oxen, that were to draw her, not be-
" ing ready, the two Sons took the Yoke upon
" themſelves; and drew their Mother's Chariot to
" the Temple, which was above five Miles diſ-
" tant. All the Mothers of the Place, raviſh'd
" with Admiration, congratulated the Prieſteſs
" on the Piety of her Sons; whilſt ſhe in the Tran-
" ſports of her Joy, and Thankfulneſs, earneſtly
" intreated the Goddeſs, to reward her Children
" with the beſt Thing that Heaven could give to
" Man. Her Prayers were heard; when the Sa-
" crifice was over, her two Sons fell aſleep in the
" very Temple, and there died, in a ſoft and
" peaceful Slumber: And in Honour of their
" Piety, the People of *Argos* conſecrated Statues
" to them in the Temple of *Delphos*."

" What then (ſays *Cræſus*, in a Tone that ſhew-
" ed his Diſcontent) you don't reckon me in the
" Number of the Happy?" Upon which, *Solon*, who was not willing either to flatter, or exaſperate him any farther, reply'd calmly; "King of
" *Lydia*, beſides many other Advantages, the Gods
" have given us *Grecians* a Spirit of Moderation
" and Sobriety; which has produced amongſt us
" a plain, popular Kind of Philoſophy, accom-
" panied with a certain Freedom and Boldneſs,
" without Pride or Oſtentation, and therefore not
" well ſuited to the Courts of Kings: This Phi-
" loſophy, conſidering to what an infinite Number
" of Viciſſitudes and Accidents the Life of Man is
" liable, does not allow us either to glory in any
" Proſperity we enjoy ourſelves, or to admire that
" Happineſs in others, which perhaps may prove
" only tranſient, or ſuperficial." From hence *Solon* took Occaſion to repreſent to him farther,
" That the Life of Man ſeldom exceeds ſeventy
" Years, which make up in all ſix thouſand two
" hundred and fifty Days, of which, two are not
" exactly alike: So that the Time to come is no-
" thing but a Series of various Accidents which
" cannot be foreſeen. Therefore, in our Opinion,
" (continued he) no Man can be eſteemed happy,
" but he, whoſe Happineſs God continues to the
" End of his Life: As for others, who are per-
" petually expoſed to a thouſand Dangers, we
" account their Happineſs as uncertain, as the
" Crown is to a Perſon, that is ſtill engaged in
" Battle, and has not yet obtained the Victory."
Having thus ſaid, *Solon* retired, having only mortify'd *Cræſus*, and not reformed him by this admirable Leſſon.

Æſop, the Author of the Fables, was then at the Court of this Prince, by whom he was very kindly entertained; and being concerned at the unhandſome Treatment *Solon* received, ſaid to him by Way of Advice; "*Solon*, we muſt either not
" come near Princes at all, or ſpeak Things that
" are agreeable to them. Say rather (reply'd *So-*
" *lon*) that we ſhould either not come near them
" at all, or elſe ſpeak ſuch Things as may be for
" their Good."

In *Plutarch's* Time, ſome of the Learned were of Opinion, that this Interview between *Solon* and *Cræſus* did not agree with the Dates of Chronology. But as thoſe Dates are very uncertain, that judicious Author did not think this Objection ought to prevail againſt the Authority of ſeveral credible Writers, by whom this Story is atteſted.

What we have now related of *Cræſus*, is a very natural Picture of the Behaviour of Kings, and Great Men, who for the moſt Part are ſeduced by Flattery; and ſhews us at the ſame Time the two Sources from whence that Blindneſs generally proceeds.

ceeds. The one is, a ſecret Inclination in all Men, but eſpecially the Great, to receive Praiſe without any Precaution; and to judge favourably of all that admire them, or that ſhew an unlimited Submiſſion and Complaiſance to their Humours. The orher is, the great Reſemblance there is between Flattery, and a ſincere Affection, or a reaſonable Reſpect; which is ſometimes counterfeited ſo exactly, that the wiſeſt may be deceived, if they are not very much upon their Guard.

Cræſus, if we judge of him by the Character he bears in Hiſtory, was a very good Prince, and worthy of Eſteem in many Reſpects. He had Abundance of Good-nature, Affability, and Humanity. His Palace was a Receptacle for Men of Wit and Learning; which ſhews, that he himſelf was a Perſon of Learning, and had a Taſte for the Sciences. His Weakneſs was, in laying too great a Streſs upon Riches and Magnificence; in thinking himſelf great and happy in Proportion to his Poſſeſſions; in miſtaking regal Pomp and Splendor for true and ſolid Greatneſs; and in feeding his Vanity with the exceſſive Submiſſions of thoſe, that ſtood in a Kind of Adoration before him.

Thoſe Learned Men, thoſe Wits, and the other Courtiers, that ſurrounded this Prince, eat at his Table, partook of his Pleaſures, ſhared his Confidence, and enriched themſelves by his Bounty and Liberality, took Care not to differ from the Prince's Taſte; and never attempted to undeceive him, with Reſpect to his Errors, or falſe Ideas. On the contrary, they made it their Buſineſs to cheriſh and fortify them in him; extolling him perpetually as the moſt opulent Prince of his Age, and never ſpeaking of his Wealth, or the Magnificence of his Palace, but in Terms of Admiration and Rapture; becauſe this was the ſure Way to pleaſe him, and to ſecure his Favour. For Flattery is nothing elſe but a Commerce of Falſhood and Lying, founded upon Intereſt on one Side, and Vanity on the other. The Flatterer has a Mind to advance himſelf, and to make his Fortune; the Prince has a Mind to be praiſed and admired, becauſe he is his own firſt Flatterer, and carries in his own Breaſt a more ſubtle and better prepared Poiſon, than any that is given him.

That Speech of *Æſop*, who had formerly been a Slave, and ſtill retained ſomewhat of the Spirit and Character of Slavery, though he had varniſhed it over with the Addreſs of an artful Courtier; that Speech of his, we ſay, to *Solon*, "That we "ſhould either not come near Kings, or ſay what "is agreeable to them," ſhews us with what Kind of Men *Cræſus* had filled his Court; and by what Means he had baniſhed all Sincerity, Integrity, and Truth from his Preſence. Therefore, we ſee, he could not bear that noble and generous Freedom in the Philoſopher, upon which he ought to have ſet an infinite Value; as he would have done, had he but underſtood the Worth of a Friend, who, attaching himſelf to the Perſon, and not to the Fortune of a Prince, has the Courage to tell him diſagreeable Truths; Truths unpalatable, and bitter to Self-love, at the preſent, but which may prove very ſalutary and ſerviceable for the Future. *Dic illis, non quod volunt audire, ſed quod audiſſe ſemper volent.* Theſe are *Seneca*'s Words, where he is endeavouring to ſhew, of what great Uſe a faithful and ſincere Friend may be to a Prince: And what he adds farther ſeems to be written on Purpoſe for *Cræſus*: "Give him (ſays he) whole-"ſome Advice. Let a Word of Truth once reach "thoſe Ears, which are perpetually fed and en-"tertained with Flattery. You'll ask me, what "Service can be done to a Perſon arrived at the "higheſt Pitch of Felicity? It will teach him not "to truſt in his Proſperity; it will remove that "vain Confidence he has in his Power and Great-"neſs, as if they were always to laſt; make him "underſtand, that every Thing, which belongs "to, and depends upon Fortune, is as unſtable "as herſelf; and that there is often but a Mo-"ments Interval, between the higheſt Elevation "and the loweſt downfal."

To return to *Cræſus*, it was not long before he bitterly experienced the Truth of what *Solon* had told him. He had two Sons; one of which being dumb, was a perpetual Subject of Affliction to him; the other, named *Atys*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by all Kinds of good Qualities, and was his great Conſolation and Delight. The Father dream'd one Night (which made a great Impreſſion upon his Mind) that this beloved Son of his was to periſh by Iron. Behold a new Source of Anxiety and Trouble! Upon this, Care is taken to remove out of the young Prince's Way, every Thing made of Iron, as Partizans, Lances, Javelins, *&c.* No Mention is made of Armies, Wars, or Sieges, before him. But it happening one Day, that there was an extraordinary Hunting-match, for the killing of a wild Boar, which had committed great Ravage in the Neighbourhood, at which all the young Lords of the Court were to be, *Atys* very earneſtly importuned his Father, that he would give him Leave to be preſent, at leaſt, as a Spectator. The King, not being able to refuſe him ſo ſmall, and not unreaſonable a Requeſt, gave him Leave to go, under the Care of a diſcreet young Prince, who had taken Refuge in his Court, and was named *Adraſtus*: And this very *Adraſtus*, as he was aiming to fling his Javelin at the Boar, unfortunately killed *Atys*. 'Tis impoſſible to expreſs either the Affliction of the Father, when he heard of this fatal Accident; or of the unhappy Prince, the innocent Author of the Murder; and who expiated the undeſigned Error of his Hand, with his Blood, ſtabbing himſelf in the Breaſt, with his own Sword, upon the Funeral-Pile of the unfortunate *Atys*.

Two Years were ſpent on this Occaſion in deep Mourning; the afflicted Father's Thoughts being wholly taken up with the Loſs he had ſuſtained. But the growing Reputation, and great Qualities of *Cyrus*, who began then to make himſelf known, rouzed him out of his Lethargy. He thought it behoved him to put a Stop to the Power of the *Perſians*, which was enlarging itſelf every Day. As he was very religious in his Way, he would never enter upon any Enterprize, without conſulting the Gods. But, that he might not act blindly, but might be able to form a certain Judgment of the Anſwers he ſhould receive, he was willing to aſſure himſelf before-hand of the Truth of their Oracles. To this End he ſent Meſſengers to all the moſt celebrated Oracles, both of *Greece* and *Africa*, with Orders to enquire, every one at his reſpective Oracle, what *Cræſus* was doing on ſuch a Day, and ſuch an Hour, which had been previouſly agreed on. His Orders were punctually obſerved; and of all the Oracles, none gave a true Anſwer but that of *Delphos*. The Anſwer was given in *Greek* Hexameter Verſes, and was in Effect

fect as follows. *I know the Number of the Grains of Sand on the Sea-ſhore, and the Meaſure of the Ocean's vaſt Extent. I can hear the Dumb, and him that has not yet learnt to ſpeak. A ſtrong Smell of a Tortoiſe boiled in Braſs, together with Sheep's Fleſh, has reached my Noſtrils, Braſs beneath, Braſs above.* And indeed the King, thinking to invent ſomething, that could not poſſibly be gueſſed at, had employed himſelf, on the Day and Hour ſet down, in boiling a Tortoiſe and a Lamb in a Braſs Pot, which had a Braſs Cover. St. *Auſtin* obſerves in ſeveral Places, that God, to puniſh the Blindneſs of the *Pagans*, ſometimes permitted the Devils to give Anſwers conformable to the Truth.

Cræſus, thus aſſured of the God's Veracity, whom he deſigned to conſult, offered three thouſand Victims to his Honour; and ordered an infinite Number of Veſſels, Tripods, and golden Tables, to be melted down, and converted into Ingots of Gold, to the Number of an hundred and ſeventeen, to augment the Treaſures of the *Delphic* Temple. Each of theſe Ingots weighed at leaſt two Talents; beſides which, he made ſeveral other Preſents: Among others, *Herodotus* mentions a golden Lion, weighing ten Talents, and two Veſſels of an extraordinary Bigneſs, one of Gold, which weighed eight Talents and an Half, and twelve *Minæ*; the other of Silver, which contained ſix hundred of their Meaſures, called *Amphoræ*. All theſe Preſents, and many more, which for Brevity's Sake we omit, were ſtill to be ſeen in the Time of *Herodotus*.

The Meſſengers were ordered to conſult the God upon two Points; firſt, whether *Cræſus* ſhould undertake a War againſt the *Perſians*; ſecondly, if he did, whether he ſhould require the Succour of any auxiliary Troops. The Oracle anſwered upon the firſt Article; that if he carried his Arms againſt the *Perſians*, he would overthrow a great Empire; upon the ſecond, that he would do well to make Alliances with the moſt powerful States of *Greece*. He conſulted the Oracle again, to know how long would be the Duration of his Empire. The Anſwer was; it ſhould ſubſiſt till ſuch Time, as a Mule came to poſſeſs the Throne of *Media*: Which he flattered himſelf meant that it would laſt for ever.

Purſuant then to the Direction of the Oracle, *Cræſus* entered into Alliance with the *Athenians*, who at that Time had *Piſiſtratus* at their Head; and with the *Lacedemonians*, who were indiſputably the two moſt powerful States of *Greece*.

A certain *Lydian*, however, who was much eſteemed for his Prudence, gave *Cræſus* on this Occaſion very judicious Advice. "O Prince, (ſays "he to him) why do you think of turning your "Arms againſt ſuch a People as the *Perſians*, "who, being born in a wild, rugged Country, "are inur'd from their Infancy to all Sorts of "Hardſhips and Fatigues; who being coarſely clad, "and coarſely fed, can content themſelves with "Bread and Water; who are abſolute ſtrangers "to all the Delicacies and Conveniencies of Life; "who, in a Word, have nothing to looſe, if you "conquer them, and every-thing to gain, if they "conquer you; and whom it would be very difficult to drive out of our Country, if they ſhould "once come to taſte the Sweets and Advantages "thereof. So far therefore from thinking of beginning a War againſt them, 'tis my Opinion, "we ought to thank the Gods, that they have "never put it into the Heads of the *Perſians* to "come and attack the *Lydians*." But *Cræſus* had taken his Reſolution, and would not be diverted from it.

What remains of the Hiſtory of this unfortunate Prince, will be interwoven with that of *Cyrus*, upon which we ſhall now enter.

CHAP. IX.

The Hiſtory of Cyrus *the* Great; *the* Perſians *Manner of educating their Children*; Cyrus *brought up after the ſame Manner*; *Inſtances of his fine Genius, and Wit, whilſt a Child*; *His firſt Campaign*; *His Father's fine Inſtructions to him, before he ſet out for the Army*; *His Stratagem to reduce the King of* Armenia, *who had revolted*; *His generous Behaviour to a young, and beautiful Princeſs, his Priſoner*; *His Marriage with* Mandane, *Heireſs to the Kingdom of the* Medes; *His ſecond Campaign*; *He entirely defeats* Cræſus, *and makes him Priſoner*; *His beſieging, and taking* Babylon; *His Conduct afterwards*; *His triumphant Proceſſion*; *His uniting the two Kingdoms of the* Medes, *and* Perſians; *His Death, and Character.*

The HISTORY *of CYRUS the Great.*

THE Hiſtory of this Prince is very differently related by *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*; and we chooſe to follow the Latter, as judging him infinitely more worthy of Credit in this Reſpect than the former: However, as to thoſe Facts wherein they differ, we ſhall relate alſo ſuccinctly the Account given thereof by *Herodotus*, and leave our Readers at Liberty to judge for

for themſelves, which beſt deſerves Belief. As to *Xenophon*, it is well known, that he ſerv'd long under *Cyrus* the *Younger*; who had in his Army great Numbers of *Perſian* Noblemen, with whom this Author, undoubtedly, convers'd, in Order to acquaint himſelf thereby with their Manners, Cuſtoms, and Conqueſts in general; but more eſpecially with thoſe of that Great Prince, who had founded their Monarchy; and whoſe Hiſtory he propos'd to write. He even tells us as much himſelf, in the Beginning of his *Cyropædia*: Having always look'd upon this Great Man (ſays he) as worthy of Admiration, I took a Pleaſure to inform myſelf of his Birth, his natural Temper, and Education; that I might know by what Means he became ſo great a Prince: And herein I advance nothing but what has been told me by Perſons of Credit and Veracity.

As to what *Cicero* ſays, in his firſt Letter to his Brother *Quintus*; "That *Xenophon*'s Deſign, in "writing the Hiſtory of *Cyrus*, was not ſo much "to follow Truth, as to give a Model of a juſt Go-"vernment;" this ought not to leſſen the Authority of that judicious Hiſtorian, or make us give the leſs Credit to what he relates. All that can be inferr'd from thence is, that the Deſign of *Xenophon*, who was a great Philoſopher, as well as a great Captain, was not merely to write the Hiſtory of *Cyrus*; but to repreſent him as a Model, and Example to Princes, to inſtruct them in the Art of Reigning, and of gaining the Love of their Subjects, notwithſtanding the Pomp and Elevation of their Stations. With this View, he may poſſibly have lent his Hero ſome Thoughts, ſome Sentiments, and Diſcourſes of his own: But the Subſtance of the Facts and Events he relates are to be deem'd true; and of this their Conformity with the Holy Scripture is of itſelf a ſufficient Proof.

For the greater Perſpicuity, we ſhall divide the Hiſtory of *Cyrus* into three Parts. The firſt will reach from his Birth to the Siege of *Babylon*: The ſecond will comprehend the Deſcription of the Siege, and the taking of that City, with every Thing elſe that relates to that great Event: And the third will contain that Prince's Hiſtory, from the taking of *Babylon* to his Death.

The firſt Interval, beſides his Education, and the Journey he made to his Grandfather *Aſtyages* in *Media*, includes the firſt Campaigns of *Cyrus*, and the important Expeditions that were ſubſequent to them.

He was the Son of *Cambyſes*, King of *Perſia*, and of *Mandane*, Daughter to *Aſtyages*, King of the *Medes*. He was born one Year after his Uncle *Cyaxares*, the Brother of *Mandane*.

The *Perſians* conſiſted, at this Time, of twelve Tribes, and inhabited only one Province of that vaſt Country; which has ſince been call'd by the Name of *Perſia*; and were not, in all, above an hundred and twenty thouſand Men. But this People afterwards, through the Wiſdom, and Valour of *Cyrus*, having acquir'd the Empire of the *Eaſt*, the Name of *Perſia* extended itſelf, with their Conqueſts, and Fortune, and comprehended all that vaſt Tract of Land, which reaches from *Eaſt* to *Weſt*, from the River *Indus* to the *Tigris*; and from *North* to *South*, from the *Caſpian* Sea to the *Indian Ocean*. And, even to this Day, the *Perſian* Empire is almoſt of the ſame Extent.

Cyrus was admirably beautiful in his Perſon; and ſtill more lovely, for the Qualities of his Mind: He was of a ſweet Diſpoſition, full of Good-Nature and Humanity, had a great Deſire to learn, and a noble Ardor for Glory. He was never afraid of any Danger, or diſcourag'd by any Hardſhip, or Difficulty, where Honour was to be acquir'd; having been ſtrictly brought up, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the *Perſians*; which were excellent in thoſe Days, eſpecially, with Reſpect to Education.

The publick Good, the common Benefit of the Nation, was the only Principle, and End of all their Laws: And the Education of Children was look'd upon as one of the moſt important Duties, and moſt eſſential Parts of Government: It was not left, therefore, to the Care of Fathers and Mothers, whoſe blind Affection, and Fondneſs, often renders them incapable of that Office; but the State took it upon themſelves. Boys were all brought up in common, after one uniform Manner; where every Thing was regulated, the Place, and Length of their Exerciſes; the Times of Eating; the Quality of their Meat, and Drink; and their different Kinds of Puniſhments. The only Food allow'd either the Children, or the young Men, was Bread, Creſſes, and Water; for they were reſolv'd to accuſtom them early to Temperance, and Sobriety: Beſides, they conſider'd, that a plain, frugal Diet, without any Mixture of Sauces, or Ragoo's, ſtrengthen'd the Body, and laid a Foundation of Health, which would enable them to undergo the Hardſhips and Fatigues of War to a good Old-Age.

Here Boys went to School, to learn Juſtice, and Virtue, as they do, in other Places, to learn Arts and Sciences; and the Crime, which was moſt ſeverely puniſh'd amongſt them, was Ingratitude.

The Deſign of the *Perſians*, by all theſe wiſe Regulations, was to prevent Evil; being convinc'd, how much better it is to prevent Faults, than to puniſh them: And whereas, in other States, the Legiſlators are ſatisfy'd with ordaining proper Puniſhments for Criminals, the *Perſians* endeavour'd ſo to order it, that amongſt them there ſhould not be any.

Till the Age of ſixteen, or ſeventeen Years, the Boys remain'd in the Claſs of Children; and here it was they learn'd to draw the Bow, and to fling the Dart, or Javelin; after which, they were receiv'd into the Claſs of young Men. There they were more narrowly watch'd, and kept under, than before; becauſe, that Age requires the narroweſt Inſpection, and has the greateſt Need of Reſtraint. In this Claſs they remain'd ten Years; during which Time, they paſs'd all their Nights in the Court of Guard, as well for the Safety of the City, as to inure them to Fatigue. In the Day-Time, they waited upon their Governors, to receive their Orders; attended the King, when he went a hunting; or perfected themſelves in their Exerciſes.

The third Claſs conſiſted of Men grown up, and form'd; and in this they remain'd twenty-five Years. From hence they choſe out all the Officers, that were to command in the Troops; and all ſuch as were to fill up the different Poſts, and Employments in the State. When once they were paſt fifty, they were not oblig'd to carry Arms, unleſs in their own Country, and for its immediate Defence.

Beſides theſe, there was a fourth, or laſt Claſs; from whence Men of the greateſt Wiſdom, and Experience, were choſen, for forming of the publick Council, and filling the Courts of Judicature. By this Means, every Citizen might aim at the chief Poſts in the Government; but not one could arrive at them, till he had paſs'd through all theſe Exerciſes. The Claſſes were open to all; but generally ſuch only, as were rich enough to maintain their Children without working, ſent them thither for Education.

Cyrus himſelf was educated in this Manner; and ſurpaſs'd all of his Age, not only in his Aptneſs, and Readineſs to learn; but in his Courage, and Addreſs, in executing whatever he took in Hand.

When *Cyrus* was twelve Years old, his Mother *Mandane* took him with her into *Media*, to his Grandfather, *Aſtyages*; who, from the many Things he had ſaid in Favour of that young Prince, had a great Deſire to ſee him. Young *Cyrus* found the Manners of that Court very different from thoſe of his own Country. Nothing but Pride, Luxury, and Magnificence reign'd there; *Aſtyages* himſelf was richly cloath'd, had his Eyes colour'd, his Face painted, and his Hair embelliſh'd with artificial Locks. For, the *Medes* delighted in Effeminacy, and Softneſs; lov'd to be clad in Scarlet, and to wear Necklaces, and Bracelets; whereas, the *Perſians* wore nothing but plain and coarſe Garments. All this Finery, however, did not affect that young Prince; who, without taking upon him to condemn their Manners, was contented to live as he had been brought up, and adher'd to the Principles he had imbib'd from his Infancy. His Grandfather was in Raptures at his Sprightlineſs, and Wit, and he gain'd every-body's Favour, by his noble, and engaging Behaviour; of which we ſhall only give one Inſtance, whereby we may form a tolerable, Judgment of his uncommon Vivacity, and good Senſe.

Aſtyages, having a Mind his Grandſon ſhould be unwilling to return home, made a ſumptuous Entertainment, in which there was a vaſt Plenty, and Profuſion of every Thing that was nice, and delicate; imagining, this would render his Stay in *Media* agreeable; and conſequently, that he would be loth to leave it. But *Cyrus* beheld all this exquiſite Cheer and magnificent Preparation with great Indifference; at which, obſerving that *Aſtyages* was ſurpriz'd; "The *Perſians* (ſays he) inſtead of going ſuch a round-about Way to ſatisfy their Hunger, take a much ſhorter Courſe to arrive at the ſame End; a little Bread, and Creſſes, with them anſwer the ſame Purpoſe." Thereupon, *Aſtyages*, deſiring *Cyrus* to diſpoſe of all the Meats, as he thought fit, he immediately diſtributed them to the King's Officers, that were attending; to one, becauſe he taught him to ride; to another, becauſe he waited well upon his Grandfather; and to a third, becauſe he took great Care of his Mother: In ſhort, *Sacas*, the King's Cup-Bearer, was the only Perſon, to whom he did not give any Thing. This Officer, beſides the Poſt of Cup-Bearer, was the Perſon, whoſe Place it was to introduce thoſe, who deſir'd Audience of the King; and, as he could not poſſibly grant that Favour to *Cyrus*, as often as he wanted it, he had the Misfortune to diſpleaſe that Prince; who took this Occaſion to ſhew his Reſentment. As *Aſtyages* teſtify'd ſome Concern at the Neglect of this Officer, for whom he had a particular Conſideration; and who deſerv'd it, as he ſaid, on Account of the wonderful Addreſs, with which he ſerv'd him. "Is that all, *Papa?* (reply'd *Cyrus*) if that be "ſufficient to merit your Favour, you ſhall ſee "I'll quickly obtain it; for, I'll take upon me to "ſerve you better than he." Immediately he was equipp'd as a Cup-Bearer, and advancing gravely, with a ſerious Countenance, and a Napkin upon his Arm, and holding the Cup genteely with three Fingers, he preſented it to the King with an Addreſs, and Grace, that charm'd both *Aſtyages*, and *Mandane*. When he had done, he flung himſelf upon his Grandfather's Neck, and kiſſing him, cry'd out with great Joy; "O *Sacas*, thou art "undone; I ſhall deprive thee of thy Place." Hereupon, *Aſtyages* embrac'd him with great Fondneſs, and ſaid: "I am mighty well pleas'd, "my dear Child: No-body can ſerve with a better Grace: But, you have forgot one eſſential "Ceremony, which is that of Taſting." And, indeed, the Cup-Bearer us'd to pour out ſome of the Liquor, and taſte it, before he preſented it to the King. "No (reply'd *Cyrus*) it was not "through Forgetfulneſs, that I omitted that Ceremony. Why then (ſays *Aſtyages*) what Reaſon had you to neglect it? Becauſe I apprehended there was Poiſon in the Liquor. Poiſon, "Child? How could you think ſo? Yes; Poiſon, "*Papa*; for, not long ago, at an Entertainment "you gave to the Lords of your Court, after the "Gueſts had drank a little of that Liquor, I "perceiv'd all their Heads were turn'd: They "ſung, made a Noiſe; and talk'd they did not "know what: You ſeem'd yourſelf to have for"got you were King, and they that they were "Subjects; and when you would have danc'd, "you could not ſtand upon your Legs. Why "(ſays *Aſtyages*) have you never ſeen the ſame "Thing happen to your Father? No, never "(ſays *Cyrus*.) What then? How is it with him, "when he drinks? Why, when he has drank, his "Thirſt is quench'd, and that's all."

We cannot too much admire the Skill of the Hiſtorian, in his giving ſuch an excellent Leſſon of Sobriety in this Story. He might have done it in a ſerious, grave Way, and have ſpoken with the Air of a Philoſopher: For, *Xenophon*, as much a Warrior as he was, was as excellent a Philoſopher, as his Maſter *Socrates*. But, inſtead of that, he puts the Inſtruction in the Mouth of a Child, and conceals it under the Veil of a Story; which, in the Original, is told with all the Wit, and Agreeableneſs imaginable.

At laſt, *Mandane*, being upon the Point of returning to *Perſia*, *Cyrus* joyfully comply'd with the repeated Inſtances his Grandfather had made to him to ſtay in *Media*; being deſirous, as he ſaid, to perfect himſelf in the Art of Riding, of which he was not yet Maſter; and which was not known in *Perſia*, where the Barrenneſs of the Country, and its craggy mountainous Situation, render'd it unfit for the breeding of Horſes.

During the Time of his Reſidence at this Court, his Behaviour procur'd him infinite Love and Eſteem. He was gentle, affable, officious, beneficent, and generous. Whenever the young Lords had any Favour to ask of the King, *Cyrus* was their Sollicitor; and, if his Grandfather had any Subject of Complaint againſt them, *Cyrus* was their Mediator; their Affairs became his; and he always

ways manag'd them ſo well, that he obtain'd whatever he deſir'd.

When that young Prince had attain'd the Age of ſixteen, *Evil-Merodach*, Son of *Nebuchadnezzar*, thought fit, at a Hunting-Match, a little before his Marriage, in Order to ſhew his Bravery, to make an Irruption into the Territories of the *Medes*; which oblig'd *Aſtyages* to take the Field, to oppoſe the Invader. Here it was, that *Cyrus* follow'd his Grandfather, and ſerv'd his Apprenticeſhip in War; wherein he behav'd himſelf ſo well, that the Victory, which the *Medes* gain'd over the *Babylonians*, was chiefly owing to his Valour.

The Year after, his Father recalling him, that he might finiſh his Time in the *Perſian* Exerciſes, he departed immediately from the Court of *Media*, that neither his Father, nor his Country, might have any Room to complain of his Delay. Upon this Occaſion, it was ſeen how much he was belov'd; for, at his Departure, he was accompany'd by all Sorts of People, young and old. *Aſtyages* himſelf conducted him a good Part of his Journey on Horſe-Back; and when the ſad Moment came, that they muſt part, the whole Company were bath'd in Tears.

Thus *Cyrus* return'd into his own Country, and re-enter'd the Claſs of Children, wherein he continu'd a Year longer. His Companions, after his long Reſidence in ſo voluptuous, and luxurious a Court, as that of the *Medes*, expected to find a great Change in his Manners. But, when they found, that he was content with their ordinary Table; and that, when he was preſent at any Entertainment, he was more ſober, and temperate, than any of the Company, they look'd upon him with freſh Admiration.

From this firſt Claſs he paſs'd into the ſecond, which is the Claſs of Youths; and there it quickly appear'd, that he had not his Equal in Dexterity, Addreſs, Patience, and Obedience.

Ten Years after, he was admitted into the Mens Claſs, wherein he remain'd thirteen Years, till the Time he ſet out at the Head of a *Perſian* Army, to aſſiſt his Uncle *Cyaxares*.

Aſtyages, King of the *Medes*, dying, after having reign'd thirty-five Years, was ſucceeded by his Son, *Cyaxares*, Brother to *Mandane*, the Mother of *Cyrus*; who was no ſooner on the Throne, than he was engag'd in a terrible War. He had been inform'd, that *Neriglisſor*, King of the *Babylonians*, was preparing a powerful Army to attack him; that he had already engag'd ſeveral Princes on his Side; and amongſt Others, *Craſus*, King of *Lydia*; that he had likewiſe ſent Embaſſadors to the King of the *Indies*, in Order to infuſe bad Impreſſions into his Mind of the *Medes*, and *Perſians*; by repreſenting to him, how dangerous a cloſer Alliance, and Union, between two Nations, already ſo powerful, might be; ſince they might, in the End, ſubdue all the Nations around them, if a vigorous Oppoſition was not made to the Progreſs of their Power. *Cyaxares*, therefore, diſpatch'd Meſſengers to *Cambyſes*, to deſire Succours from him; and order'd them ſo to manage, that *Cyrus* might have the Command of the Troops his Father was to ſend; which was readily obtain'd: And, aſſoon as it was known, that *Cyrus* was to march at the Head of the Army, the Joy was univerſal throughout all the Forces. This Army conſiſted but of thirty thouſand Men, all Infantry (for the *Perſians* had then no Cavalry) but they were all choſen Men, and ſuch as had been rais'd after a particular Manner. Firſt of all, *Cyrus* choſe out of the Nobility two hundred of the braveſt Officers, each of which was order'd to chooſe out four more of the ſame Sort, which made a Thouſand in all: And theſe were the Officers, that were call'd (in *Greek*) *Homotimoi*; and who ſignaliz'd themſelves, afterwards, ſo glorioufly upon all Occaſions. Every one of this Thouſand was appointed to raiſe among the People ten Pike-Men lightly arm'd, ten Slingers, and ten Bow-Men; which amounted, in the Whole, to thirty one thouſand Men.

Before they proceeded to this Choice, *Cyrus* thought fit to make a Speech to the two hundred Officers; whom, after having highly prais'd for their Courage, he inſpir'd with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurance of Victory, and Succeſs. "Do you know "ſays he to 'em) the Nature of the Enemy you "have to deal with? They are ſoft, effeminate, "enervated, and already half conquer'd, by their "own Luxury, and Voluptuouſneſs; Men, not "able to bear either Hunger, or Thirſt; equally "incapable of ſupporting, either the Toil of War, "or the Sight of Danger: Whereas you, that are "inur'd, from your Infancy, to a ſober, and hard "Way of living; to you, I ſay, to whom Hunger and Thirſt are but the Sauce, and the only "Sauce to your Meals; Fatigues are your Pleaſure, Dangers your Delight, and the Love of "your Country, and of Glory, your only Paſſion. "Beſides, the Juſtice of our Cauſe is another "conſiderable Advantage. They are the Aggreſſors. The Enemy attack us without any Provocation; and our Friends, and Allies, require "our Aſſiſtance. Can any Thing be more juſt, "than to repel an Injury, or more honourable, "than to fly to the Aſſiſtance of our Friends? "But, what ought to be the principal Motive of "your Confidence is, that I do not engage in "this Expedition, without having firſt conſulted "the Gods, and implor'd their Protection: For, "you know, 'tis my Cuſtom, to begin all my "Actions, and all my Undertakings, in that "Manner."

Soon after, *Cyrus* ſet out without Loſs of Time; but before his Departure, he invoked the Gods of his Country a ſecond Time. For his great Maxim was, and he learn'd it from his Father, that a Man ought not to form any Enterprize, little or great, without conſulting the Divine Will, and imploring his Protection. *Cambyſes* had often taught him to conſider, that the Prudence of Men is very ſhort, and their Views very limited; that they cannot penetrate into Things future; and that many Times what they think muſt needs turn to their Advantage, proves their Ruin: Whereas the Gods, being eternal, know all Things, future as well as paſt, and inſpire thoſe they love to undertake ſuch Things as are expedient for them; which is a Favour and a Protection they owe to no Man, and grant only to thoſe that invoke and conſult them.

Cambyſes himſelf accompanied his Son as far as the Frontiers of *Perſia*; and on the Way gave him excellent Inſtructions concerning the Duties of the General of an Army. *Cyrus* before thought himſelf not ignorant of any Thing, that related to War, after the many Leſſons he had received from the moſt able Maſters of that Time. Upon which,

"Have

" Have your Maſters (ſays *Cambyſes*) given you " any Inſtructions concerning Oeconomy; that is, " concerning the Manner of ſupplying an Army " with all neceſſary Proviſions; of preventing the " Sickneſs, and preſerving the Health of the Sol- " diers; of fortifying their Bodies by frequent " Exerciſes; of exciting a generous Emulation a- " mongſt them; in ſhort, of making yourſelf obey'd, " eſteem'd and beloved by your Soldiers?" Upon each of theſe Points, and ſeveral others mentioned by his Father, *Cyrus* owned he had never heard ſo much as one Word, and that it was all entirely new to him. " What is it then your Ma- " ſters have taught you, ſaid *Cambyſes*? They " have taught me to fence (replied the Prince) " to draw the Bow, to fling the Javelin, to mark " out a Camp, to draw the Plan of a Fortifica- " tion, to range the Troops in Order of Battle, to " review them, to ſee them march, file off, and " encamp." Hereupon *Cambyſes*, ſmiling, gave his Son to underſtand, that they had not taught him what was moſt material and eſſential for a good Officer, and an expert Commander, to know: And in one ſingle Converſation, which certainly deſerves to be well ſtudied by all young Gentlemen deſigned for the Army, he taught him infinitely more than all his celebrated Maſters had done, in the Courſe of ſeveral Years. We ſhall give but one ſhort Inſtance of his Inſtructions, whence the Reader may form an Idea of the reſt.

The Queſtion propounded by *Cambyſes*, was, what were the moſt proper Means of making the Soldiers obedient and ſubmiſſive. " The Way to " effect that (ſays *Cyrus*) ſeems to be very eaſy, " and very certain; 'tis only to praiſe and reward " thoſe that obey, and to puniſh and ſtigmatize thoſe " that are refractory. You ſay well (replied *Cam- " byſes*;) that is the Way to make them obey " you by Force, but the chief Point is to induce " them to obey you willingly and freely. Now the " ſure Method of effecting this is, to convince " thoſe you command, that you know better what " is for their Advantage, than they do themſelves: " For all Mankind readily ſubmit to thoſe, of " whom they have that Opinion. This is the " Principle, from whence all that blind implicit " Submiſſion proceeds, which we ſee ſick Perſons " pay to their Phyſician, Travellers to their " Guide, and a Ship's Company to the Pilot. " Their Obedience is only founded upon their " Perſuaſion, that the Phyſician, the Guide, and " the Pilot, are more skilful and knowing in their " reſpective Callings, than themſelves. But what " ſhall a Man do (ſays *Cyrus* to his Father) to " appear more skilful and expert than others? He " muſt really be ſo (replied *Cambyſes*;) and in " Order to be ſo, he muſt apply himſelf cloſely " to his Profeſſion; diligently ſtudy all the Rules " of it; conſult the moſt able and experienced " Maſters; neglect no Circumſtance that may con- " tribute to the Succeſs of his Enterprizes; and " above all, he muſt have Recourſe to the Pro- " tection of the Gods, from whom alone we re- " ceive all our Wiſdom, and all our Succeſs."

After divers other Inſtructions, equally advantagious, *Cambyſes* left his Son to purſue his March; who, ſoon as he had reach'd *Cyaxares*, made it his firſt Buſineſs, to inform himſelf of the Quality and Number of the Troops on both Sides: And, it appeared, by the Computation made of them, that the Enemy's Army amounted to two hundred thouſand Foot, and ſixty thouſand Horſe; whereas the united Armies of the *Medes* and *Perſians* ſcarce amounted to half the Number of Foot; and as to the Cavalry, the *Medes* had not one Third of the Number; which great Inequality put *Cyaxares* in terrible Fears and Perplexities. To remedy this, he could think of no other Expedient, than to ſend for another Body of Troops from *Perſia*, more numerous than that already arrived. But beſides that this would have taken too much Time, it appeared in itſelf impracticable. Wherefore *Cyrus* immediately propoſed another, more ſure, and more expeditious Remedy; which was, that his *Perſians* ſhould change their Arms. As they had, till then, chiefly uſed the Bow and and the Javelin, and conſequently their Manner of Fighting was at a Diſtance, in which Kind of Engagement the greater Number will eaſily prevail over the leſſer, *Cyrus* was of Opinion, that they ſhould be armed with ſuch Weapons, as ſhould require a nearer Approach, and enable them to cloſe with the Enemy immediately, and by that Means render the Superiority of their Numbers uſeleſs: This Method was highly approved, and inſtantly put in Execution.

Cyrus likewiſe eſtabliſhed a wonderful Order among the Troops; and inſpired them with a ſurprizing Emulation, by the Rewards he promiſed, and by his obliging and engaging Deportment towards all. As for Money, he made no Account of it, but to give it away: He was continually making handſome Preſents to one or other, according to their Rank, or their Merit; to one a Buckler, to another a Sword, and to a third ſomething of the ſame Kind equally acceptable. By this Generoſity, this Greatneſs of Soul, and beneficent Diſpoſition, he thought a General ought to diſtinguiſh himſelf; and not by the Luxury of his Table, or the Richneſs of his Cloaths; and ſtill leſs by his Haughtineſs and imperious Demeanour. " A Commander could not (he ſaid) give actual " Proofs of his Munificence to every Body; and " for that very Reaſon he thought himſelf obliged " to convince every Body of his Inclination and " Good-will; for though a Prince might exhauſt " his Subſtance by making Preſents, yet he could " not injure himſelf by Civility; by being ſincerely " concern'd at the Good or Evil that happens to " others, and by making it appear that he is ſo."

One Day, as he was reviewing his Army, a Meſſenger came to him from *Cyaxares*, to acquaint him, that ſome Ambaſſadors being arrived from the King of the *Indies*, he deſired his Preſence immediately. " For that Purpoſe (ſays he) I have " brought you a rich Garment, for the King de- " ſires you would appear magnificently dreſſed be- " fore the *Indians*, to do the Nation Honour." Accordingly *Cyrus* loſt not a Moment's Time, but inſtantly ſet out with his Troops, to wait upon the King; though without changing his Dreſs, which was very plain, after the *Perſian* Faſhion, and not (as the original *Greek* has it) defiled or ſpoiled with any foreign Ornaments. On his Uncle's ſeeming at firſt a little diſpleaſed at it; " If I had put " on a purple Raiment (ſays *Cyrus*) and loaded " myſelf with Bracelets and Chains of Gold, and " with all that, had been longer in coming, ſhould " I have done you more Honour, than I do now " by my Expedition, and the Sweat of my Face; " and by letting all the World ſee with what " Quickneſs and Diſpatch your Orders are obey'd?"

Cyaxares

Cyaxares, ſatisfied with this Anſwer, commanded the *Indian* Ambaſſadors to be introduced; the Purport of whoſe Speech was, that they were ſent by the King their Maſter, to learn the Cauſe of the War between the *Medes* and the *Babylonians*; and that they had Orders, aſſoon as they had heard what the *Medes* had to ſay, to proceed to the Court of *Babylon*, to know what Motives would be alledged on their Part; to the End that the King their Maſter, after having examined the Reaſons on both Sides, might take Part with thoſe, who had Right and Juſtice on their Side. This is making a noble and glorious Uſe of Power, to be influenced only by Juſtice; not ſeeking Occaſion to reap Advantage from the Diviſion of its Neighbours, but declaring boldly againſt the unjuſt Aggreſſor, in Favour of the injured Party. To this *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus* anſwered, they had given the *Babylonians* no Subject of Complaint; and that they willingly accepted of the King of *India* for their Umpire. It appears in the Sequel, that he declared for the *Medes*.

In the mean while the King of *Armenia*, who was Vaſſal to the *Medes*, looking upon them as ready to be ſwallowed up by the formidable League formed againſt them, thought fit to lay hold on this Occaſion to ſhake off their Yoke. Accordingly, he refuſed to pay them the ordinary Tribute, and to ſend them the Number of Troops he was obliged to furniſh in Time of War. *Cyaxares* was highly perplexed hereat; being afraid, at this Juncture, of bringing new Enemies upon his Hands, ſhould he offer to compel the *Armenians* to execute their Treaty: But *Cyrus* having informed himſelf exactly of the Strength and Situation of the Country, undertook to reduce them to their Duty. In order hereto the chief Point was to keep this Deſign ſecret; without which it was not likely to ſucceed: Wherefore he appointed a great Hunting Match on that Side the Country; for it was his Cuſtom to ride out that Way, and he had often hunted with the King's Son, and the young Noblemen of *Armenia*. On the Day prefixed, he ſet out with a numerous Retinue: The Troops followed at a Diſtance, and were not to appear, till the Signal was given. After ſome Days hunting, when they were come pretty near the Palace where the Court reſided, *Cyrus* communicated his Deſign to his Officers; and ſent *Chryſantes* with a Detachment; ordering them to make themſelves Maſters of a certain ſteep Eminence, where he knew the King uſed to retire, in Caſe of an Alarm, with his Family and Treaſure.

This being done, he ſends an Herald to the King of *Armenia*, to ſummon him to fulfil the Treaty, and in the mean Time ordered his Troops to advance. Never was Court in a greater Surprize, or in more Perplexity: The King was conſcious of the Wrong he had done; and was not in a Condition to ſupport it. However, he did what he could to aſſemble his Forces together from all Quarters; and, in the mean Time, diſpatched his youngeſt Son, called *Sabaris*, into the Mountains, with his Wives, his Daughters, and every other Thing that was moſt precious and valuable. But, when he was informed by his Scouts, that *Cyrus* was coming upon their Heels, he entirely loſt all Courage, and all Thoughts of making a Defence; and the *Armenians*, following his Example, ran away, every one where he could, to ſecure what was deareſt to him. Hereupon *Cyrus*, ſeeing the Country covered with People, that were endeavouring to make their Eſcape, ſent them Word, that no Harm ſhould be done them, if they ſtaid in their Houſes; but that as many, as were taken running away, ſhould be treated as Enemies: This made them all retire to their Habitations, excepting a few that followed the King.

On the other Hand, they that were conducting the Princeſſes to the Mountains, fell into the Ambuſh *Chryſantes* had laid for them, and were moſt of them taken Priſoners. The Queen, the King's Son, his Daughters, his eldeſt Son's Wife, and his Treaſures, all fell into the Hands of the *Perſians*.

The King, hearing this melancholy News, and not knowing what would become of him, retired to a little Eminence; where he was preſently inveſted by the *Perſian* Army, and obliged to ſurrender: Upon which, *Cyrus* ordered him, with all his Family, to be brought into the Midſt of the Army. At that very Inſtant arrived *Tigranes*, the King's eldeſt Son, being juſt returned from a Journey; and at ſo moving a Spectacle could not forbear melting into Tears. Whereupon *Cyrus*, addreſſing himſelf to him, ſaid; "Prince, you "are come very ſeaſonably, to be preſent at the "Trial of your Father." And immediately he aſſembled the Captains of the *Perſians*, and the *Medes*, and called in alſo the great Men of *Armenia*: Nor did he ſo much as exclude the Ladies from this Aſſembly (who were there in their Chariots) but gave them full Liberty to hear and ſee the whole Tranſaction.

When all was ready, and *Cyrus* had commanded Silence, he began with requiring of the King, that in all the Queſtions he was going to propoſe to him, he would Anſwer ſincerely; becauſe nothing could be more worthy a Perſon of his Rank, than to uſe any Diſſimulation or Falſhood. The King having promiſed this, *Cyrus* asked him, but at different Times, propoſing each Article ſeparately and in Order, whether it was not true, that he had waged War againſt *Aſtyages*, King of the *Medes*, his Grand-father; whether he had not been vanquiſhed in that War, and, in Conſequence of his Defeat, had concluded a Treaty with *Aſtyages*; whether, by Virtue of that Treaty, he was not obliged to pay a certain Tribute, to furniſh a certain Number of Troops, and not to keep any fortified Place in his Country? It was impoſſible for the King to deny any of theſe Facts, which were all publick and notorious. "For what Reaſon "then (continued *Cyrus*) have you violated this "Treaty in every Article? For no other (replied "the King) than becauſe I thought it glorious "to ſhake off a Yoke, to live free, and to leave "my Children in the ſame Condition. 'Tis really "glorious (anſwered *Cyrus*) to fight in the Defence of our Liberty: But if any one, after he is "reduced to Servitude, ſhould attempt to run "away from his Maſter, what would you do with "him? I muſt confeſs (ſays the King) I would "puniſh him. And if you had given a Government to one of your Subjects, and he ſhould be "found to prevaricate, would you continue him "in his Poſt? No certainly; I would put another in his Place. And if he had amaſſed great "Riches by his unjuſt Practices? I would ſtrip "him of them. But, which is ſtill worſe, if he "had held Intelligence with your Enemies, how "would you treat him? Tho' I ſhould pronounce

" my own Condemnation (replied the King) I " muſt declare the Truth: I would put him to " Death." At theſe Words *Tigranes* tore his Tiara from his Head, and rent his Garments; and the Women alſo burſt out into terrible Lamentations, as if Sentence had been paſſed upon him.

Hereupon, *Cyrus* again commanded Silence, when *Tigranes* addreſſing himſelf to that Prince, ſaid; " O great and mighty Prince, can you think " it conſiſtent with your Wiſdom to put my Fa- " ther to Death, even againſt your own Intereſt? " How againſt my Intereſt (anſwers *Cyrus*?) Be- " cauſe he never was ſo capable of doing you Ser- " vice. How do you make that appear? Do the " Faults a Man has committed enhance his Merit, " and give him a new Title to our Conſideration " and Favour? They certainly do, provided they " contribute to make him wiſer. O the ineſtim- " able Value of Wiſdom! are either Riches, Cou- " rage, or Addreſs to be compared to it? Now " 'tis evident, this ſingle Day's Experience has " infinitely improved my Father's Wiſdom. He " knows how dear the Violation of his Word has " coſt him: He has proved and felt how much " you are ſuperiour to him in all Reſpects: He " has not been able to ſucceed in any of his De- " ſigns; but you have happily accompliſhed all " yours; and with that Quickneſs and Secrecy, " that he has found himſelf hemm'd in, and taken, " before he expected to be attack'd; and the very " Place of his Retreat has ſerved only to enſnare " him. But your Father (replied *Cyrus*) has not " yet undergone any Sufferings that can have " taught him Wiſdom. The Fear of Evils (re- " joined *Tigranes*) when it is ſo deeply imprinted " as this is, has a much ſharper Sting, and is " more capable of piercing the Soul, than the " Evils themſelves. Beſides, permit me to ſay, that " that Gratitude is a ſtronger, and more prevail- " ing Motive, than any whatever: And there can " be no Obligations in the World of a higher Na- " ture, than thoſe you will lay upon my Father. " His Fortune, Liberty, Scepter, Life, Wives, " and Children, all reſtored to him with ſuch Ge- " neroſity; where can you find, illuſtrious Prince, " in one ſingle Perſon, ſo many ſtrong and power- " ful Ties to attach him to your Service?"

" Well then (reſumed *Cyrus*, turning to the " King) if I ſhould yield to your Son's Entreaties, " what Number of Men, and what Sum of Money " will you furniſh, to aſſiſt us in the War againſt " the *Babylonians*? My Troops and Treaſures " (ſays the *Armenian* King) are no longer mine; " they are entirely yours. I can raiſe forty thou- " ſand Foot, and eight thouſand Horſe; and as to " Money, I reckon, including the Treaſure which " my Father left me, there are about three thou- " ſand Talents, in ready Specie: All theſe are " wholly at your Diſpoſal." Hereupon *Cyrus* accepted Half the Number of the Troops, and left the King the other Half, for the Defence of the Country, againſt the *Chaldeans*, with whom he was at War. The annual Tribute which was due to the *Medes* he doubled; and inſtead of fifty Talents, exacted an hundred; and borrowed the like Sum over and above in his own Name. " But " what would you give me (added *Cyrus*) for the " Ranſom of your Wives? All that I have in the " World, (anſwered the King.) And for that " of your Children? The very ſame. From " this Time then you are indebted to me the Dou- " ble of all your Poſſeſſions. And you, *Tigranes*, " at what Price would you redeem the Liberty of " your Lady?" Now, he had but lately marri- ed, and was paſſionately fond of her. " At the " Price (ſays he) of a thouſand Lives, if I had " them." After this *Cyrus* conducted them all to his Tent, and entertained them at Supper. 'Tis eaſy to imagine what Tranſports of Joy there muſt have been on an Occaſion ſo moving.

When the Entertainment was over, *Cyrus* embraced them all, in Token of a perfect Reconciliation; which done, they got into their Chariots, with their Wives, and Children, and went home, full of Gratitude, and Admiration. Accordingly, all their Talk, the whole Way, was of *Cyrus*; ſome extolling his Wiſdom, others his Courage; ſome admiring the Sweetneſs of his Temper, others praiſing the Beauty of his Perſon, and the Majeſty of his Deportment. " And you, (ſays *Tigranes*, " addreſſing himſelf to his Lady) what do you " think of the Carriage and Perſon of *Cyrus*? I don't " know (replied the Princeſs) I did not obſerve " him. What Object then did you fix your Eyes " upon? Upon him that ſaid he would give a " thouſand Lives to ranſom my Liberty." A very juſt Return for his Generoſity and Love!

The next Day, the King of *Armenia* ſent magnificent Preſents to *Cyrus*, and Refreſhments for his whole Army; he likewiſe brought him double the Sum of Money he was required to furniſh. But *Cyrus* wou'd accept only of ſo much as he had ſtipulated for, and reſtored him the Reſt: He then ordered the *Armenian* Troops to be ready in three Days, and *Tigranes* was deſirous of commanding them.

We have thought proper, for ſeveral Reaſons, to give ſo circumſtantial an Account of this Affair; though it is ſo far abridged, that there is not above a Quarter Part of what we find in *Xenophon*.

Firſt, It may ſerve to give the Reader a Notion of the Stile of that excellent Hiſtorian, and excite his Curioſity to conſult the Original; whoſe natural, and unaffected Beauties, are ſufficient to juſtify the ſingular Eſteem, which Perſons of good Taſte have ever had for the noble Simplicity of that Author. To mention but one Inſtance; what an Idea of Chaſtity, and Modeſty, is there couched! What a wonderful Simplicity, and Delicacy of Thought, at the ſame Time, in the Anſwer of the Wife of *Tigranes*, who has no Eyes but for her Husband!

Secondly, Thoſe ſhort, cloſe, and preſſing Interrogations, each of which demand a direct, and preciſe Anſwer from the King of *Armenia*, diſcover the Diſciple, and Scholar of *Socrates*; and ſhew how much he adher'd to the Taſte, and Manner of his great Maſter.

Beſides, this Relation will give us ſome Notion what Judgment ought to be form'd of *Xenophon*'s *Cyropædia*; the Subſtance of which is true, though it is embelliſh'd with ſeveral Circumſtances, added by the Author, and dreſs'd up on Purpoſe to grace his inſtructive Leſſons, and the excellent Rules he lays down upon Government. Thus much, therefore, in the Story above-mention'd is real: The King of *Armenia* having refus'd to pay the *Medes* the Tribute he ow'd them, *Cyrus* attack'd him ſuddenly; and, before he ſuſpected any Deſigns againſt him, made himſelf Maſter of the only Fortreſs he had; took his Family Priſoners; obliged

oblig'd him to pay the uſual Tribute, and to furniſh his Quota of Troops; and ſo won upon him, by his Humanity, and courteous Behaviour, that he render'd him one of the faithfulleſt, and moſt affectionate Allies the *Medes* had ever after. The Reſt is inſerted, only by Way of Embelliſhment, and rather belongs to the Hiſtorian, than to the Hiſtory itſelf.

In the *laſt* Place, we thought it proper, not to miſs this Opportunity of manifeſting ſuch Qualities in this Hero, as are not always to be met with in Perſons of his Rank; ſuch, as by rendering them infinitely more valuable than all their military Virtues, would moſt contribute to the Succeſs of their Deſigns. In moſt Conquerors, we find Courage, Reſolution, Intrepidity, a Capacity for martial Exploits, and all ſuch Talents as make a Noiſe in the World; and are apt to dazzle People by their glaring Outſide: But, an inward Stock of Goodneſs, Compaſſion, and Gentleneſs towards the Unhappy; an Air of Moderation, and Modeſty, even in Proſperity, and Victory; an inſinuating, and perſuaſive Behaviour; the Art of gaining People's Hearts, and attaching them to him, more by Affection than Intereſt; a conſtant, perpetual Care, always to have Right on his Side, and to imprint ſuch a Character of Juſtice, and Equity, upon all his Conduct, as his very Enemies are forc'd to reverence: And laſtly, ſuch a Clemency, as to diſtinguiſh thoſe that offend through Imprudence, rather than Malice; and to leave Room for their Repentance, by giving them Opportunity to return to their Duty: Theſe are Qualities, rarely found in the moſt celebrated Conquerors of Antiquity, but which ſhone moſt conſpicuouſly in *Cyrus*.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd; *Cyrus*, before he quitted the King of *Armenia*, was willing to do him a ſignal Service: Now, that Monarch was then at War with the *Chaldeans*, a neighbouring, and warlike People; who continually harraſs'd his Country by their Inroads; and, by that Means, hinder'd a great Part of his Lands from being cultivated. *Cyrus*, therefore, after having exactly inform'd himſelf of their Character, their Strength, and the Situation of their Fortreſſes, march'd againſt them. On the firſt Intelligence of his Approach, the *Chaldeans* poſſeſs'd themſelves of their high Places, to which they were accuſtom'd to retreat; but *Cyrus* did not give them Time to aſſemble all their Forces there, but advanc'd, and attack'd them unprepar'd. The *Armenians*, however, who march'd at the Head, were put to Flight, at the firſt Onſet: This, nevertheleſs, did not daunt *Cyrus*, who expected no better from them; and had only plac'd them there, on Purpoſe to draw the Enemy on to an Engagement. And indeed, when the *Chaldeans* came to encounter the *Perſians*, they were not able to ſtand the Brunt, but were totally worſted; a great Number being taken Priſoners, and the Reſt ſcatter'd, and diſpers'd. When the Battle was over, *Cyrus* himſelf ſpoke to the Priſoners; and aſſur'd them, he was not come to injure them, or to ravage their Country, but to grant them Peace upon reaſonable Terms; this done, he ſet them at Liberty: Hereupon, the *Chaldeans* immediately ſent their Plenipotentiaries to him, and a Peace was concluded. For the better Security of both Nations, and, with their common Conſent, *Cyrus* caus'd a Fortreſs to be built upon an Eminence, which commanded the whole Country; and left a good Garriſon therein, which was to declare againſt either of the two Nations, that ſhould violate the Treaty.

This done, *Cyrus*, underſtanding that there was uſually a free Intercourſe, and Commerce, between the *Indians*, and *Chaldeans*, deſir'd, that the latter would accompany, and conduct his Embaſſador, whom he was preparing to ſend to the King of the *Indies*. The Purport of this Embaſſy was, to deſire ſome Supplies in Money from that Prince, for *Cyrus*, who greatly wanted it, for the levying of freſh Troops in *Perſia*; and promis'd, that, if the Gods crown'd his Deſigns with Succeſs, that Potentate ſhould have no Reaſon to repent of having aſſiſted him. The *Chaldeans* were very ready to comply with his Requeſt; which was not a little pleaſing to *Cyrus*, ſince they could do it the more advantagiouſly, by enlarging upon his Character, and Exploits; wherefore, the Embaſſadors ſet out the next Day, accompanied with ſome of the moſt conſiderable Perſons of *Chaldea*, who were directed by their Maſter to manage that Affair with all poſſible Addreſs.

The Expedition againſt the *Armenians* being thus happily ended, *Cyrus* left that Country, to rejoin *Cyaxares*: Four thouſand *Chaldeans*, the braveſt of the Nation, attended him; and the King of *Armenia*, who was now deliver'd from his Enemies, augmented the Number of Troops he had promis'd him; inſomuch, that he arriv'd in *Media*, with Abundance of Money, and a much more numerous Army, than he had when he left it.

Both Parties had now been employ'd, three Years together, in forming their Alliances, and making Preparations for War: When *Cyrus*, finding their Troops full of Ardor, and ready for Action, propos'd to *Cyaxares*, the leading them towards *Aſſyria*. His Reaſons for it were, that he thought it his Duty to eaſe him, as ſoon as poſſible, of the Care, and Expence, of maintaining two Armies; that it were better they ſhould eat up the Enemies Country, than *Media*; that ſo bold a Step, as that of advancing to meet the *Aſſyrians*, might be capable of ſpreading a Terror in their Army, and, at the ſame Time, inſpire their own with the greater Confidence; that, laſtly, it was a Maxim with him, as it had always been with *Cambyſes*, his Father, that Victory did not ſo much depend upon the Number, as upon the Courage of the Soldiers: Upon all theſe Reaſons, *Cyaxares* agreed to his Propoſal.

Aſſoon, therefore, as the cuſtomary Sacrifices were offer'd, they began their March: But, firſt, *Cyrus*, in the Name of the whole Army, invok'd the tutelary Gods of the Empire; beſeeching them to be favourable to them in the Expedition they had undertaken, to accompany them, conduct them, fight for them, inſpire them with ſuch a Meaſure of Courage, and Prudence, as was neceſſary; and, in ſhort, to bleſs their Arms with Proſperity, and Succeſs. In acting thus, *Cyrus* put in Practice that excellent Advice his Father had given him, of beginning, and ending all his Actions, and all his Enterprizes, with Prayer: And indeed, he never fail'd, either before, or after an Engagement, to acquit himſelf, in the Preſence of the whole Army, of this Religious Duty. When they were arriv'd at the Frontiers of *Aſſyria*, it was ſtill their firſt Care, to offer up their Pray-

Prayers to the Gods of the Country, and to implore their Protection, and Succour; after which, they made Incurſions upon the Enemy, and carry'd off Abundance of Spoil.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Cyrus*, underſtanding that the Enemy's Army was about ten Days Journey from them, prevail'd upon *Cyaxares* to advance forwards, and march up to them: And when the Armies came within Sight, both Sides prepar'd for Battle. The *Aſſyrians* were encamp'd in the open Country; and, according to their Cuſtom, which the *Romans* imitated afterwards, they had encompaſs'd, and fortify'd their Camp with a large Ditch. On the contrary, *Cyrus*, who was deſirous of depriving the Enemy, as much as he could, of the Sight, and Knowledge of the Smallneſs of his Army, cover'd his Troops with ſeveral little Hills, and Villages. In this Poſture, nothing was done, for ſeveral Days, on either Side, but looking at, and obſerving one another. At length, a numerous Body of the *Aſſyrians* moving firſt out of their Camp, *Cyrus* advanc'd with his Troops to meet them. But, before they came within Reach of the Enemy, he gave the Word for forming the Men, which, according to *Xenophon*, was, *Jupiter Protector, & Conductor*. We are apt to believe, however, that *Xenophon* here calls the *Perſian* Gods, by the Names of thoſe of his own Country, ſince we dont find any *Perſian* Deities call'd elſewhere by theſe Names. He then caus'd the ordinary Hymn to be ſounded, in Honour of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; to which the Soldiers, full of a religious Ardor, anſwer'd with a loud Voice. After this, there was nothing in the Army of *Cyrus*, but Chearfulneſs, Emulation, Courage, mutual Exhortations to Bravery, and an univerſal Zeal to execute whatever their Leader ſhould command. "For, 'tis obſervable (ſays the Hiſtorian in this Place) that, "on theſe Occaſions, thoſe that fear the Deity "moſt, are the leaſt afraid of Men." On the Side of the *Aſſyrians*, the Archers, and thoſe arm'd with Slings, and Darts, made their Diſcharges, before their Enemies were within Reach: But, the *Perſians*, animated by the Preſence, and Example of *Cyrus*, came immediately to a cloſe Fight with the Enemy, and broke through their firſt Battalions. The *Aſſyrians*, notwithſtanding all the Efforts us'd by *Cræſus*, and their own King, to encourage them, were not able to ſuſtain ſo rude a Shock, but immediately ran away. At the ſame Time, the Cavalry of the *Medes* advanc'd to attack the Enemy's Horſe, which were likewiſe preſently routed. The former warmly purſu'd them to the very Camp; made a terrible Slaughter amongſt them; and *Nerigliſſor*, King of the *Babylonians*, was kill'd in the Action. However, *Cyrus*, not thinking himſelf in a Condition to force their Intrenchments, ſounded a Retreat.

In the mean Time, the *Aſſyrians* were in a dreadful Conſternation, their King being kill'd, and the Flower of their Army loſt: And, to make the Matter ſtill worſe, aſſoon as *Cræſus* found them in ſo great a Diſorder, he fled, and left them to ſhift for themſelves: The other Allies likewiſe, ſeeing their Affairs in ſo hopeleſs a Condition, thought of nothing but taking the Advantage of the Night, to make their Eſcape.

Hereupon, *Cyrus*, who had foreſeen this, prepar'd to purſue them cloſely: But this could not be effected without Cavalry; and, as we have already obſerv'd, the *Perſians* had none. He, therefore, went to *Cyaxares*, and acquainted him with his Deſign, to which that Prince was exceeding averſe; repreſenting to him, how dangerous it was to drive ſo powerful an Enemy to Extremities, whom Deſpair would, probably, inſpire with Courage; that it was a Part of Wiſdom, to uſe good Fortune with Moderation, and not loſe the Fruits of Victory by too much Fire: He added, beſides, that he did not care to compel the *Medes*, or to refuſe them that Repoſe, to which their Behaviour had juſtly intitled them. Upon this, *Cyrus* only deſir'd his Permiſſion to take as many of the Horſe, as were willing to follow him; to which, *Cyaxares* readily conſented; and then thought of nothing elſe but ſpending his Time with his Officers, in Feaſting, and Mirth; and reaping the Fruits of the Victory they had obtain'd.

In the mean While, *Cyrus* march'd away in Purſuit of the Enemy, and was follow'd by the greateſt Part of the *Median* Horſe. Upon the Way he met ſome Couriers, that were ſent to him by the *Hyrcaniaus*, who ſerv'd in the Enemy's Army, to aſſure him, that, aſſoon as ever he appear'd, they would come over to him; which, in Effect, they did. All this While, *Cyrus* made the beſt Uſe of his Time, and, having march'd all Night, came up with the *Aſſyrians* by Break of Day; for, *Cræſus* had ſent away his Wives in the Night, for Coolneſs, it being Summer, and was following them gently himſelf, with a Body of Cavalry. When the *Aſſyrians* ſaw the Enemy ſo near them, they were in the utmoſt Confuſion, and Conſternation; inſomuch, that moſt of thoſe, who ran away, being warmly purſu'd, were kill'd; all, that ſtaid in the Camp, ſurrender'd; and the Victory was compleat, and the Spoil immenſe. *Cyrus* reſerv'd all the Horſes that were taken in the Camp for himſelf; reſolving now to form a Body of Cavalry for the *Perſian* Army, which hitherto they had wanted: The richeſt, and moſt valuable Part of the Booty was ſet apart for *Cyaxares*; and for the Priſoners, he gave them all their Liberty to go home to their own Country, without impoſing any other Condition upon them, than that they, and their Countrymen, ſhould deliver up their Arms, and engage no more in War: *Cyrus* taking it upon himſelf to defend them, and to put them into a Condition of cultivating their Lands, and following their Concerns with abſolute Safety.

Whilſt the *Medes*, and the *Hyrcanians*, were ſtill purſuing the Remainder of the Enemy, *Cyrus* took Care to have a Repaſt, and the very Baths prepar'd for them; that, at their Return, they might have nothing to do, but to ſit down, and refreſh themſelves. He likewiſe thought fit, to defer the Diſtribution of the Spoil till that Time. 'Twas on this Occaſion, this General, who had his Thoughts upon every Thing, exhorted his *Perſian* Soldiers, to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Generoſity, in Regard to their Allies; from whom they had already receiv'd great Services, and of whom they might expect ſtill greater. He deſir'd, then, they would wait their Return, both for the Refreſhments, and the Diviſion of the Spoil; and that they would ſhew a Preference of their Intereſts, and Conveniencies before their own; giving them to underſtand, that this would be a ſure Means of attaching the Allies to them for ever; and of ſecuring to them a new Harveſt of Victo-

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ries to them over the Enemy, which would procure them all the Advantages they could wish for, and make them an ample Amends for the voluntary Losses they might sustain, for the Sake of gaining the Affection of their Allies: Hereupon, they all willingly enter'd into the Sentiments of their Prince, and Leader. When the *Medes* and *Hyrcanians* were return'd from pursuing the Enemy, *Cyrus* made them sit down to the Repast he had prepar'd for them, desiring them to send nothing but Bread to the *Persians*, who were sufficiently provided (he said) with all they wanted, either for their Ragoos, or their Drinking: Hunger being their only Ragoo, and Water from the River their only Drink; for, that was the Way of Living, to which they had been accustom'd from their Infancy.

The next Morning came on the Division of the Spoils; when *Cyrus*, in the first Place, order'd the *Magi* to be call'd, and commanded them to choose out of all the Booty what was propereſt to be offer'd to the Gods on such an Occasion: Then he gave the *Medes* and *Hyrcanians* the Honour of dividing all that remain'd amongst the whole Army. They earnestly desir'd, that the *Persians* might preside over the Distribution; but the *Persians* absolutely refus'd it: So that they were oblig'd to accept of the Office, as *Cyrus* had ordain'd it: And the Distribution was made to the general Satisfaction of all Parties.

That very Night, on which this great Prince had march'd to pursue the Enemy, *Cyaxares* had pass'd in Feasting; and had made himself drunk with his principal Officers: And the next Morning, when he wak'd, he was strangely surpriz'd to find himself almost alone, and without Troops. Immediately, full of Resentment, and Rage, he dispatch'd an Express to the Army, with Orders to reproach *Cyrus* severely, and to bring back the *Medes* without any Delay. This unreasonable Proceeding, however, did not move that Hero, who, in Return, only wrote him a respectful Letter; in which, nevertheless, he express'd himself with a generous, and noble Freedom; justify'd his own Conduct, and put him in Mind of the Permission he had given him, of taking as many *Medes* with him, as were willing to follow him: At the same Time, he sent into *Persia* for an Augmentation of his Troops, designing to push his Conquests still farther.

Amongst the Prisoners of War that were taken, was a young Princess of most exquisite Beauty, which they reserv'd for *Cyrus*: Her Name was *Panthea*, and she was Wife to *Abradates*, King of *Susiana*. However, upon the Report that was made of her extraordinary Charms, he refus'd to see her; for Fear (as he said) such an Object might engage his Affection more than he desir'd, and divert him from the Prosecution of the great Designs he had in his Head. This singular Moderation in *Cyrus* was, undoubtedly, an Effect of the excellent Education he had receiv'd: For, it was a Principle among the *Persians*, never to speak before young People of any Thing, that tended, or related to Love, lest their natural Inclination to Pleasure, which is so strong and violent, at that Age of Levity and Indiscretion, should be awaken'd, and excited by such Discourses, and should hurry them into Follies and Debaucheries. As *Araspes*, a young Nobleman of *Media*, who had the Lady in his Custody, had not the same Distrust of his own Weakness, but pretended, that a Man might be always Master of himself; *Cyrus* re-committed the Princess to his Care, but, at the same Time, gave him a very prudent Admonition. "I have seen a great many Persons (says he) "that have thought themselves very strong, "wretchedly overcome by that violent Passion, "Spite of all their Resolution; who have own'd "afterwards with Shame and Grief, that their "Passion was a Bondage and Slavery, from which "they had not the Power to redeem themselves; "an incurable Distemper, out of the Reach of all "Remedies, and human Efforts; a Kind of Bond, "or Fetter, more difficult to break, than the "strongest Chains of Iron. Fear nothing (re-"ply'd *Araspes*) I am sure of my self, and I'll "answer with my Life, I'll do nothing that shall "be contrary to my Duty." Nevertheless, this young Nobleman conceiv'd a violent Passion for this beauteous Captive, which increas'd, and, by Degrees, grew to such an Height, that, finding her invincibly averse to his Desires, he was ready to force her by Violence. The Princess, at length, made *Cyrus* acquainted with his Conduct, who immediately sent *Artabazes* to *Araspes*, with Orders to admonish, and reprove him in his Name. This Officer executed his Orders in the harshest Manner; upbraiding him with his Fault in the most bitter Terms, and with such a rigorous Severity, as was enough to throw him into Despair. Hereupon, *Araspes*, struck to the Soul with Grief, and Anguish, burst into a Flood of Tears; and, being overwhelm'd with Shame and Fear, as thinking himself undone, had not a Word to say for himself. Some Days afterwards, however, *Cyrus* sent for him; and, on his going to that Prince, trembling, and confounded, He took him aside, and, instead of reproaching him with Severity, as he expected, spoke gently to him, acknowledging, that he himself was to blame, for having imprudently expos'd him to so formidable an Enemy. By such an unexpected Kindness, the young Nobleman recover'd both Life and Speech: But his Confusion, Joy, and Gratitude, express'd themselves first in a Torrent of Tears. "Alas! (says "he) now I am come to the Knowledge of my-"self; and I find most plainly, that I have two "Souls; one, that inclines me to Good; another, "that draws me to Evil. The former prevails, "when you speak to me, and come to my Re-"lief; but, when I am alone, and left to myself, "I am over-power'd, and vanquish'd by the "latter." In Return for so much Goodness, *Araspes* made an advantageous Reparation for his Fault, and render'd *Cyrus* considerable Service, by retiring among the *Assyrians*, under the Pretence of Discontent, and by giving Intelligence of their Measures, and Designs.

The Loss of so brave an Officer, whom Discontent was suppos'd to have engag'd into the Enemy's Party, caus'd a great Concern in the whole Army: Whereupon, *Panthea*, who had occasion'd it, promis'd *Cyrus* to bring him in his Room an Officer of equal Merit; meaning thereby her Husband *Abradates*. Accordingly, upon her writing to him, he repair'd to the Camp of her *Persians*, and was directly carry'd to *Panthea*'s Tent, who told him, with a Flood of Tears, how kindly and handsomly she had been treated by the generous Conqueror. "And how (cry'd out *Abradates*) "shall I be able to acknowledge so important a

" Service? By behaving towards him (reply'd " *Panthea*) as he hath done towards me." Whereupon he waited immediately upon *Cyrus*, and paying his Reſpects to ſo great a Benefactor; " You " ſee before your Eyes (ſays he) the tendereſt " Friend, the moſt devoted Servant, and the moſt " faithful Ally you ever had; who, not being " able otherwiſe to acknowledge your Favours, " comes, and devotes himſelf entirely to your " Service." Mov'd with this generous Speech, *Cyrus* receiv'd him with ſuch a noble, and gracious Air, and alſo with ſo much Affability, and Kindneſs, as fully convinc'd him, that whatever *Panthea* had ſaid of the wonderful Character of that great Prince, was abundantly ſhort of the Truth.

Two *Aſſyrian Satrapæ*, likewiſe, who put themſelves under his Protection, render'd him extraordinary Service. The one was call'd *Gobryas*, an old Man, venerable, both on Account of his Age, and Virtue; and the other, nam'd *Gadates*, was Prince of a numerous, and powerful People: *Nerigliſſor*, King of *Aſſyria*, who had been kill'd in the late Battle, was well acquainted with the Merit of the former; and, having a very particular Regard for him, had reſolv'd to give his Daughter in Marriage to his Son; and, for that Reaſon, had ſent for him to Court: And this young Nobleman, at a Hunting-Match, to which he had been invited, happening to kill a wild Beaſt with his Dart, which the King's Son had miſs'd; the latter, who was of a paſſionate, and ſavage Nature, immediately ſtabb'd the Gentleman with hisLance, and laid him dead upon the Ground; as we before obſerv'd, in the Reign of *Laboroſoarchod*. Hereupon, *Gobryas* beſought *Cyrus*, to avenge ſo unfortunate a Father, and to take his Family under his Protection; and the rather, becauſe he had no Children left now, but an only Daughter, who had long been deſign'd for a Wife to the young King, but could not bear the Thought of marrying the Murderer of her Brother.

The other *Satrapa*, as we likewiſe obſerv'd before, had been treated in a very barbarous Manner, by the ſame Prince; becauſe one of his Concubines had mention'd him as an handſome Man, and ſpoken advantageouſly of the Happineſs of that Woman, whom he ſhould chooſe for a Wife.

As theſe two Noblemen, therefore, had promis'd to aſſiſt *Cyrus* with all their Forces, the Expectation of this twofold Succour, was a ſtrong Inducement to him, to make him determine to penetrate into the Heart of the Enemy's Country. And, as *Babylon*, the capital City of the Empire, he had a Mind to conquer, was the chief Object of his Expedition, he turn'd his Views, and his March that Way; not with a Deſign to attack that City yet in Form, but only to take a Survey of it, and acquaint himſelf therewith; as alſo, to draw off as many Allies as he could from that Prince's Party; and to make previous Diſpoſitions, and Preparations for the Siege he was meditating. He ſet out, therefore, with his Troops; and firſt, march'd to the Territories of *Gobryas*, who liv'd in a Fortreſs that ſeem'd to be impregnable, ſo advantageouſly was it ſituated, and ſo ſtrongly fortify'd on all Sides. But the good old Prince came out to meet *Cyrus*, and order'd Refreſhments to be brought to his whole Army; after which, he conducted that young Hero into his Palace, and there laid an infinite Number of ſilver, and gold Cups, and other Veſſels, at his Feet, together with a Multitude of Purſes, full of the Gold Coin of the Country: Then, ſending for his Daughter, who was of a majeſtick Shape, and exquiſite Beauty, which the Mourning-Habit, ſhe wore for her Brother's Death, ſeem'd ſtill to ſet off to the greater Advantage, he preſented her to *Cyrus*, deſiring him to take her under his Protection; and to accept thoſe Marks of his Acknowledgment, which he took the Liberty to offer him. " I wil- " lingly accept your Gold, and Silver (ſays he) " and make a Preſent of it to your Daughter, " to augment her Portion: Doubt not, but a- " mongſt the Nobles of my Court you'll find a " Match ſuitable for her. 'Twill neither be their " own Riches, nor yours, upon which they'll ſet " their Eſteem; I can aſſure you, there are many " amongſt them, that would make no Account " of all the Treaſure in *Babylon*, if they were " unattended with Merit and Virtue. 'Tis their " only Glory, I dare affirm it of them, as it is " mine, to approve themſelves faithful to their " Friends, formidable to their Enemies, and re- " ſpectful to the Gods." *Gobryas* then preſs'd him to take a Repaſt with him in his Houſe, but he ſtedfaſtly refus'd it, and return'd into his Camp with that old *Satrapa*, who ſtaid, and eat with him and his Officers. The Ground, and the green Turf, that was upon it, was all the Beds and Couches they had; and it is to be ſuppos'd, the whole Entertainment was ſuitable: Whereupon, *Gobryas*, who was a Perſon of good Senſe, was convinc'd, how much that noble Simplicity was ſuperior to his vain Magnificence; and declar'd, that the *Aſſyrians* had the Art of diſtinguiſhing themſelves by Pride, and the *Perſians* by Merit: But, above all Things, he admir'd the ingenious Vein of Humour, and the innocent Chearfulneſs, that reign'd throughout the whole Entertainment.

This done, *Cyrus*, always intent upon his great Deſign, proceeded with *Gobryas* towards the Country of *Gadates*, which was beyond *Babylon*. In the Neighbourhood of this there was a ſtrong Citadel, which commanded the Country of the *Sacæ*, and the *Caduſians*; and where a Governor for the King of *Babylon* reſided, to keep thoſe People in Awe, and within their Duty. On his approaching the Citadel, he made as if his Intention was to attack it; whereupon, *Gadates*, whoſe Intelligence with the *Perſians* was not yet known, by the Advice of *Cyrus*, offer'd himſelf to the Governor of it, to join with him in the Defence of that important Place. Accordingly, he was admitted with all his Troops, and immediately deliver'd it up to that Prince. The Poſſeſſion of this Citadel made him Maſter of the *Sacæ*, and *Caduſians*; and, as he treated thoſe People with great Lenity, and Kindneſs, they remain'd inviolably attach'd to his Service. The *Caduſians* rais'd an Army of twenty thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe; and the *Sacæ* furniſh'd ten thouſand Foot Bow-Men, and two thouſand Archers, that were Cavalry.

On hearing this News, the King of *Aſſyria* took the Field, in Order to puniſh *Gadates* for his Rebellion; but *Cyrus* engag'd him, and defeated him, making a great Slaughter of his Troops, and obliging him to retreat to *Babylon*: Which done, the Conqueror employ'd ſome Time in ravaging the Enemy's Country. His kind Treatment of the Priſoners of War, in giving them all Liberty to go home to their Habitations, having ſpread the

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Fame of his Clemency wherever he came, Numbers of People voluntarily ſurrender'd themſelves to him, and mightily augmented his Army. Then advancing near the City of *Babylon*, he ſent the King of *Aſſyria* a perſonal Challenge, to terminate their Quarrel by a ſingle Combat; but that Monarch did not think fit to accept thereof: Wherefore, in order to ſecure the Peace and Tranquillity of his Allies during his Abſence, *Cyrus* made a Kind of a Truce, or Treaty, with the King of *Aſſyria*; by which, it was agreed on both Sides, that the Husbandmen ſhould not be moleſted, but ſhould have full Liberty to cultivate their Lands, and reap the Fruits of their Labour: Then, after having view'd the Country, examined the Situation of *Babylon*, acquired a conſiderable Number of Friends and Allies, and greatly augmented his Cavalry, he marched away to the Dominions of *Cyaxares*.

When *Cyrus* came near the Frontiers, he ſent a Meſſenger to *Cyaxares*, to acquaint him with his Arrival, and to receive his Commands; but *Cyaxares*, jealous of his Nephew, did not think proper to admit ſo great an Army into his Country; and an Army, that was ſtill going to receive an Aug mentation of forty thouſand Men, juſt arrived from *Perſia*. He, therefore, ſet out the next Day with what Cavalry he had left, in order to meet *Cyrus*, who likewiſe advanced onward to join his Uncle, with his Cavalry, which were very numerous, and made a handſome Appearance, the Sight of which re-kindled the Jealouſy and Diſſatisfaction of *Cyaxares*. He received, therefore, his Nephew in a very cold Manner, turned away his Face from him, to avoid the receiving of his Salute, and even wept through Vexation. Hereupon, *Cyrus* commanded all the Company to retire, and came to an *Eclairciſſement*, with his Uncle, to remove all Miſtruſt; in ſo doing, he ſpoke to him with ſo much Temper, Submiſſion, and Reaſon; and gave him ſuch ſtrong Proofs of his Integrity, Reſpect, and inviolable Attachment to his Perſon and Intereſts, that in a Moment he diſpell'd all his Suſpicions, and perfectly recovered his Favour and good Opinion; inſomuch that they embraced each other, and Tears of Joy were ſhed on both Sides: Neither is it to be expreſs'd how great was the Satisfaction, of the *Perſians*, and *Medes*, who waited the Event of this Interview, with Anxiety and Trembling. *Cyaxares* and *Cyrus* immediately remounted their Horſes; upon which all the *Medes* ranged themſelves in the Train of *Cyaxares*, according to the Orders given them by *Cyrus*, whilſt the *Perſians* followed that Hero, and the Soldiers of each other Nation their particular Prince. When they were arrived at the Place for their incamping, they conducted *Cyaxares* to the Tent prepared for him, where he was immediately viſited by almoſt all the *Medes*, who came to ſalute him, and to bring him Preſents; ſome of their own Accord, and others by the Direction of *Cyrus*. *Cyaxares* was extremely moved at this handſome Procedure, and began to be convinced that his Nephew had not corrupted his Subjects, and that the *Medes* had the ſame Affection for him as before.

Such was the Succeſs of the firſt Expedition of *Cyrus* againſt *Crœſus*, and the *Babylonians*. Next Day a Council of War was held, in the Preſence of *Cyaxares* and all the Officers, wherein it was reſolved to continue the War vigorouſly.

Not finding in *Xenophon* any Date, that preciſely fixes the Years, wherein the ſeveral Events he relates happened, we ſuppoſe with *Uſher*, (though *Xenophon's* Relation does not ſeem to countenance this Notion) that between the two Battles againſt *Crœſus* and the *Babylonians*, ſeveral Years intervened, during which all neceſſary Preparations were made on both Sides, for carrying on the important War which was begun; and within this Interval we place the Marriage of *Cyrus*.

We judge it then about this Time, that this young Prince had a Mind to take a Journey into his own Country, about ſix or ſeven Years after his Departure out of *Perſia*, at the Head of the *Perſian* Army. We imagine it was on this Occaſion that *Cyaxares* gave *Cyrus* a ſignal Teſtimony of the Value he had for his Merit; by offering him his only Daughter *Mandane*, in Marriage, with an Aſſurance of the Kingdom of *Media*, as he had no male Iſſue, for her Portion. Though *Cyrus* had a very grateful Senſe of this advantageous Offer, and expreſſed the warmeſt Acknowledgements of it; he did not think himſelf at Liberty to accept it, till he had the Conſent of his Father and Mother: Leaving herein a rare Example to all future Ages, of the reſpectful Submiſſion, and entire Dependance, which all Children ought to have upon their Parents, on the like Occaſion; of what Age ſoever they be, or to whatever Degree of Power and Greatneſs they are arrived.

On his Return from *Perſia*, having obtained his Parents Conſent, which was not much to be queſtioned to ſo advantagious a Match, *Cyrus* celebrated his Nuptials with the Princeſs *Mandane*; and when the Marriage Solemnity was over, he return'd to his Camp, and improved what Time he had to ſpare, in ſecuring his new Conqueſts, and concerting proper Meaſures, with his Allies, for accompliſhing the great Deſigns he had formed. Foreſeeing (ſays *Xenophon*) that the Preparations for War might take up Abundance of Time, he pitched his Camp in a very convenient and healthful Place, and fortified it extremely well. This done, he breathed his Troops, by keeping them in continual Exerciſe, as if they had always had an Enemy in View.

In the mean while, Word was brought by Deſerters, and by Priſoners that arrived every Day into the Camp, that the King of *Babylon* was gone into *Lydia*, and had carrien with him vaſt Sums of Gold and Silver. Hereupon, the common Soldiers immediately concluded, that it was Fear which had made him remove his Treaſures; but *Cyrus* judg'd, with more Probability, that he had undertaken this Journey, only to raiſe up ſome new Enemy againſt him; and therefore he laboured with indefatigable Application, to prepare for a ſecond Engagement.

But, above all Things, he applied himſelf to ſtrengthen his *Perſian* Cavalry, and to have a great Number of Chariots of War, built after a new Form; having found great Inconveniencies in the old ones, whoſe Faſhion came from *Troy*, and which had continued in Uſe, till that Time throughout all *Aſia*.

During this Interval, Ambaſſadors arrived from the King of *India*, with a large Sum of Money for *Cyrus*, from the King their Maſter; who had alſo commanded them to aſſure him, that he was very

very glad, he had acquainted him with what he wanted; that he was willing to be his Friend and Ally, that, if he ſtill wanted more Money, he had nothing to do but to let him know it; and that, in ſhort, he had ordered his Ambaſſadors to pay him the ſame abſolute Obedience, as they would to himſelf. It may eaſily be imagined, that *Cyrus* received theſe obliging Offers with all poſſible Thankfulneſs and Gratitude; and, in Return, he treated the Ambaſſadors with the utmoſt Civility, and made them noble Preſents: Then, taking Advantage of their good Diſpoſition, he deſired them to depute three of their own Body to the Enemy, as Envoys from the King of *India*, on Pretence of propoſing an Alliance with the King of *Aſſyria*; but, in Effect, to diſcover his Deſigns, and give him an Account of them. The *Indian* undertook this Employment very willingly and acquitted themſelves of it with great Ability.

We can't help ſaying, however, that we think this Procedure, altogether repugnant to the uſual upright Conduct, and Sincerity of *Cyrus*: Could he be ignorant, that this was an open Violation of the Law of Nations, to ſend Spies to an Enemy's Court, under the Title of Ambaſſadors; which is a Character, that will not ſuffer thoſe who are inveſted with it, to act ſo mean a Part, or to be guilty of ſuch Treachery?

In the mean while, *Cyrus* prepared for the approaching Battle, like a Man, who had great Deſigns in his Head; he not only took Care of every Thing that had been reſolved in Council, but he made it his Pleaſure to excite a noble Emulation amongſt his Officers, who ſhould have the fineſt Arms; who ſhould be the beſt mounted; who ſhould fling a Dart, or ſhoot an Arrow, the moſt dexterouſly; or, who ſhould undergo Toil and Fatigue with the greateſt Patience. This he brought about by taking them along with him a hunting, and by conſtantly rewarding thoſe that diſtinguiſhed themſelves moſt therein; and whenever he obſerved that any Officers were particularly careful of their Men, he praiſed them publickly, and ſhewed them all the Favour, that was poſſible, to give them Encouragement. When he made any Feaſt for them, he never propoſed any other Diverſions than military Exerciſes, and always beſtow'd conſiderable Prizes on the Conquerors, by which Means an univerſal Ardor was diffuſed throughout his Army. In a Word, he was a General, who in his Repoſe, as well as Action, nay, even in his Pleaſures, his Meals, Converſations, and Walks, had his Thoughts entirely bent upon the Improvement of the Service: 'Tis by ſuch Methods a Man becomes an able and compleat Warrior.

On their Return from the Enemy's Camp, the *Indian* Ambaſſadors brought Word, that *Craſus* was choſen Generaliſſimo of their Army; that all the Kings and Princes, in their Alliance, had agreed to furniſh the neceſſary Sums of Money for raiſing the Troops; that the *Thracians* had already engaged themſelves; that from *Egypt* there was a ſtrong Reinforcement coming, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty Thouſand Men; that another Army was expected from *Cyprus*; that the *Cilicians*, the People of the two *Phrygia's*, the *Lycaonians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Cappadocians*, *Arabs*, and *Phenicians*, were already arrived; that the *Aſſyrians* were likewiſe come up with the King of *Babylon*; that the *Ionians*, *Eolians*, and moſt Part of the *Greeks* living in *Aſia*, had been obliged to join them; that *Cræſus* had likewiſe ſent to the *Lacedæmonians*, to bring them into a Treaty of Alliance; and that the Army was aſſembled near the River *Paſtolus*, from whence it was to advance to *Thymbra*, which was the Place of Rendezvous for all the Troops: This Relation was confirmed, by the Accounts that were brought, both by the Priſoners and Spies.

At this News, the Army of *Cyrus*, were not a little daunted, and terrified; but that Prince having aſſembled his Officers, and repreſented to them the infinite Difference between the Enemy's Troops and theirs, ſoon diſpelled their Fears, and revived their Courage. In the mean Time, he had taken all proper Meaſures, that his Army ſhould be provided with Neceſſaries of every Kind; and had given Orders, as well for their March, as for the Battle he was give; in the doing of which, he deſcended to an aſtoniſhing Detail, which *Xenophon* relates at length, and which reached from the chief Commanders down to the very loweſt ſubaltern Officers; for he knew very well, that upon ſuch Precautions the Succeſs of Enterprizes depends, which often miſcarry through the Neglect of the ſmalleſt Circumſtances; in ſame Manner as it frequently happens, that the Playing, or Movement of the greateſt Machines, is ſtopped through the Diſorder of one ſingle Wheel, though never ſo little.

This Prince knew all the Officers of his Army by Name; and making uſe of a low, but ſignificant Compariſon, would frequently ſay; "He "thought it ſtrange, that an Artificer ſhould "know the Names of all his Tools, and a Gene"ral ſhould be ſo indifferent, as not to know the "Names of all his Officers, which are the In"ſtruments he muſt make uſe of, in all his En"terprizes and Operations." Beſides, he was perſuaded, that ſuch an Attention was infinitely more honourable for the Officers, more engaging, and more proper to excite them to do their Duty; as it naturally induced them to believe, they were both known and eſteemed by their General.

When all the Preparations were finiſhed, *Cyrus* took Leave of *Cyaxares*, who ſtaid in *Media*, with a third Part of his Troops, that the Country might not be left entirely defenceleſs: And as he well underſtood, how advantageous it is always to make the Enemy's Country the Seat of War, he did not wait for the *Babylonians* coming to attack him in *Media*, but advanced to meet them in their Territories; that he might both conſume their Forage by his Troops, and diſconcert their Meaſures by his Quickneſs and the Boldneſs of his Undertaking. After a very long March he came up to the Enemy at *Thymbra*, a City of *Lydia*, not far from *Sardis*, the Capital of the Country. They did not imagine, this Prince, with Half their Number of Forces, could think of coming to attack them in their Country: And they were ſtrangely ſurprized to ſee him, before they had laid in the Proviſions, neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of their numerous Army, or aſſembled all the Forces they intended to have employ'd in the Battle; which was one of the moſt conſiderable Events in Antiquity, ſince it decided the Empire of *Aſia*, between the *Aſſyrians* of *Babylon*, and the *Perſians*.

In the Army of *Cyrus*, the Companies of Foot con-

consisted of an hundred Men each, exclusive of the Officer that led them. Each of these Companies were divided into four Parties, consisting of twenty-four Men, not including the Person who commanded them. Every Party was again divided into two Files, each of which consequently contained twelve Men. Every ten Companies had a particular superiour Officer to command them, whose Post might answer pretty well to that of a Colonel with us; and ten of those Bodies again had another superiour Commander, whom we may call a Brigadier.

We have already observed, that *Cyrus*, when he first came at the Head of the thirty thousand *Persians*, to support his Uncle *Cyaxares*, did then make a considerable Change in the arming of his Troops. Two thirds of them till then only knew how to use Javelins, or Bows, and consequently could only fight at a Distance from the Enemy: Instead of these, therefore *Cyrus* armed the greatest Part of them with Cuirasses, Bucklers and Swords, or Battle-Axes; and left but few of his Soldiers in light Armour.

The *Persians* did not then know the Use of Cavalry; wherefore *Cyrus*, who was very sensible that nothing was of greater Service; towards the gaining a Battle than Horse, being fully apprized of the great Disadvantage he laboured under in that Respect, and therefore took wise and early Precautions to remedy that Evil. Accordingly, he succeeded in his Design, and by little and little form'd a Body of *Persian* Cavalry, which amounted to ten thousand Men, and were the best Troops of his Army.

We shall speak elsewhere of the other Change he introduced, with Respect to the Chariots of War. 'Tis now Time to give the Number of the Troops of both Armies; which cannot be fix'd but by Conjecture, and by putting together several scatter'd Passages of *Xenophon*; that Author having omitted that material Circumstance, of acquainting us precisely with their Numbers; which appears surprizing in a Man so expert in military Affairs, as that Historian.

The Army of *Cyrus*, then, as far as can be gathered by Circumstances, amounted, in the whole, to an hundred and ninety-six thousand Men, Horse and Foot. Of these there were seventy thousand natural born *Persians*, *viz.* ten thousand Cuirassiers, Horse; twenty thousand Cuirassiers, Foot; twenty thousand Pike-men, and twenty thousand lightly arm'd. The rest of the Army, to the Number of an hundred and twenty-six thousand Men, consisted of twenty-six thousand *Medians*, *Armenians*, and *Arabians* Horse, and an hundred thousand Foot of the same Nations.

Besides these Troops, *Cyrus* had three hundred Chariots of War, arm'd with Scythes; each Chariot drawn by four Horses a-breast, cover'd with Trappings, that were Shoot-proof; as were also the Horses of the *Persian* Cuirassiers. He had likewise ordered a great Number of Chariots to be made of a larger Size, upon each of which was placed a Tower, of about eighteen or twenty Foot high, in which were lodged twenty Archers. Each Chariot was drawn upon Wheels, by sixteen Oxen yoked a-Breast. Besides, there was a considerable Number of Camels, upon each of which were mounted two *Arabian* Archers, Back to Back; so that one look'd towards the Head, and the other towards the Tail of the Camel.

As to the Army of *Cræsus*, it was above twice as numerous as that of *Cyrus*, amounting, in all, to four hundred and twenty thousand Men, of which there was sixty thousand Cavalry. They consisted chiefly of *Babylonians*, *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, *Cappadocians*, of the Nations about the *Hellespont*, and of *Egyptians*, to the Number of three hundred and and sixty thousand Men; the *Egyptians* alone making a Body of a hundred and twenty thousand. They had Bucklers, that cover'd them down to the Feet, very long Pikes, and short Swords, but very broad. The rest of the Army was made up of *Cyprians*, *Cilicians*, *Lycaonians*, *Paphlagonians*, *Thracians*, and *Ionians*.

When the Forces of *Cræsus* were drawn up in Order of Battle, they were all rang'd in one Line, the Infantry in the Center, and the Cavalry on the Wings. His Troops, both Foot and Horse, were all thirty Meen deep; but the *Egyptians*, who, as we have observed before, were an hundred and twenty thousand in Number, and who were the principal Strength of his Infantry, in the Center of which they were placed, were divided into twelve large Bodies, or square Battalions, of ten thousand Men each, which had an hundred Men in Front, and as many in Depth, with an interval or Space between every Battalion, that they might act and fight independant of, and without interfering with one another. *Cræsus* would gladly have persuaded them to range themselves in a less Depth, that they might make the wider Front. The Armies were upon a vast immense Plain, which gave Room for the extending of their Wings to the Right and Left; and the Design of *Cræsus*, upon which alone he founded his Hopes of Victory, was to surround and hem in the Enemy's Army: But he could not prevail upon the *Egyptians* to change the Order of Battle, to which they had been accustom'd. His Army, as it was thus drawn out into one Line, took up near forty *Stadia*, or five Miles in Length.

Araspes, who under the Pretence of Discontent had retired to the Army of *Cræsus*, and who had received particular Orders from *Cyrus*, to observe well the Manner of that General's ranging his Troops, return'd to the *Persian* Camp the Day before the Engagement of the two Armies, and did him great Service. Accordingly *Cyrus*, in forming his Order of Battle, governed himself by the Disposition of the Enemy's Army, of which that young *Median* Nobleman had given him an exact Account.

The *Persian* Troops had been generally used to engage four and twenty in Depth, but *Cyrus* thought fit, on this Occasion, to change that Disposition. It was necessary for him to form as wide a Front as he possibly could, without too much weakening his Battalions, to prevent his Army's being enclosed or hem'd in. His Infantry was excellent, and most advantageously armed with Cuirasses, Partizans, Battle-Axes, and Swords; and provided they could but come to close with the Enemy, Body to Body, there was little Reason to believe the *Lydians*, who were only arm'd with light Bucklers and Javelins, could be able to stand the Brunt. *Cyrus* therefore thin'd the Files of his Infantry one Half, and rang'd them only twelve Men deep. The Cavalry were drawn out on the two Wings, the Right commanded by *Chrysantes*, and the left by *Hystaspes*. The whole Front of the Army took up but thirty-two *Stadia*, or four

Miles Length of Ground; and, consequently, was at each End near four *Stadia*, or Half a Mile, short of the Enemy's Army.

Behind the first Line, at a little Distance, *Cyrus* placed the Spear-men, and behind them the Archers; both the one and the other of which were covered by the Soldiers that were before them, over whose Heads they could fling their Javelins, and shoot their Arrows, at the Enemy.

Behind all these he formed another Line, to serve for the Rear, which consisted of the bravest Fellows he had in his Army. Their Business was to have their Eyes upon those that were placed before them; to encourage those that did their Duty; to sustain and threaten those that gave Ground, and even to kill those as Traitors that run away; by that Means to keep the Cowards in Awe, and make them have as great a Terrour of those that follow'd them, as they could possibly have of the Enemy.

Behind the Army were placed those moving Towers, which we have already describ'd. These form'd a Line, equal and parallel to that of the Army; and did not only serve to annoy the Enemy by the perpetual Discharges of the Archers that were in them, but might likewise be look'd upon as a kind of moveable Forts, or Redoubts, under which the *Persian* Troops might rally, in case they were broken and push'd by the Enemy. Just behind these Towers were two other Lines, which also were parallel and equal to the Front of the Army; the one was form'd of the Baggage, and the other of the Chariots, which carried the Women, and such other Persons as were unfit for Service.

To close all these Lines, and to secure them from the Insults of the Enemy, *Cyrus* placed in the Rear of all, two thousand Infantry, two thousand Horse, and the Troop of Camels, which was prety numerous. His Design in forming two Lines of the Baggage, &c. was not only to make his Army appear more numerous than it really was, but likewise to oblige the Enemies, in case they were resolved to encompass him, as he knew they purposed to do, to make the longer Circuit, and consequently to weaken their Line, by stretching it out so far.

We are still to speak of the *Persian* Chariots of War, that were arm'd with Scythes; and which were divided into three Bodies, of an hundred each: One of these Bodies, commanded by *Abradates*, King of *Susiana*, was placed in the Front, and the other two upon the two Flanks of the Army: Such was the Order of Battle of the two Armies.

On the Morning of the Engagement, *Cyrus* made a Sacrifice, during which Time his Army took a little Refreshment; and the Soldiers, after having offer'd their Libations to the Gods, retired, and put on their Armour. Never was there any Sight more handsome, splendid, or magnificent: Coat-armours, Cuirasses, Bucklers, Helmets, one could not tell which to admire most: Men and Horses, all finely equiped, and glittering in Brass and Scarlet.

When *Abradates* was just going to put on his Cuiras, which was only of stitch'd Linnen, according to the the Fashion of his Country, his Wife *Panthea* came and presented him with an Helmet, Vambraces, and Gauntlets, all of pure Gold; together with a Coat Armour of his own Length, plaited at the Bottom, and a purple colour'd Plume of Feathers. She had got all this Armour prepared without her Husband's Knowledge, that her Present might be the more agreeable, on Account of the Surprize. In Spite, however, of all her Endeavours to the contrary, when she dress'd him in this Armour, she cou'd not help shedding some Tears; but notwithstanding all her Tenderness for him, she herself exhorted him to die with his Sword in his Hand, rather than not signalize himself in a Manner suitable to his Birth, and that might answer the Idea she had endeavour'd to give *Cyrus* of his Gallantry and Worth. "Our Obligations (says she) to that Prince are "infinitely great: I was his Prisoner, and, as "such, was set apart for his Pleasure; but when "I came into his Hands, I was neither used like a "Captive, nor had any dishonourable Conditions "*imposed on me for my Freedom. He treated* "me, as if I had been his own Brother's Wife; "and in Return, I assured him, you would be "capable of acknowledging such extraordinary "Goodness." "O *Jupiter!* (cry'd *Abradates*, "lifting up his Eyes towards Heaven) grant that "on this Occasion I may approve myself an Husband worthy of *Panthea*, and a Friend worthy "of so generous a Benefactor." Having thus said, he mounted his Chariot; and *Panthea*, not being able to embrace him any longer, was ready to kiss the very Chariot he rode in; and, when she had pursued him with her Eyes, as far as she possibly could, retired.

Assoon as *Cyrus* had finish'd his Sacrifice, given his Officers the Necessary Orders and Instructions for the Battle, and put them in mind of paying the Homage that is due to the Gods, every Man went and took his Post. Some of his Officers brought him Wine and Victuals; he eat a little, without sitting down, and made the rest be distributed amongst those that were about him. He took a little Wine likewise, and pour'd out a Part of it, as an Offering to the Gods, before he drank; and all the Company follow'd his Example. After this, he pray'd again to the God of his Fathers, desiring he would please to be his Guide, and come to his Assistance; then he mounted his Horse, and commanded all to follow him

As he was considering on which Side he should turn his March, he heard a Clap of Thunder on the Right, and cry'd out, "Sovereign *Jupiter*, "we follow thee:" And that Instant he began his March, having *Chrysantes* on his Right, who commanded the right Wing of the Horse, and *Arsames* on his Left, who commanded the Foot. He warn'd them, above all Things, to take Care of the Royal Standard, and to make their Advances, all of them equally: The Standard was a golden Eagle at the End of a Pike, with its Wings stretched out; and ever since that Time the Kings of *Persia* have used the same. He made his Army halt three Times, to take Breath, before they arriv'd at the Enemy's Army; and after having march'd about twenty *Stadia*, or two Miles and an Half, they began to discover them.

When the two Armies were within Sight of each other, and the Enemy had observed how much the Front of theirs exceeded that of *Cyrus*, they made the Center of their Army halt, whilst the two Wings advanced, in a rounding Manner, to the Right and Left, designing to inclose his Army, and to begin their Attack on every Side at the

same

ſame Time. This Motion did not at all alarm *Cyrus*, becauſe he expected it: Wherefore, having given the Word for rallying the Troops, *Jupiter, Leader, and Protector*, he left his Right Wing, promiſing to rejoin them immediately, and help them to conquer, if it was the Will of the Gods.

Cyrus then rode through all the Ranks, to give his Orders, and to encourage the Soldiers; and he, who, on all other Occaſions, was ſo modeſt, and ſo far from the leaſt Air of Oſtentation, was now full of a noble Confidence, and ſpoke as, if he was ſure of Victory: "Follow me, Comrades "(ſays he) the Victory is certainly ours; the Gods "are for us." And, on his obſerving, that many of his Officers, and even *Abradates* himſelf, were uneaſy at the Motion, which the two Wings of the *Lydian* Army made, in Order to attack them on the two Flanks: "Thoſe Troops alarm you "(ſays he) believe me, they are the very firſt "Troops that will be routed: And to you, *Abra-*"*dates*, I give that as a Signal of the Time, when "you are to fall upon the Enemy with your Cha-"riots." In the Sequel, every Thing came to paſs, juſt as *Cyrus* had foretold. After he had given the Orders he thought fit in every Place, he return'd to the Right Wing of his Army.

When the two detach'd Bodies of the *Lydian* Forces were ſufficiently extended, *Cræſus* gave the Signal to the main Body of his Army, which march'd up directly to the Front of the *Perſian* Army; whilſt the two Wings, that were wheeling round upon their Flanks, advanc'd on each Side; ſo that the Army of *Cyrus* was hemm'd in, and inclos'd on three Sides, as if it had had three great Armies to engage with; and, as *Xenophon* ſays, look'd like a ſmall Square inclos'd within a greater.

In an Inſtant, on the firſt Signal *Cyrus* gave, his Troops fac'd about on every Side, keeping a profound Silence, in Expectation of the Event: He then thought it Time to ſound the Hymn of Battle, which the whole Army anſwer'd with loud Shouts, and Invocations on the God of War. Then *Cyrus*, at the Head of ſome Troops of Horſe, briskly follow'd by a Body of the Foot, fell immediately upon the Enemy's Forces, that were marching to attack the Right of his Army in Flank; and, having attack'd them in Flank, as they intended to do him, put them into great Diſorder; upon which, the Chariots driving furiouſly upon the *Lydians*, compleated their Defeat, and gain'd the Day.

At the ſame Moment, the Troops of the Left Flank, knowing, by the Noiſe, that *Cyrus* had begun the Battle on the Right, advanc'd to the Enemy: And immediately the Squadron of Camels was made to advance likewiſe, as *Cyrus* had order'd. The Enemy's Cavalry did not expect this; and their Horſes, at a Diſtance, aſſoon as ever they were ſenſible of the Approach of thoſe Animals (for Horſes cannot endure the Smell of Camels) began to ſnort, prance, run foul upon, and over-turn one another, throwing ſeveral of their Riders, and treading them under their Feet. Whilſt they were in this Confuſion, a little Body of Horſe, commanded by *Artageſes*, puſh'd them very warmly, that they might not be able to rally; and the Chariots arm'd with Scythes falling furiouſly upon them, at the ſame Time they were entirely routed, and the Slaughter was terrible.

This being the Signal, which *Cyrus* had given *Abradates* for attacking the Front of the Enemy's Army, he drove as quick as Lightning, and flew upon them with all his Chariots. Their firſt Ranks were not able to ſtand ſo violent a Charge, but gave Way, and were diſpers'd. Having broken, and overthrown them, *Abradates* came up to the *Egyptian* Battalions, which, being cover'd with their Bucklers, and marching in ſuch cloſe Order, that the Chariots had not Room to pierce amongſt them, gave him much more Trouble, and would not have been broken, had it not been for the Violence of the Horſes, that trod upon them. 'Twas then a moſt dreadful Sight, to behold the Heaps of Men, and Horſes, over-turn'd Chariots, broken Arms, and all the direful Effects of ſharp Scythes, which cut every Thing in Pieces, that came in their Way. But the Chariot of *Abradates* having the Misfortune to be over-turn'd, he and his Men were kill'd, after they had ſignaliz'd their Valour in an extraordinary Manner. The *Egyptians* then marching forwards in cloſe Order, and cover'd with their Bucklers, oblig'd the *Perſian* Infantry to give Way, and drove them beyond their fourth Line, as far as to their Machines. There they met with a freſh Shower of Arrows, and Javelins, that were pour'd upon their Heads from the rolling Towers; and the Battalions of the *Perſian* Rear-Guard advancing Sword in Hand, hinder'd their Archers, and Spear-Men, from retreating any farther, and oblig'd them to return to the Charge again.

In the mean Time, *Cyrus*, having put both the Horſe and Foot to Flight, on the Left of the *Egyptians*, did not amuſe himſelf in purſuing the Run-aways: But, puſhing on directly to the Centre, had the Mortification to find his *Perſian* Troops had been forc'd to give Way; and rightly judging, that the only Means of hindering the *Egyptians* from gaining farther Ground, would be to attack them behind; he did ſo, and fell upon their Rear: The Cavalry came up at the ſame Time, and the Enemy were puſh'd on all Sides, with great Fury. However, the *Egyptians*, though thus briskly attack'd, fac'd about every Way, and defended themſelves with wonderful Bravery; inſomuch, that *Cyrus* himſelf was in great Danger; for, his Horſe, which a Soldier had ſtabb'd in the Belly, ſinking under him, he fell, in the Midſt of his Enemies. Here was an Opportunity, ſays *Xenophon*, of ſeeing of what vaſt Conſequence it is for a Commander to have the Affection of his Soldiers. Both Officers, and Men, equally alarm'd at the Danger, in which they ſaw their Leader, ran headlong into the thick Foreſt of Pikes, to reſcue, and ſave him; upon which, he quickly mounted another Horſe, and the Battle became more bloody than ever. At length, *Cyrus*, admiring the Valour of the *Egyptians*, and being concern'd to ſee ſuch brave Men periſh, offer'd them honourable Conditions, if they would ſurrender; letting them know, at the ſame Time, that all their Allies had abandon'd them. The *Egyptians* accepted the Conditions; and, as they were no leſs eminent, in Point of Fidelity, than in Courage, they ſtipulated, that they ſhould not be oblig'd to carry Arms againſt *Cræſus*, in whoſe Service they had been engag'd: From thenceforward, they ſerv'd in the *Perſian* Army with an inviolable Fidelity.

Xeno-

Xenophon obſerves hereupon, that *Cyrus* gave them the Cities of *Larissa*, and *Cyllene*, near *Cuma*, upon the Sea-Coaſt; as alſo ſeveral other Inland Places, which were inhabited by their Deſcendants, even in his Time; and he adds, that theſe Places were, even then, call'd the Cities of the *Egyptians*. This Obſervation made by *Xenophon*, and alſo many others, in ſeveral Parts of his *Cyropædia*, in Order to prove the Truth of the Things he advances, ſhew plainly, that he meant that Work as a true Hiſtory of *Cyrus*, at leaſt, with Reſpect to the main Subſtance of it, and to the greateſt Part of the Facts, and Tranſactions.

The Battle laſted till Evening, and ended in the entire Defeat of the Enemy; upon which, *Crœſus* retreated as faſt as he could, with his Forces to *Sardis*. The Troops of the other Nations, likewiſe, that very Night, directed their Courſe, each to their own Country, and made as long Marches as they poſſibly could: As for the Conquerors, aſſoon as they had taken a little Refreſhment, and ſet the neceſſary Guards, they went to Reſt.

'Tis allow'd, that this Victory of *Cyrus* was chiefly owing to his *Perſian* Cavalry; which was a new Eſtabliſhment, and entirely the Fruits of that Prince's Care, and Activity; in forming his People, and perfecting them in a Part of the military Art, of which, till this Time, they had been utterly ignorant. The Chariots arm'd with Scythes did good Service, and the Uſe of them was afterwards preſerv'd among the *Perſians*. The Camels too were not unſerviceable in the Battle, though *Xenophon* makes no great Account of them, and obſerves, that, in his Time, they made no other Uſe of them, than to carry the Baggage.

We don't undertake to write a Panegyrick upon *Cyrus*, or to magnify his Merit: 'Tis ſufficient to take Notice, that, in this Action, we ſee all the Qualities of a great General ſhine in him. Before the Battle, an admirable Sagacity, and Foreſight, in diſcovering, and diſappointing the Enemy's Meaſures; an infinite Exactneſs in the Detail of Affairs, in taking Care that his Army ſhould be provided with every Thing neceſſary, and all his Orders punctually executed at the Time appointed; a wonderful Application to gain the Hearts of his Soldiers, and to inſpire them with Confidence and Ardor: In the Heat of Action, what a Spirit, and Activity; what a Preſence of Mind in giving Orders, as Occaſion requir'd; what Courage, and Intrepidity; and, at the ſame Time, what Humanity towards the Enemy, whoſe Valour he reſpected, and whoſe Blood he was unwilling to ſpill! We ſhall ſee preſently what good Uſe he made of the Victory he obtain'd.

But, what appears to us ſtill more remarkable, and more worthy of Admiration, than all the reſt, is the conſtant Care he took, on all Occaſions, to pay that Homage, and Worſhip to the Deity, which he thought belong'd to him. Doubtleſs, the Reader has been ſurpriz'd to ſee, in the Relation we have given of this Battle, how many Times *Cyrus*, in ſight of all his Army, makes Mention of the Gods, offers Sacrifices, and Libations to them, addreſſes himſelf to them, by Prayer, and Invocation, and implores their Succour, and Protection. But, in this, we have added nothing to the original Text of the Hiſtorian, who was alſo a military Perſon himſelf; and who thought it no Diſhonour to himſelf, or the Profeſſion, to relate theſe particular Circumſtances. What a Shame then, and a Reproach, would it be to a Chriſtian Officer, or General, if, on a Day of Battle, he ſhould bluſh to appear as religious, and devout, as a Pagan Prince; and, if the Lord of Hoſts, the God of Armies, whom he acknowledges as ſuch, ſhould make a leſs Impreſſion upon his Mind, than a Reſpect for the falſe Deities of Paganiſm did upon the Mind of *Cyrus*?

As for *Crœſus*, he makes no great Figure in this Action; not one Word is ſaid of him during the whole Engagement. But that profound Silence, which *Xenophon* keeps, with Reſpect to that Prince, ſeems, in our Opinion, to ſay a great deal; and gives us to underſtand, that a Man may be a powerful Monarch, or a rich Potentate, without being a great Warrior.

To return to the Camp of the *Perſians*, it is eaſy to imagine, that *Panthæa* muſt be in the utmoſt Affliction, and Diſtreſs, when the News was brought her, of the Death of her dear *Abradates*. In Effect, ſhe was abſolutely inconſolable; accordingly, having caus'd his dead Body to be brought to her, and holding it upon her Knees, quite out of her Senſes, with her Eyes ſtedfaſtly fix'd upon the melancholy Object, ſhe thought of nothing but feeding her Grief, and indulging her Miſery, with the ſight of that diſmal, and bloody Spectacle. *Cyrus*, being told what a Condition ſhe was in, and being greatly affected therewith, ran immediately to her, ſympathiz'd with her Affliction, and bewail'd her unhappy Fate with Tears of Compaſſion; doing all that he poſſibly could to give her Comfort, and ordering extraordinary Honours to be ſhewn to the brave deceaſed *Abradates*. But, it was all in vain; no ſooner was he retir'd, than *Panthæa*, overpower'd with Grief, ſtuck a Poniard into her own Breaſt, and fell dead upon the Body of her Husband. Hereupon, they were both bury'd in one common Grave, upon the very Spot; and a ſtately Monument was erected for them, which was ſtanding in the Time of *Xenophon*.

The next Morning, *Cyrus* march'd towards *Sardis*; yet, if we credit what *Herodotus* ſays upon this Head, *Crœſus* was ſo far from thinking that *Cyrus* deſign'd to ſhut him up in the City, that he march'd out with his Forces, to meet him, and to give him Battle. According to that Hiſtorian, the *Lydians* were the braveſt, and moſt warlike People in all *Aſia*: Their principal Strength conſiſted in their Cavalry; upon which, *Cyrus*, to render them the leſs ſerviceable, made his Camels advance firſt; of which Animals, as has been obſerv'd, the Horſe could neither endure the Sight, nor Smell, and therefore, immediately retir'd, on their Approach. Hereupon, the Riders diſmounted, and came to an Engagement on Foot, which was obſtinately maintain'd on both Sides; but, at length, the *Lydians* gave Way, and were forc'd to retreat into the City; which *Cyrus* quickly beſieg'd, cauſing his Engines to be level'd againſt the Walls, and his Scaling-Ladders to be prepar'd, as if he intended to attack it by Storm. But, whilſt he was amuſing the Beſieg'd with theſe Preparations, the Night following, he made himſelf Maſter of the Citadel, by a private Way, that led thereto; and which he was inform'd of by a *Perſian* Slave, who had been Servant to the Governor of that Fortreſs. At Break of Day, then, he

he enter'd the City, where he met with no Reſiſtance; and his firſt Care was to preſerve it from being plunder'd; for, he perceiv'd the *Chaldeans* had quitted their Ranks, and already began to diſperſe themſelves in ſeveral Places. To ſtop the rapacious Hands of foreign Soldiers, and tie them, as it were, by a ſingle Command, in a City ſo abounding with Riches, as *Sardis* then was, is a Thing not to be done, but by ſuch a ſingular Authority, as *Cyrus* had over his Army: Accordingly, he gave all the Citizens to underſtand, that their Lives ſhould be ſpar'd, and neither their Wives, nor Children touch'd, provided they brought him all their Gold and Silver. This Condition they readily comply'd with; and *Cræſus* himſelf, whom *Cyrus* had order'd to be conducted to him, ſet them an Example, by delivering up all his Riches and Treaſures to the Conqueror.

When *Cyrus* had given all neceſſary Orders concerning the City, he had a particular Converſation with *Cræſus*; of whom he ask'd, among other Things, what he now thought of the Oracle of *Delphos*, and of the Anſwers given by the God that preſided there, for whom, it was ſaid, he had always had a great Regard. Hereupon, that Prince immediately acknowledg'd, that he had juſtly incurr'd the Indignation of that God, for having ſhewn a Diſtruſt of his Anſwers; and for having put him to the Trial, by an abſurd, and ridiculous Queſtion; He then declar'd, that, notwithſtanding all this, he ſtill had no Reaſon to complain; becauſe, having conſulted him, to know what he ſhould do, in Order to lead an happy Life, the Oracle had given him for Anſwer; that he ſhould enjoy a perfect, and laſting Happineſs, when he once came to the Knowledge of himſelf. "For Want of this Knowledge (continued he) and believing myſelf, through the "exceſſive Praiſes that were laviſh'd upon me, "to be ſomething very different from what I am, "I accepted the Title of Generaliſſimo of the "whole Army; and unadviſedly engag'd in a War "againſt a Prince, that is infinitely ſuperior to "me in all Reſpects. But now, that I am in"ſtructed by my Defeat, and begin to know myſelf, "I believe, I am going to commence my Happi"neſs; and, if you be favourable to me (for my "Fate is in your Hands) I ſhall certainly be ſo." Theſe Words mov'd *Cyrus* with Compaſſion, for the Misfortunes of a Prince, who was fallen, in a Moment, from ſo great an Elevation; and admiring his Equanimity, under ſuch a Reverſe of Fortune, he treated him with Abundance of Clemency, and Kindneſs; ſuffering him to enjoy both the Title and Authority of King, under the Reſtriction of not having the Power to make War; that is, he eas'd, and freed him (as *Cræſus* acknowledg'd himſelf) from all the burthenſome Part of regal Grandeur, and truly put him into a Condition of leading an happy Life, exempt from all Care and Diſquiet. From thenceforward, he took him with him in all his Expeditions; either out of Eſteem for him, and to have the Benefit of his Counſel; or out of Policy, and to be the more ſecure of his Perſon.

Herodotus, and other Writers after him, relate this Story, with the Addition of ſome very remarkable Circumſtances; which we think ourſelves bound to mention, notwithſtanding they ſeem to be much more ſurprizing than true.

We have already obſerv'd, that the only Son *Cræſus* had living was dumb. This young Prince, ſeeing a Soldier, when the City was taken, ready to give the King, whom he did not know, a Stroke upon the Head with his Scymitar, made ſuch a violent Effort, and Struggle, out of Fear, and Tenderneſs for the Life of his Father, that he broke the Strings, which had, till then, been ty'd, of his Tongue, and cry'd out, *Soldier, ſpare the Life of* Cræſus.

However, that unfortunate Prince, when Priſoner, was condemn'd by the Conqueror to be burnt alive: Accordingly, the Funeral-Pile was prepared, and the miſerable Victim, juſt as he was laid thereon, and upon the Point of Execution, recollecting the Converſation he had formerly had with *Solon*, was wofully convinc'd of the Truth of that Philoſopher's Admonition; and, in Remembrance thereof, cry'd out aloud three Times, O *Solon*, *Solon*, *Solon!* Whereupon, *Cyrus*, who, with the chief Officers of his Court, was preſent at this Spectacle, was curious to know why *Cræſus* pronounc'd that celebrated Philoſoper's Name with ſo much Vehemence, in this Extremity; and, on being told the Reaſon, and reflecting upon the uncertain State of all ſublunary Things, he was touch'd with Commiſeration at the Prince's Misfortune, caus'd him to be taken from the Pile, and treated him afterwards, as long as he liv'd, with Honour and Reſpect. Thus had *Solon* the Glory, if true, with one ſingle Word, to ſave the Life of one King, and give a wholeſome Leſſon of Inſtruction to another.

Two Anſwers, in particular, given by the *Delphick* Oracle, had induc'd *Cræſus* to engage in that War, which prov'd ſo fatal to his Affairs. The one was, that he, *Cræſus*, was not to believe himſelf in Danger, till the *Medes* ſhould have a *Mule* to reign over them: The other, that when he ſhould paſs the River *Halys*, to make War againſt the *Medes*, he ſhould deſtroy a mighty Empire. From the firſt of theſe Anſwers he concluded, conſidering the Impoſſibility of the Thing, that he had nothing to fear; and from the ſecond, he conceiv'd Hopes of overthrowing the Empire of the *Medes*: But, when he found how Things had turn'd, quite contrary to his Expectations, with the Leave of *Cyrus*, he diſpatch'd Meſſengers to *Delphos*, in Order to make a Preſent to the God, in his Name, of a gold Chain; and, at the ſame Time, to reproach him for having ſo baſely deceiv'd him by his Oracles, notwithſtanding all the vaſt Preſents, and Offerings he had made him. The God was at no great Pains to juſtify his Anſwers; the *Mule*, which the Oracle meant, he ſaid, was *Cyrus*, who deriv'd his Extraction from two different Nations; being a *Perſian*, by the Side of the Father, and a *Mede*, by the Side of the Mother; and, as to the great Empire, which *Cræſus* was to overthrow, the Oracle did not mean that of the *Medes*, but his own.

'Twas by ſuch falſe and deceitful Oracles, that the Father of Lies, the Devil, who was the Author of them, impos'd upon Mankind, in thoſe Times of Ignorance, and Darkneſs; always giving his Anſwers to thoſe, that conſulted him, in ſuch ambiguous, and doubtful Terms, that, let the Event be as it would, they contain'd a Meaning anſwerable thereto.

When the People of *Ionia* and *Eolia* were apprized that *Cyrus* had ſubdued the *Lydians*, they ſent Ambaſſadors to him at *Sardis*, to deſire he would receive them under his Dominion, upon the ſame Condstions he had granted to the *Lydians*; whereupon, *Cyrus*, who before his Victory had ſollicited them, in Vain, to embrace his Party, and was then in a Condition to compel them to it by Force, anſwer'd them only by the Fable of a Fiſherman, who having play'd upon his Pipe, in order to draw the Fiſh to him, in Vain, found there was no Way to catch them, but by throwing in his Net, and taking them by Force. Failing, therefore, in their Hopes of ſucceeding this Way, they applied to the *Lacedemonians*, and demanded their Aſſiſtance; upon which thoſe *Grecks* ſent Deputies to *Cyrus*, to let him know, that they would not ſuffer him to undertake any Thing againſt their Countrymen: But *Cyrus* only laughed at this haughty Meſſage; and warned them, in his Turn, to take Care, and put themſelves into a Condition of defending their own Territories. As for thoſe who inhabited the Iſles, they had nothing to apprehend from *Cyrus*, becauſe he had not yet ſubdued the *Phenicians*, nor had the *Perſians* any Shipping.

After this Victory, and the Reduction of *Sardis*, *Cyrus* ſtaid in *Aſia Minor*, till he had entirely reduced all the Nations that dwelt therein, under his Subjection, from the *Egean* Sea to the River *Euphrates*. From thence he proceeded to *Syria* and *Arabia*, which he ſubdued alſo; after which he entered *Aſſyria*, and advanced towards *Babylon*; the only City of the *Eaſt*, that ſtood out againſt him.

The Siege of this important Place (which begins the Second Part of the Life of *Cyrus*) was no eaſy Enterprize: The Walls were of a prodigious Height, and appeared inacceſſible, without mentioning what an immenſe Number of People was to defend them: Beſides, the City was ſtored with all Sorts of Proviſions for twenty Years. However, theſe Difficulties did not diſcourage *Cyrus* from proſecuting his Deſign; but deſpairing to take the Place by Storm, or Aſſault, he made them believe his Deſign was to reduce it by Famine. To this End, he cauſed a Line of Circumvallation to be drawn round the City, with a large and deep Ditch; and, that his Troops might not be over-fatigued, divided his Army into twelve Bodies, and aſſigned each of them their Month for guarding the Trenches: Whereupon the Beſieged, thinking themſelves in no Danger, by Reaſon of their Ramparts, and Magazines, inſulted *Cyrus* from their Walls, and laugh'd at all his Attempts, and the Trouble he gave himſelf, as ſo much unprofitable Labour.

As the taking of *Babylon* is one of the greateſt Events in ancient Hiſtory, and as the principal Circumſtances, with which it was accompanied, were foretold in the *Holy Scriptures* many Years before it happened, we think it not improper, before we give an Account what prophane Authors ſay upon that Head, briefly to put together what we find of that Matter in the ſacred Pages; that the Reader may be the more capable of comparing the Predictions and the Accompliſhment thereof together.

The Almighty Diſpoſer of States and Kingdoms, was pleaſed not only to cauſe the Captivity, which his People were to ſuffer at *Babylon*, to be foretold a long Time before it came to paſs, but likewiſe to ſet down the exact Number of Years their Captivity was to laſt. The Term he fixed for it was ſeventy Years, after which he promiſed he would deliver them, by bringing a remarkable, and an eternal Deſtruction upon the City of *Babylon*, the Place of their Bondage and Confinement, *Jer.* xxv. 11.

Three Cauſes eſpecially, kindled the Wrath of *God* againſt *Babylon*; Her inſupportable Pride; her inhuman Cruelty towards the *Jews*; and, the ſacrilegious Impiety of her King: Of the two firſt of which, we have ſufficient Inſtances in the forty-ſeventh Chapter of *Iſaiah*, the ſixth, ſeventh, and eighth Verſes; beſides many other Places in Scripture; and of the Third, *viz.* the ſacrilegious Impiety of her King, which drew down the Divine Vengeance upon him that very Night, we have a monſtrous and ſhocking Proof in the fifth Chapter of *Daniel*, ver. 2, 3, 4. In ſhort, to the Pride and Cruelty of his Predeceſſors, *Baltazar* (called in Scripture *Belſhazzar*) added an Impiety that was peculiar to himſelf. He did not only prefer his falſe Divinities to the true and only *God*, but imagined himſelf likewiſe to have vanquiſhed his Power, becauſe he was poſſeſſed of the Veſſels which belong'd to his Worſhip; and, as if he meant it to affront and inſult him, he affected to apply thoſe holy Veſſels to prophane Uſes. This was the provoking Circumſtance, that brought down the Wrath of *God* immediately upon him; and made the *Almighty* even have Recourſe to a Miracle, to aſſure the impious Wretch of his high Diſpleaſure; and his having paſs'd an irrevocable Sentence upon him.

To return to *Cyrus*, whom the Divine Providence was to make uſe of, as an Inſtrument for the executing of his Deſigns of Goodneſs and Mercy towards his People, he was mentioned in the Scripture by his Name, above two hundred Years before he was born: And, that the World might not be ſurprized at the prodigious Rapidity of his Conqueſts, *God* was pleaſed to declare, in very lofty and remarkable Terms, that he himſelf would be his Guide; that, in all his Expeditions, he would lead him by the Hand, and would make all the Princes of the Earth ſubmit themſelves unto him. *Thus ſaith the Lord to his Anointed, to* Cyrus, *whoſe Right-hand I have holden to ſubdue Nations before him; and I will looſe the Loins of Kings, to open before him the two-leaved Gates, and the Gates ſhall not be ſhut. I will go before thee, and and make the crooked Places ſtrait. I will break in Pieces the Gates of Braſs, and cut in ſunder the Bars of Iron. And I will give thee the Treaſures of Darkneſs, and hidden Riches of ſecret Places, that thou may'ſt know, that I the Lord, which call thee by thy Name, am the* God *of* Iſrael. *For* Jacob *my Servant's Sake, and* Iſrael *mine Elect, I have even called thee by thy Name: I have ſirnamed thee, though thou haſt not known me,* Iſa. xlv. 1, *&c.*

God himſelf gives the Signal to the Commanders, and to the Troops, to march againſt *Babylon*. *Lift ye up a Banner*, ſaith the Lord, *upon the high Mountain*, that it may be ſeen afar off, and that all they who are to obey me may know my Orders. *Exalt the Voice unto them* that are able to hear you. *Shake the Hand*, and make a Sign, to haſten the March of thoſe that are too far off to diſtinguiſh any other Sort of Command. Let the Officers of

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the Troops *go into the Gates of the Nobles*, into the Pavilions of their Kings. Let the People of each Nation range themſelves around their Sovereign, and make haſte to offer him their Service, and to go unto his Tent, which is already ſet up.

I have commanded my ſanctified ones, I have given my Orders to thoſe whom I have ſanctified for the Execution of my Deſigns; and theſe Kings are already marching to obey me, though they know me not. 'Tis I that have placed them upon the Throne, that have made ſeveral Nations ſubject to them, in order to acompliſh my Deſigns by their Miniſtration. *I have called my mighty ones for mine Anger:* I have cauſed the mighty Warriors to come up, to be the Miniſters and Executioners of my Wrath and Vengeance. From me they derive their Courage, their martial Abilities, their Patience, their Wiſdom, and the Succeſs of their Enterprizes. if they are invincible, 'tis becauſe they ſerve me: Every Thing gives way, and trembles before them, becauſe they are the Miniſters of my Wrath and Indignation. They joyfully labour for my Glory, *they rejoice in my Highneſs.* The Honour they have of being under my Command, and of being ſent to deliver a People that I love, inſpires them with Ardor and Chearfulneſs: Behold, they triumph already in a certain Aſſurance of being Conquerors!

The Prophet, a Witneſs in Spirit of the Orders that are juſt given, is aſtoniſhed at the Swiftneſs, with which they are executed by the Princes and and the People. I hear already, he cries out, *the Noiſe of a Multitude in the Mountains, like as of a great People; a tumultuous Noiſe of the Kingdome of Nations gathered together: The Lord of Hoſts muſtereth the Hoſt of the Battle: They come from a far Country, from the End of Heaven*, where the Voice of God, their Maſter and Sovereign, has reached their Ears, *Iſa.* xiii. 4, *&c.*

But 'tis not with the Sight of a formidable Army, or of the Kings of the Earth, that I'm now ſtruck; 'tis *God* himſelf that I behold; all the reſt are but his Retinue, and the Miniſters of his Juſtice. *'Tis even the Lord and the Weapons of his Indignation, to deſtroy the whole Land.*

A grievous Viſion is declared unto me: The impious *Baltazar*, King of *Babylon*, continues to act impiouſly; *the treacherous Dealer dealeth treacherouſly, and the Spoiler ſpoileth.* To put an End to theſe Exceſſes, go up, thou Prince of *Perſia, go up to* Elam: And thou Prince of the *Medes*, beſiege thou *Babylon: Beſiege*, O Media; *all the ſighing thereof have I made to ceaſe.* That wicked City is taken and pillaged; her Power is at an End, and my People delivered from their Tyrany.

There is nothing, we think, that can be more proper to raiſe a profound Reverence in us for Religion, and to give us a greater Idea of the Deity, than to obſerve with what Exactneſs he reveals to his Prophets the principal Circumſtances of the beſieging and taking of *Babylon*, not only many Years, but ſeveral Ages, before it happened.

1. We have already ſeen, that the Army, by which *Babylon* is to be taken, is to be made up of *Medes* and *Perſians*, and to be commanded by *Cyrus.*

2. This City ſhall be attack'd after a very extraordinary Manner, in a Way that ſhe did not all expect: *Therefore ſhall Evil come upon thee; thou ſhalt not know from whence it riſeth*, Iſaiah xlvii. 11. She ſhall be all on a ſudden, and in an Inſtant overwhelm'd with Calamities, which ſhe did not foreſee: *Deſolation ſhall come upon thee ſuddenly, which thou ſhalt not know*, ibid. In a Word, ſhe ſhall be taken, as it were, in a Net or a Gin, before ſhe perceiveth that any Snares have been laid for her: *I have laid a Snare for thee, and thou art alſo taken, O* Babylon, *and thou waſt not aware*, Jerem. l. 24.

3. *Babylon* reckoned the *Euphrates* alone was ſufficient to render her impregnable, and triumphed in her being ſo advantageouſly ſituated and defended by ſo deep a River: *O thou that dwelleſt upon many Waters:* ibid. li. 13. 'Tis *God* himſelf who points out *Babylon* under that Deſcription. And yet that very River *Euphrates* ſhall be the Cauſe of her Ruin; *Cyrus*, by a Stratagem (of which there never had been any Example before, nor has there been any Thing like it ſince) ſhall divert the Courſe of that River, ſhall lay its Channel dry, and by that Means open himſelf a Paſſage into the City: *I will dry up her Sea, and make her Springs dry*, ibid. ver. 36. *A Drought is upon her Waters, and they ſhall be dried up*, ibid. l. 38. *Cyrus* ſhall take Poſſeſſion of the Keys of the River; and the Waters, which rendered *Babylon* inacceſſible, ſhall be dried up, as if they had been conſumed by Fire: *The Paſſages are ſtopped, and the Reeds they have burnt with Fire*, ibid. li. 32.

4. She ſhall be taken in the Night, upon a Day of feaſting and rejoicing, even whilſt her Inhabitants are at Table, and think upon nothing but eating and drinking: *In their Heat I will make their Feaſts, and I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice, and ſleep a perpetual Sleep, and not wake, ſaith the Lord*, ibid. ver. 39. It is remarkable, that 'tis God who does all this, who lays a Snare for *Babylon*; *I have laid a Snare for thee*; who drieth up the Waters of the River; *I will dry up her Sea*; and who brings that Drunkenneſs and Drowſineſs upon her Princes; *I will make drunk her Princes*, ibid. ver. 57.

5. The King ſhall be ſeized in an Inſtant with an incredible Terror and Perturbation of Mind: *My Loins are filled with Pain; Pangs have taken hold upon me, as the Pangs of a Woman that traveleth: I was bowed down at the hearing of it; I was diſmayed at the ſeeing of it: My Heart panted, Fearfulneſs affrighted me: The Night of my Pleaſure hath he turned into Fear unto me*, Iſaiah xxi. 3, 4. This is the Condition *Baltazar* was in, when in the Middle of the Entertainment he ſaw an Hand come out of the Wall, which wrote ſuch Characters thereon, as none of his Diviners could either explain or read: *Then*, ſays the Scripture, *the King's Countenance was changed, and his Thoughts troubled him, ſo that the Joints of his Loins were looſed, and his Knees ſmote one againſt another.* The Terror, Aſtoniſhment, Fainting, and Trembling of *Baltazar*, are here deſcribed and expreſs'd in the ſame Manner by the Prophet *Daniel*, who was an Eye-witneſs of them, as they were by the Prophet, who foretold them two hundred Years before.

But *Iſaiah* muſt have had an extraordinary Meaſure of Divine Illumination, to be able to add, immediately after the Deſcription of *Baltazar*'s Conſternation,

ſternation, the following Words: *Prepare the Table, watch, in the Watch-Tower, eat, drink,* Iſa. xxi. 5. The Prophet foreſees, that *Baltazar*, though terribly diſmayed and confounded at firſt, ſhall recover his Spirit, and Courage again, through the Exhortations of his Courtiers; but more particularly, through the Perſuaſion of the Queen, his Mother; who repreſented to him, the Unreaſonableneſs of being affected with ſuch unmanly Fears, and unneceſſary Alarms: *Let not thy Thoughts trouble thee, nor let thy Countenance be changed,* Dan. v. 10. They exhorted him, therefore, to make himſelf eaſy, to ſatisfy himſelf with giving proper Orders, and with the Aſſurance of being advertis'd of every Thing, by the Vigilance of the Centinels; to order the reſt of the Supper to be ſerv'd, as if nothing had happen'd; and to recall that Gaiety, and Joy, which his exceſſive Fears had baniſh'd from the Table: *Prepare the Table, watch in the Watch-Tower, eat, drink.*

6. But, at the ſame Time that Men are giving their Orders, *God*, on his Part, is likewiſe giving his: *Ariſe, ye Princes, and anoint the Shield,* Iſa. xxi. 5. 'Tis *God* himſelf, that commands the Princes to advance, to take their Arms, and to enter boldly into a City drown'd in Wine, and bury'd in Sleep.

7. *Iſaiah* acquaints us with two material, and important Circumſtances, concerning the taking of *Babylon*. The firſt is, that the Troops, with which it is fill'd, ſhall not keep their Ground, or ſtand firm any-where, neither at the Palace, nor the Citadel, nor any other publick Place whatſoever; that they ſhall deſert, and leave one another, without thinking of any Thing but making their Eſcape; that, in running away they ſhall diſperſe themſelves, and take different Roads, juſt as a Flock of Deer, or of Sheep, is diſpers'd, and ſcatter'd, when they are affrighted: *And it ſhall be as a chaſed Roe, and as a Sheep, that no Man taketh up.* Ibid. xiii. 14. The ſecond Circumſtance is, that the greateſt Part of thoſe Troops, though they were in the *Babylonian* Service, and Pay, ſhould not be *Babylonians*; and that they ſhould return into the Provinces, from whence they came, without being purſu'd by the Conquerors; becauſe the divine Vengeance was chiefly to fall upon the Citizens of *Babylon*: *They ſhall every Man turn to his own People, and flee every one into his own Land.* Ibid.

8. Laſtly, Not to mention the dreadful Slaughter, which is to be made of the Inhabitants of *Babylon*, where no Mercy will be ſhewn either to old Men, Women, or Children, or even to the Child that is ſtill ſhut up in its Mother's Womb, as has been already taken Notice of; the laſt Circumſtance, we ſay, the Prophet foretels is the Death of the King himſelf, whoſe Body is to have no Burial, and the entire Extinction of the Royal Family; both which Calamities are deſcrib'd in Scripture, after a Manner equally terrible, and inſtructive to all Princes. *But thou art caſt out of thy Grave, like an abominable Branch. Thou ſhalt not be joined with them* (thy Anceſtors) *in Burial, becauſe thou haſt deſtroyed thy Land, and ſlain thy People.* Ibid. xiv. 19, 20. That King is juſtly forgot, who has never remember'd, that he ought to be the Protector, and Father of his People. He, that has liv'd only to ruin, and deſtroy his Country, is unworthy of the common Privilege of Burial. As he has been an Enemy to Mankind, living, or dead, he ought to have no Place amongſt them. He was like unto the wild Beaſts of the Field, and like them he ſhall be bury'd: And, ſince he had no Sentiments of Humanity himſelf, he deſerves to meet with no Humanity from others. This is the Sentence, which God himſelf pronounceth againſt *Baltazar:* And the Curſe extends itſelf to his Children; who were look'd upon as his Aſſociates in the Throne; and as the Source of a long Poſterity, and Succeſſion of Kings; and were entertain'd with nothing by the flattering Courtiers, but the pleaſing Proſpects, and Ideas of their future Grandeur. *Prepare Slaughter for his Children, for the Iniquity of their Fathers; that they do not riſe, nor poſſeſs the Land. For, I will riſe up againſt them, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts, and cut off from* Babylon *the Name, and Remnant, and Son, and Nephew, ſaith the Lord.* Ibid. 21, 22.

After having ſeen the Predictions of every Thing, that was to happen to impious *Babylon*, 'tis now Time to come to the Completion, and Accompliſhment of thoſe Prophecies; and in Order thereto, we muſt reſume the Thread of our Hiſtory, with Reſpect to the taking of that City.

Aſſoon as *Cyrus* ſaw the Ditch, at which they had been long labouring, was finiſh'd, he began to think ſeriouſly upon the Execution of his vaſt Deſign, which, as yet, he had communicated to No-Body. Providence ſoon furniſh'd him with as fit an Opportunity for this Purpoſe, as he could deſire. He was inform'd, that in the City, on a certain Day, a great Feſtival was to be celebrated; and that the *Babylonians*, on Occaſion of that Solemnity, were accuſtom'd to paſs the whole Night in Drinking and Debauchery.

Baltazar himſelf indulg'd himſelf more at this publick Rejoicing than any other; and gave a magnificent Entertainment to the chief Officers of the Kingdom, and the Ladies of the Court. In the Heat of his Wine, he order'd the gold, and ſilver Veſſels, which had been taken from the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, to be brought in; and, as an Inſult upon the *God* of *Iſrael*, he, his whole Court, and all his Concubines drank out of thoſe ſacred Veſſels. *God*, who was provok'd at ſuch Inſolence, and Impiety, in the very Action made him ſenſible, who it was that he affronted, by a ſudden Apparition of an Hand upon the Wall, which wrote certain Characters thereon. The King, terribly ſurpriz'd, and frighten'd at this Viſion, immediately ſent for all his wiſe Men, his Diviners, and Aſtrologers, that they might read the Writing to him, and explain the Meaning of it. But they all came in vain, not one of them being able to expound the Matter, or even to read the Characters. The Reaſon whereof was, becauſe the Writing was in the old *Hebrew* Letters, which are now call'd the *Samaritan* Characters, and which the *Babylonians* did not underſtand. 'Tis, probably, in Relation to this Occurrence, that *Iſaiah*, after having foretold to *Babylon*, that ſhe ſhall be overwhelm'd with Calamities, which ſhe did not expect, adds: *Stand now with thine Inchantments, and with the Multitude of thy Sorceries. Let now the Aſtrologers, the Star-Gazers, the monthly Prognoſticators ſtand up, and ſave thee from theſe Things that ſhall come upon thee,* Iſa. xlvii, 12, 13. Hereupon, the Queen-Mother (*Nitocris*, a Princeſs of great Merit) coming, upon the News of

of this Prodigy, into the Banqueting-Room, endeavour'd to compoſe the Spirit of the King, her Son, and adviſ'd him to ſend for *Daniel*, with whoſe Abilities, in ſuch Matters, ſhe was well acquainted, and whom ſhe had always employ'd in the Government of the State.

Daniel was, therefore, immediately ſent for; and he ſpoke to the King with a Freedom, and Liberty becoming a Prophet. He began, with putting him in Mind, of the dreadful Manner, in which God had puniſh'd the Pride of his Grandfather, *Nebuchadnezzar*, and the crying Abuſe he made of his Power, when he acknowledg'd no Law but his own Will; and thought himſelf Maſter, to exalt, and to abaſe, to inflict Deſtruction, and Death, whereſoever he would, only, becauſe ſuch was his Will, and Pleaſure. *And thou, his Son*, (ſays he to the King) *haſt not humbled thine Heart, though thou kneweſt all this, but haſt lifted up thyſelf againſt the Lord of Heaven; and they have brought the Veſſels of his Houſe before thee, and thou, and thy Lords, thy Wives, and thy Concubines, have drank Wine in them; and thou haſt prais'd the Gods of Silver, and Gold, of Braſs, Iron, Wood, and Stone, which ſee not, nor hear, nor know: And the God, in whoſe Hand thy Breath is, and whoſe are all thy Ways, haſt thou not glorified. Then was the Part of the Hand ſent from him, and this Writing was written. And this is the Writing that was written*, Mene, Tekel, Upharſin. *This is the Interpretation of the Thing*; Mene, *God hath numbered thy Kingdom, and finiſhed it*; Tekel, *thou art weighed in the Balances, and art found wanting*; Peres, *thy Kingdom is divided, and given to the* Medes, *and* Perſians. This Interpetation, one would think, ſhould have enhanc'd the King's Trouble; but, ſome Way, or other, they found Means to diſpel his Fears, and make him eaſy; probably, upon a Perſuaſion, that the Calamity was not denounc'd as preſent, or immediate; and that Time might furniſh them with Expedients to avert it. This, however, is certain; that, for Fear of diſturbing the general Joy of the preſent Feſtival, they put off the Diſcuſſion of ſerious Matters to another Time, ſat down again to their Mirth, and Liquor, and continu'd their Revellings to a very late Hour.

In the mean Time, *Cyrus*, well inform'd of the Confuſion, that was generally occaſion'd by this Feſtival, both in the Palace, and the City, had poſted a Part of his Troops on that Side, where the River enter'd into the City, and another Part on that Side, where it went out; and had commanded them to enter the City that very Night, by marching along the Channel of the River, aſſoon as ever they found it fordable. Having given all neceſſary Orders, and exhorted his Officers to follow him, by repreſenting to them, that he march'd under the Conduct of the Gods, he made them in the Evening, open the great Receptacles, or Ditches, on both Sides the Town, above, and below, that the Water of the River might run into them: By this Means, the *Euphrates* was quickly empty'd, and its Channel became dry. Then the two foremention'd Bodies of Troops, according to their Orders, went into the Channel; the one commanded by *Gobryas*, and the other by *Gadates*, both breathing Revenge for the Injuries they had ſuffer'd, and advanc'd towards each other, without meeting with any Obſtacle. The inviſible Guide, who had promis'd to open all the Gates to *Cyrus*, made the general Negligence, and Diſorder of that riotous Night, ſubſervient to the leaving open of the Gates of Braſs, which were made to ſhut up the Deſcents from the Keys to the River; and which alone, if they had not been left open, were ſufficient to have defeated the whole Enterprize. Thus did theſe two Bodies of Troops penetrate into the very Heart of the City, without any Oppoſition; and meeting together at the Royal Palace, according to their Agreement, ſurpriz'd the Guards, and cut them in Pieces. Some of the Company, that was within the Palace, opening the Doors, to know what Noiſe it was they heard without, the Soldiers ruſh'd in, and quickly made themſelves Maſters of it. And meeting the King, who came up to them Sword in Hand, at the Head of thoſe that were in the Way to ſuccour him, they kill'd him, and put all thoſe, that attended him, to the Sword. The firſt Thing the Conquerors did afterwards, was to thank the Gods for having, at laſt, puniſh'd that impious King. Theſe are *Xenophon*'s Words, and they are very remarkable, as they ſo perfectly agree with what the Scriptures have recorded of *Baltazar*'s Impiety.

The Reduction of *Babylon* put an End to the *Babylonian* Empire, after a Duration of two hundred and ten Years, from the Beginning of *Nabuchodonoſor*'s Reign, who was the Founder thereof. Thus was the Power of that proud City aboliſh'd, juſt fifty Years after ſhe had deſtroy'd the City of *Jeruſalem*, and her Temple. And herein were accompliſh'd thoſe Predictions, which the Prophets, *Iſaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Daniel*, had denounc'd againſt her; and of which we have already given a particular Account. There is ſtill one more, the moſt important, and the moſt incredible of them all, and yet, the Scripture has ſet it down in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and mark'd it out with the greateſt Exactneſs: A Prediction, literally fulfill'd in all its Points; the Proof of which is ſtill actually ſubſiſting, is the moſt eaſy to be verify'd, and indeed, of a Nature not to be conteſted. What we mean, is the Prediction of ſuch a total Ruin, and compleat Deſtruction of *Babylon*, that not the leaſt Remains, or Footſteps ſhould be left of it. We think, it may not be improper to give an Account of the perfect Accompliſhment of this famous Prophecy, before we proceed to ſpeak of what follow'd the Reduction of *Babylon*.

This Prediction we find recorded in ſeveral of the Prophets; but particularly, in *Iſaiah*, in the xiiith Chapter, from the 19th to the 22d Verſes; and in the 23d, and 24th Verſes of the xivth Chapter. We have already inſerted it at large. 'Tis there declar'd, that *Babylon* ſhall be utterly deſtroy'd, as the criminal Cities of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* formerly were; that ſhe ſhall be no more inhabited; that ſhe ſhall never be rebuilt; that the *Arabs* ſhall not ſo much as ſet up their Tents there; that neither Herdſman, or Shepherd, ſhall come thither, even to reſt his Herd, or his Flock; that it ſhall become a Dwelling-Place for the wild Beaſts, and a Retreat for the Birds of the Night; that the Place where it ſtood ſhall be cover'd over with a Marſh, or a Fen, ſo that no Mark, or Footſtep, ſhall be left, to ſhew where *Babylon* had been. 'Tis *God* himſelf, who pronounc'd this Sentence, and 'tis for the Service of Religion, to ſhew how exactly every Article of it has been ſucceſſively accompliſh'd.

I. In the first Place, *Babylon* ceas'd to be a Royal City, the Kings of *Persia* chooſing to reſide elſewhere: They delighted more in *Shuſhan*, *Ecbatana*, *Perſepolis*, or any other Place; and did themſelves deſtroy a good Part of that proud City.

II. We are inform'd by *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, that the *Macedonians*, who ſucceeded the *Perſians*, did not only neglect it, and forbear to make any Embelliſhments, or even Reparations in it; but that, beſides, they built *Seleucia* in the Neighbourhood, on Purpoſe to draw away its Inhabitants, and to have it deſerted. Nothing can better explain what the Prophet had foretold; *It ſhall not be inhabited*: Its own Maſters endeavour to depopulate it.

III. The new Kings of *Perſia*, who afterwards became Maſters of *Babylon*, compleated the Ruin of it, by building *Cteſiphon*, which carry'd away all the Remainder of the Inhabitants ſhe had left; ſo that, from the Time the *Anathema* was pronounced againſt that City, it ſeems as if thoſe very Perſons, that ought to have protected her, were become her Enemies; as if they all had thought it their Duty to reduce her to a State of Solitude, by indirect Means though, and without uſing any Violence; that it might the more manifeſtly appear to be the Hand of *God*, rather than the Hand of Man, which brought about her Deſtruction.

IV. She was ſo totally forſaken, that nothing of her was left remaining but the Walls. And to this Condition was ſhe reduc'd, at the Time when *Pauſanias*, who liv'd in the Reign of *Antoninus*, Succeſſor to *Adrian*, who wrote his Remarks upon *Greece*. *Illa autem* Babylon, *omnium quas unquam Sol aſpexit urbium maxima, jam præter muros nihil habet reliqui*, Pauſ. in Arcad. Which is; But, that *Babylon*, the largeſt City the Sun ever ſaw, has now no Remains of it left but the bare Walls.

V. The Kings of *Perſia* finding the Place deſerted, made a Park of it, in which they kept wild Beaſts for hunting. Thus did it become, as the Prophet had foretold, a Dwelling-Place for ravenous Beaſts, that are Enemies to Man; or for timorous Animals, that flie before him. Inſtead of Citizens, ſhe was now inhabited by wild Boars, Leopards, Bears, Deer, and wild Aſſes. *Babylon* was now the Retreat of fierce, ſavage, deadly Creatures, that hate the Light, and delight in Darkneſs. *Wild Beaſts of the Deſart ſhall lie there, and Dragons ſhall dwell in their pleaſant Palaces.* *Iſa.* xiii. 21, 22.

St. *Jerom* has tranſmitted us this valuable Remark, which he had from a *Perſian* Monk, that had himſelf ſeen what he related to him. *Didicimus a quodam fratre* Elamita, *qui de illis finibus egrediens, nunc* Hieroſolymis *vitam exigit monachorum; venationes regias eſſe in* Babylone, *& omnis generis beſtias murorum ejus ambitu tantum contineri.* We have been inform'd by a certain *Perſian* Fryar, who, having left thoſe Parts, now leads a Monk's Life at *Jeruſalem*; that the Place of the King's hunting is in *Babylon*, and that all Sorts of wild Beaſts only are contain'd within its Walls.

VI. But, it was ſtill too much, that the Walls of *Babylon* were ſtanding. At length, they fell down in ſeveral Places, and were never repair'd. Various Accidents deſtroy'd the Remainder. The Animals, which ſerv'd for Pleaſure to the *Perſian* Kings, abandon'd the Place: Serpents, and Scorpions remain'd, ſo that it became a dreadful Place for any Perſons, who ſhould happen to have the Curioſity to viſit, or ſearch after its Antiquities, in After-Times. The *Euphrates*, that us'd to run through the City, having no longer a free Channel, took its Courſe another Way; ſo that, in *Theodoret's* Time, there was but a very little Stream of Water left, which ran croſs the Ruins; and not meeting with a Deſcent, or free Paſſage, neceſſarily degenerated into a ſtanding Lake.

In the Time of *Alexander* the Great, the River had quitted its ordinary Channel, by Reaſon of the Outlets, and Canals, which *Cyrus* had made; and of which we have already given an Account: Theſe Outlets, being ill-ſtopp'd up, had occaſion'd a great Inundation in the Country. *Alexander*, deſigning to fix the Seat of his Empire at *Babylon*, projected the bringing back of the *Euphrates* into its natural, and former Channel, and had actually ſet his Men to work. But the *Almighty*, who watch'd over the fulfilling of his Prophecy, and who had declar'd, he would deſtroy even to the very Remains, and Footſteps of *Babylon*, [*I will cut off from* Babylon *the Name, and Remnant*, Iſa. xiv. 22.] defeated this Enterprize, by the Death of *Alexander*, which happen'd ſoon after. 'Tis eaſy to comprehend how, after this, *Babylon* being neglected to ſuch a Degree, as we have ſeen, its River was converted into an inacceſſible Pool, which cover'd the very Place where that impious City had ſtood; as *Iſaiah* had foretold: *I will make it Pools of Water*, ibid. 23. And this was neceſſary, leſt the Place where *Babylon* had ſtood, ſhould be diſcover'd hereafter by the Courſe of the *Euphrates*.

VII. By Means of all theſe Changes, *Babylon* became an utter Deſart, and all the Country round fell into the ſame State of Deſolation, and Horror; ſo that the moſt able Geographers, at this Day, cannot determine the Place where it ſtood. Thus was literally fulfill'd *God's* Prediction; *I will make it a Poſſeſſion for the Bittern, and Pools of Water; and I will ſweep it with the Beſom of Deſtruction, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts*, ibid. I Myſelf, ſaith the Lord, will examine with a jealous Eye, to ſee if there be any Remains of that City, which was an Enemy to my Name, and to *Jeruſalem*. I will thoroughly ſweep the Place where it ſtood, and will clear it ſo effectually, by defacing every Footſtep of the City, that no Perſon ſhall be able to preſerve the Memory of the Place, which *Nimrod* choſe, and which I, who am the Lord, have aboliſh'd.

VIII. *God* was not ſatisfy'd with cauſing all theſe Alterations to be foretold; but, to give the greater Aſſurance of their Certainty, thought fit to ſeal the Prediction of them by an Oath. *The Lord of Hoſts hath ſworn, ſaying, Surely, as I have thought, ſo ſhall it come to paſs; and, as I have purpoſed, ſo ſhall it ſtand.* Ibid. 24. But, if we would take this dreadful Oath in its full Latitude, we muſt not confine it, either to *Babylon*, or to its Inhabitants, or to the Princes that reign'd therein. The Curſe relates to the whole World; 'tis the general *Anathema* pronounc'd againſt the Wicked; 'tis the terrible Decree, by which the two Cities of *Babylon*, and *Jeruſalem* ſhall be ſeparated for ever; and an eternal Divorce be put between the Good and the Wicked. The Scriptures, that have foretold it, ſhall ſubſiſt till the Day of its Execution. The Sentence is written therein, and depoſited, as it were, in the publick Records of Religion.

Cyrus

Cyrus having enter'd the City, after the Manner we have deſcrib'd, put all to the Sword that were found in the Streets; then commanded the Citizens to bring him all their Arms, and afterwards, to ſhut themſelves up in their Houſes. The next Morning, by Break of Day, the Garriſon, which kept the Citadel, being appriz'd that the City was taken, and their King kill'd, ſurrender'd themſelves to *Cyrus*. Thus did this Prince, almoſt without ſtriking a Blow, and without any Reſiſtance, find himſelf in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the ſtrongeſt Place then in the World.

The firſt Thing he did was, to thank the Gods for the Succeſs they had given him. And then, having aſſembled his principal Officers, he publickly applauded their Courage, and Prudence, their Zeal, and Attachment to his Perſon; and diſtributed Rewards to his whole Army. After which, he repreſented to them, that the only Means of preſerving what they had acquir'd, was to perſevere in their ancient Virtue; that the proper End of Victory was not to give themſelves up to Idleneſs, and Pleaſure; that, after having conquer'd their Enemies by Force of Arms, it would be ſhameful to let themſelves be vanquiſh'd by the Allurements of Pleaſure; that, in Order to maintain their ancient Glory, it behov'd them to keep up amongſt the *Perſians* at *Babylon*, the ſame Diſcipline they had obſerv'd in their own Country; and, as a Means thereto, to take a particular Care to give their Children a good Education. This (ſays he) will neceſſarily engage us daily to make farther Advancements in Virtue, as it will oblige us to be diligent, and careful in giving them good Examples: Nor will it be eaſy for them to be corrupted, when they ſhall neither hear, nor ſee any Thing amongſt us, but what leads, and excites them to Virtue, and ſhall be continually employ'd in honourable, and laudable Exerciſes.

Cyrus alſo committed the different Parts, and Offices of his Government to different Perſons, according to their various Talents, and Qualifications: But the Care of forming, and appointing general Officers, Governors of Provinces, Miniſters, and Ambaſſadors, he reſerv'd to himſelf; looking upon that as the proper Duty, and Employment of a King, upon which depended his Glory, the Succeſs of his Affairs, and the Happineſs, and Tranquillity of his Kingdom. His great Talent was to ſtudy the particular Character of Men, in Order to place every one in his proper Sphere; to give them Authority, in Proportion to their Merit; to make their private Advancement concur with the publick Good; and to make the whole Machine of the State move in ſo regular a Manner, that every Part ſhould have a Dependance upon, and mutually contribute to ſupport each other. And that the Strength of one ſhould not exert itſelf, but for the Benefit, and Advantage of the Reſt, each Perſon had his Diſtrict, and his particular Sphere of Buſineſs, of which he gave an Account to another, who was above him; and he again to a third; and ſo on, till, by theſe different Degrees, and regular Subordination, the Cognizance of Affairs came to the King himſelf; who did not ſtand idle in the Midſt of all this Motion, but was, as it were, the Soul to the Body of the State, which, by this Means, he govern'd with as much Eaſe, as a Father governs his private Family.

When, afterwards, he ſent Governors, call'd *Satrapæ*, into the Provinces under his Subjection, he would not ſuffer the particular Governors of Places, or the Commanding Officers of the Troops, kept on Foot, for the Security of the Country, to depend upon thoſe Provincial Governors, or to be ſubject to any one but him; that, if any of the *Satrapæ*, elate with his Power, or Riches, made an ill Uſe of his Authority, there might be found Witneſſes, and Cenſors of his Male-Adminiſtration within his own Government. For, there was nothing he ſo carefully avoided, as the truſting of any one Man with an abſolute Power; as knowing that a Prince will quickly have Reaſon to repent his having exalted one ſingle Perſon ſo high, that all Others are thereby abas'd, and kept under.

Thus *Cyrus* eſtabliſh'd a wonderful Order, with Reſpect to his Military Affairs, to his Treaſury, and to the Civil Polity. In all the Provinces he had Perſons of an approv'd Integrity, who gave him an Account of every Thing that paſs'd. He made it his principal Care to honour, and reward all ſuch, as diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Merit, or were eminent in any Reſpect whatever. He infinitely preferr'd Clemency to a martial Courage; becauſe the latter is often the Cauſe of Ruin, and Deſolation to whole Nations; whereas, the former is always beneficent, and uſeful. He was ſenſible, that good Laws contribute very much to the forming, and preſerving of good Manners: But, in his Opinion, the Prince, by his Example, was to be a living Law to his People: Nor did he think a Man worthy to reign over Others, unleſs he was more wiſe, and virtuous, than his Subjects. He was alſo perſuaded, that the ſureſt Means for a Prince to gain the Reſpect of his Courtiers, and of ſuch as approach'd his Perſon, was to have ſo much Reſpect, and Regard for them, as never to do, or to ſay any Thing before them, that was contrary to the Rules of Decency, and good Manners.

Liberality he look'd upon as a Virtue truly royal; nor did he think there was any Thing great, or valuable in Riches, but the Pleaſure of diſtributing them to Others. "I have prodigious Riches "(ſays he to his Courtiers) I own it, and am glad "the World knows it; but, you may aſſure your-"ſelves, they are as much yours as mine. For, "to what End ſhould I heap up Wealth? For "my own Uſe, and to conſume it myſelf? That "would be impoſſible, if I deſir'd it. No: The "chief End I aim at, is to have it in my Power "to recompenſe thoſe who ſerve the Publick faith-"fully; and to aſſiſt, and relieve thoſe, that "will acquaint me with their Wants, and Neceſ-"ſities."

Hereupon, *Cræſus* one Day repreſented to him, that, by continual giving, he would, at laſt, make himſelf poor; whereas, he might have amaſs'd infinite Treaſures, and have been the richeſt Prince in the World. "And to what Sum, do you think "(reply'd *Cyrus*) thoſe Treaſures might have a-"mounted?" Upon which, *Cræſus* nam'd an immenſe Sum; undoubtedly, a much larger than he had ever been Maſter of himſelf, though he was reckon'd the richeſt Prince of his Time: And *Cyrus*, thereupon, order'd a little Note to be written to the Lords of his Court, in which it was ſignify'd to them, that he had Occaſion for Money; and im-

immediately a much larger Sum was brought to him, than *Cræsus* had mention'd. "Look here "(says he) here are my Treasures; the Chests I "keep my Riches in, are the Hearts, and Affec-"tions of my Subjects."

Much the same Story is told of Queen *Elizabeth*; and we are assur'd, it is true of that glorious Princess, whatever it may be of *Cyrus*: We shall only add, that, as that glorious Queen was no Stranger to the learned Languages, it is not impossible but she might have taken the Hint, from this Passage in *Xenophon*'s Life of *Cyrus*.

But, as much as *Cyrus* esteem'd Liberality, he laid a greater Stress upon Kindness, and Condescension, Affability, and Humanity; which are Qualities still more engaging, and more apt to endear a Prince to his People, and make him be sincerely, and thoroughly belov'd by them; which is properly to reign. For a Prince to be more generous than Others in giving, when he is infinitely more rich than they, has nothing in it so surprizing, or extraordinary, as his being willing to come down, as it were, from the Throne, and to put himself upon a Level with his Subjects.

But, what he preferr'd to all other Things, was the Worship of the Gods, and a Respect for Religion. Upon this, therefore, he thought himself oblig'd to bestow his first, and principal Care, assoon as he became more at Leisure, and more Master of his Time, by the Conquest of *Babylon*. He began, by establishing a Number of *Magi*, to sing daily a Morning-Service of Praise, to the Honour of the Gods, and to offer Sacrifices; which continued to be practis'd amongst them in succeeding Ages.

The Prince's Disposition quickly became, as is usual, the prevailing Disposition among his People; and his Example became the Rule of their Conduct. The *Persians*, who saw that the Reign of *Cyrus* had been but one continu'd Chain, and Series of Prosperity and Success, believ'd, that, by serving the Gods, as he did, they should be bless'd with the like Happiness, and Prosperity: Besides, they were sensible, it was the surest Way to please their Prince, and to make their Court to him successively. That Prince, on the other Hand, was extremely glad to find them have such Sentiments of Religion, being convinc'd, that whosoever sincerely fears, and worships God, will, at the same Time, be faithful to his King, and preserve an inviolable Attachment to his Person, and to the Welfare of the State.

In the mean While, *Cyrus*, being resolv'd to settle his chief Residence at *Babylon*, a powerful City, which could not be very well affected to him, thought it behov'd him to be more cautious, than he had been till then, about the Safety of his Person. The most dangerous Hours for Princes, within their Palaces, and the most likely for traiterous Attempts upon their Lives, are those of bathing, eating, and sleeping; and he determin'd, therefore, to suffer No-Body to be near him at those Times, but such Persons on whose Fidelity he could absolutely rely; and, on this Account, he thought Eunuchs preferrable to all Others; because, as they had neither Wives, Children, nor Families; and besides, were generally despis'd, on Account of the Meanness of their Birth, and the Ignominy of their Condition, they were engag'd, by all Sorts of Reasons, to an entire Attachment to their Master, on whose Life their whole Fortune depended; and on whose Account alone it was, that they were of any Consideration. For these Reasons, therefore, he fill'd all the Offices of his Houshold with Eunuchs; and, as this had been the Practice before his Time, it thence-forward became the general Custom in all the *Eastern* Countries.

'Tis well known, that, in After-Times, this Usage prevail'd likewise amongst the *Roman* Emperors, with whom the Eunuchs were the reigning, all-powerful Favourites; nor is it any Wonder. 'Twas very natural for the Prince, after having trusted them with the Care of his Person, and experienc'd their Zeal, Fidelity, and Merit, to intrust them with the Management of Affairs; and, by Degrees, to give himself up to them. These expert Courtiers knew how well to improve those favourable Moments, when Sovereigns, deliver'd from the Weight of their Dignity, which is a Burden to them, become mere Men, and familiarize themselves with their Officers. And, by this Policy, having got Possession of their Masters Confidence, they came to be in great Credit at Court; to have the Management of publick Affairs; to have the Disposal of Employments, and Honours; and to arrive themselves to the highest Offices, and Dignities in the State.

But the good Emperors, such as *Alexander Severus*, abhorr'd Eunuchs, looking upon them, as Creatures attach'd only to their own Fortune; and Enemies, by Principle, to the publick Good; Persons, whose whole View was to get Possession of the Prince's Favour; to keep all Persons of Merit from him; to hide Affairs, as much as possible, from his Knowledge; and to keep him shut up, and imprison'd, as it were, within the narrow Circle of three, or four Officers, who had an absolute Dominion over him: *Claudentes principem suum, & agentes ante omnia ne quid sciat.*

To return from whence we have digress'd, when *Cyrus* had given Orders about every Thing relating to the Government, he resolv'd to shew himself to his People, and his new-conquer'd Subjects, in a solemn, and august religious Ceremony, by going in a pompous Cavalcade, to the Places consecrated to the Gods, in Order to offer Sacrifices unto them. In this Procession, *Cyrus* thought fit to display all possible Splendor, and Magnificence, which is apt to strike an Awe into the People. This was the first Time that Prince ever aim'd at procuring Respect to himself, not only by the Attractions of Virtue but by such an external Pomp, as was proper to dazzle the Eyes of the Vulgar, and work like a Charm, or Inchantment upon their Imaginations. To this End, he call'd the superior Officers of the *Persians*, and the *Allies* together, and gave each of them a Suit of Cloaths after the *Median* Fashion; that is to say, long Garments, which hung down to their Feet. These Cloaths were of various Colours, all of the finest, and brightest Dye; and richly embroider'd with Gold and Silver. Besides those that were for themselves, he gave them others, very splendid too, but less costly, to present to the Subaltern Officers. 'Twas on this Occasion, the *Persians* first dress'd themselves after the Manner of the *Medes*; and begun to imitate them in colouring their Eyes, to make them appear more lively; and in painting their Faces, in Order to beautify their Complections.

When the Day appointed for the Ceremony was come, the whole Company were at the King's Palace

lace by Break of Day. Four thouſand of the Guards, four in a Rank, plac'd themſelves before the Front of the Palace, and two thouſand on the two Sides, rang'd in the ſame Order. All the Cavalry were preſent likewiſe, the *Perſians* on the Right, and thoſe of the *Allies* on the Left: And the Chariots of War were ranged, half on one Side, and half on the other. Aſſoon as the Palace-Gates were open'd, there firſt came a great Number of Bulls, of exquiſite Beauty, led out by four and four; which were to be ſacrific'd to *Jupiter*, and other Gods, according to the Ceremonies preſcrib'd by the *Magi*. Next follow'd the Horſes, that were to be ſacrific'd to the *Sun*. Immediately after them, a white Chariot, crown'd with Flowers, the Pole of which was gilt: This was to be offer'd to *Jupiter*. Then came a ſecond Chariot of the ſame Colour, and adorn'd in the ſame Manner, to be offer'd to the *Sun*. After theſe follow'd a third, the Horſes of which were capariſon'd with Scarlet Houſings. Behind all theſe march'd the Men, who carry'd the ſacred Fire on a large Hearth. When theſe were on their March, *Cyrus* himſelf began to appear upon his triumphal Car, with his *Tiara* on his Head, encompaſs'd with the royal Diadem. His Tunic was of Purple mix'd with white, which was a Colour peculiar to Kings. Over his other Garments he wore a large Purple Cloak. His Hands were uncover'd. A little below him ſat his Maſter of Horſe, who was of a comely Stature, but not ſo tall as that Hero; for which Reaſon, the Stature of the latter appear'd ſtill more advantageouſly. Aſſoon as the People perceiv'd the Prince, they all fell proſtrate before him, and worſhipp'd him; whether it was, that, certain Perſons appointed on Purpoſe, and plac'd at proper Diſtances, led Others on, by their Example; or, that the People were mov'd to do it, of their own Accord; being ſtruck with the Appearance of ſo much Pomp, and Magnificence; and with ſo many awful Circumſtances of Majeſty, and Splendor. None of the *Perſians* had ever proſtrated themſelves, in this Manner, before *Cyrus*, till on this Occaſion.

When the Chariot of that Prince was come out of the Palace, the four thouſand Guards began to march: The other two thouſand mov'd at the ſame Time, and plac'd themſelves on each Side the Chariot. The Eunuchs, or great Officers of the King's Houſhold, to the Number of three hundred, richly clad, with Javelins in their Hands, and mounted upon ſtately Horſes, march'd immediately after the Chariot. After them follow'd two hundred Led-Horſes of the King's Stable, each of them having embroider'd Furniture, and their Bits of Gold. Then follow'd the *Perſian* Cavalry, divided into four Bodies, each conſiſting of ten thouſand Men; next to them, the *Median* Cavalry; and after theſe, the Cavalry of the *Allies*. The Chariots of War, four a-breaſt, march'd in the Rear, and clos'd the Proceſſion.

When they came to the Fields conſecrated to the Gods, they offer'd their Sacrifices, firſt, to *Jupiter*, and then to the *Sun*. To the Honour of the firſt, were burnt Bulls; and to the Honour of the ſecond, Horſes. They likewiſe ſacrific'd ſome Victims to the *Earth*, according to the Appointment of the *Magi*; then to the Demi-Gods, the Patrons, and Protectors of *Aſſyria*.

Then, in Order to recreate the Spirits of the Company after this grave, and ſolemn Ceremony, *Cyrus* thought fit to have it concluded with Games, eſpecially Horſe, and Chariot-Races. The Place where they were was large, and ſpacious. He order'd a certain Portion of it to be mark'd out, about the Quantity of five *Stadia*, and propos'd Prizes for the Victors of each Nation, which were to encounter ſeparately, and among themſelves. *Cyrus* himſelf won the Prize in the *Perſian* Horſe-Races; for, no-body was ſo compleat an Horſe-Man as he. The Chariots ran but two at a Time, one againſt another. This Kind of Racing continu'd a long Time afterwards amongſt the *Perſians*, except only, that it was not always attended with Sacrifices. All the Ceremonies being ended, they return'd to the City in the ſame Order.

Some Days after, the King, to celebrate the Victory he had obtain'd in the Horſe-Races, gave a great Entertainment to all his chief Officers, as well Strangers, as *Medes*, and *Perſians*: They had never yet ſeen any Thing of the Kind ſo ſumptuous, and magnificent. At the Concluſion of the Feaſt, he made every one a noble Preſent; ſo that they all went home with Hearts overflowing with Joy, Admiration, and Gratitude: And, as all-powerful as he was, Maſter of all the *Eaſt*, and of ſo many Kingdoms, yet he was not afraid to derogate from his Majeſty, by conducting them to the Door of his Apartment. Such were the Manners, and Behaviour of thoſe ancient Times, when Men underſtood how to join great Simplicity, and Grandeur together.

We come now to the laſt Part of the Hiſtory of that Prince; who, though he now ſaw himſelf Maſter of all the *Eaſt*, by the taking of *Babylon*, did not imitate the Example of moſt other Conquerors, who ſully the Glory of their Victories, by a voluptuous, and effeminate Life; to which they fancy they may lawfully give themſelves up, after their paſt Toils, and the long Courſe of Hardſhips they have gone through. He thought it incumbent upon him, to maintain his Reputation by the ſame Methods he had acquir'd it; that is, by a prudent Conduct; by a laborious, and active Life; and a continual Application to the Duties of his high Station.

Wherefore, when he judg'd he had ſufficiently regulated Affairs at *Babylon*, he thought proper to take a Journey into *Perſia*.

In his Way thither, he went through *Media*, to viſit his Uncle *Cyaxares*, to whom he carry'd very magnificent Preſents; telling him, at the ſame Time, that he would find a noble Palace at *Babylon*, all ready prepar'd for him, whenever he would pleaſe to go thither; and, that he was to look upon that City as his own Demeſn. In Effect, *Cyrus*, as long as his Uncle liv'd, only held the Empire in Copartnerſhip with him; though he had entirely conquer'd, and acquir'd it, by his own Valour. Nay, ſo far did he carry his Complaiſance, that he let his Uncle enjoy the firſt Rank. This is the *Cyaxares*, who is call'd, in Scripture, *Darius the Mede*; and we ſhall find, that, under his Reign, which laſted but two Years, *Daniel* had ſeveral Revelations. It appears, that *Cyrus*, when he return'd from *Perſia*, carry'd *Cyaxares* with him to *Babylon*.

When they were arriv'd there, they concerted together a Scheme of Government for the whole Empire. They divided it into an hundred and twenty Provinces. And, that the Prince's Orders might be convey'd with the greater Expedition,

Cyrus caus'd Poſt-Houſes to be erected at proper Diſtances, where the Expreſſes, that travell'd Day and Night, found Horſes always ready; and, by that Means, perform'd their Journies with incredible Diſpatch. The Government of theſe Provinces was given to thoſe Perſons, that had been moſt ſerviceable in the War.

Over theſe Governors were appointed three Super-Intendants, who were always to reſide at Court; to whom the Governors were to give an Account, from Time to Time, of every Thing that paſs'd in their reſpective Provinces; and from whom they were to receive the Prince's Orders, and Inſtructions: So that theſe three principal Miniſters had the Super-Intendency over, and the chief Adminiſtration of, the great Affairs of the whole Empire. Of theſe three, *Daniel* was made the chief. He highly deſerv'd ſuch a Preference, not only on Account of his great Wiſdom, which was celebrated throughout all the *Eaſt*, and had appear'd in a diſtinguiſh'd Manner at *Baltazar*'s Feaſt; but likewiſe, on Account of his great Age, and conſummate Experience. For, at that Time, it was full ſixty-ſeven Years, reckoning from the ſecond of *Nebuchadnezzar*, that he had been employ'd as chief Miniſter by the Kings of *Babylon*.

As this Diſtinction made him the ſecond Perſon Perſon in the Empire, and plac'd him immediately under the King, the other Courtiers conceiv'd, thereupon, ſo great a Jealouſy, that they conſpir'd to deſtroy him: And as there was no Hold to be taken of him, unleſs it were on Account of the Law of his *God*, to which they knew him inviolably attach'd, they obtain'd an Edict from *Darius*, whereby all Perſons were forbidden to ask any Thing whatſoever, for the Space of thirty Days, either of any God, or Man, ſave of the King; and that upon Pain of being caſt into the Den of Lions. This done, as *Daniel* was ſaying his uſual Prayers, with his Face turn'd towards *Jeruſalem*, he was ſurpriz'd, accus'd, and caſt into the Den of Lions: But, being miraculouſly preſerv'd, and coming out ſafe, and unhurt, his Accuſers were thrown in, and immediately devour'd by thoſe fierce Creatures, who were then the Executioners of Divine Juſtice; which added greatly to *Daniel*'s Credit, and Reputation.

Towards the End of the ſame Year, which was reckon'd the firſt of *Darius* the *Mede*; *Daniel* knowing, by the Computation he made, that the ſeventy Years of *Judah*'s Captivity, determin'd by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, were drawing to an End, pray'd earneſtly to *God*, that he would remember his People, rebuild *Jeruſalem*, and look with an Eye of Mercy upon his holy City, and the Sanctuary he had plac'd therein. Upon which, the Angel *Gabriel* aſſur'd him in a Viſion, not only of the Deliverance of the *Jews* from their temporal Captivity, but likewiſe, of another Deliverance much more conſiderable; namely, a Deliverance from the Bondage of Sin, and *Satan*; which *God* would procure to his Church, and which was to be accomplith'd at the End of ſeventy Weeks, that were to paſs, from the Time the Order ſhould be given for the rebuilding of *Jeruſalem*; that is, after the Space of four hundred and ninety Years. For, taking each Day for a Year, according to the Language ſometimes uſed in Holy Scripture, thoſe ſeventy Weeks of Years make up exactly four hundred and ninety.

Upon his Return to *Babylon*, *Cyrus* had given Orders for all his Forces to come thither. On the general Review made of them, he found they conſiſted of an hundred and twenty thouſand Horſe, of two thouſand Chariots arm'd with Scythes, and ſix hundred thouſand Foot. When he had furniſh'd the Garriſons with as many of them, as were neceſſary for the Defence of the ſeveral Parts of the Empire, he march'd with the Remainder into *Syria*, where he regulated the Affairs of that Province; and then ſubdu'd all thoſe Countries, as far as the *Red Sea*, and the Confines of *Ethiopia*. It was, probably, in this Interval of Time, that *Daniel* was caſt into the Den of Lions, and miraculouſly deliver'd from them, as we have juſt now related. Perhaps, in the ſame Interval alſo, were thoſe famous Pieces of Gold coin'd, which are call'd *Darics*, from the Name of *Darius* the *Mede*; and which, for their Fineneſs, and Beauty, were, for ſeveral Ages, preferr'd to all other Money amongſt the *Eaſtern* Nations.

Here, properly ſpeaking, begins the Empire of the *Perſians*, and *Medes*, under one and the ſame Authority. This Empire, from *Cyrus*, the firſt King, and Founder of it, to *Darius Codomannus*, who was vanquiſh'd by *Alexander* the Great, laſted for the Space of two hundred and ſix Years; namely, from the Year of the World 3468, to the Year 3674. But, at preſent, we propoſe to ſpeak only of the three firſt Kings; and there remains but little more to be ſaid of him, who was the firſt Founder of this new Empire.

Cyaxares dying at the End of two Years, and *Cambyſes* ending his Days, about the ſame Time, in *Perſia*, *Cyrus* return'd to *Babylon*, and took upon him the whole Government. The Years of his Reign are computed after different Ways: Some reckon it laſted thirty Years; namely, dating it from his firſt marching out of *Perſia*, at the Head of an Army, to ſuccour his Uncle *Cyaxares*: Others make the Duration of it to be but ſeven Years, becauſe they date it only from the Time, when, by the Death of *Cyaxares*, and *Cambyſes*, he became the ſole Monarch of the whole Empire.

In the firſt of theſe ſeven Years, preciſely, expir'd the ſeventieth Year of the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, when *Cyrus* publiſh'd the famous Edict, whereby the *Jews* were permitted to return to *Jeruſalem*. There is no Queſtion, but this Edict was obtain'd by the Care, and Sollicitations of *Daniel*, who was in great Credit, and Authority at Court. That he might the more effectually induce the King to grant him this Favour, he ſhew'd him, undoubtedly, the Prophecies of *Iſaiah*, wherein, above two hundred Years before his Birth, he was mark'd out, by Name, as a Prince appointed by *God* to be a great Conqueror, and to reduce a Multitude of Nations under his Dominion; and, at the ſame Time, to be the Deliverer of the captive *Jews*, by ordering their Temple to be rebuilt, and *Jeruſalem*, and *Judea*, to be repoſſeſſed by their ancient Inhabitants. We think, it may not be improper, in this Place, to inſert that Edict at Length, as it is, 1 *Eſd.* ii. which is, certainly, the faireſt Part of the Life of *Cyrus*; and for which, it may be preſum'd, *God* had endow'd him with ſo many heroick Virtues, and bleſſed him with ſuch a conſtant Series of Proſperity, and Victories.

In the firſt Year of Cyrus, *King of the* Perſians, *that the Word of the* Lord *might be accompliſhed, that*

that he had promiſed by the Mouth of Jeremy, *the* Lord *raiſed up the Spirit of* Cyrus, *the King of the* Perſians; *and he made Proc amation through all his Kingdom, and alſo by writing, ſaying, Thus ſaith* Cyrus, *King of the* Perſians, *the* Lord *of* Iſrael, *the moſt high* Lord, *hath made me King of the whole World, and commanded me to build him an Houſe at* Jeruſalem *in* Jewry. *If, therefore, there be any of you that are of his People, let the* Lord, *even his* Lord, *be with him; and let him go up to* Jeruſalem, *that is in* Judea, *and build the Houſe of the* Lord *of* Iſrael; *for he is the* Lord, *that dwelleth in* Jeruſalem. *Whoſoever then dwell in the Places about, let them help him (thoſe, I ſay, that are his Neighbours) with Gold, and with Silver, with Gifts, with Horſes, and with Catele, and other Things, which have been ſet forth by Vow for the Temple of the* Lord *at* Jeruſalem.

Cyrus reſtor'd, at the ſame Time, to the *Jews*, all the Veſſels of the Temple of the *Lord*, which *Nabuchodonoſor* had brought from *Jeruſalem*, and plac'd in the Temple of his God, *Baal*. Soon after, the *Jews* departed, under the Conduct of *Zorobabel*, to return into their own Country. Nevertheleſs, the *Samaritans*, who had formerly been the declar'd Enemies of the *Jews*, did all they poſſibly could to hinder the building of the Temple; and though they could not alter the Decree of *Cyrus*, yet they prevail'd, by Bribes, and under-hand Dealings with the Miniſters, and other Officers concern'd therein, to obſtruct the Execution of it; ſo that, for ſeveral Years, the Building went on but very ſlowly.

It ſeems to have been out of Grief, to ſee the Execution of this Decree ſo long retarded; that in the third Year of *Cyrus*, in the firſt Month of that Year, *Daniel* gave himſelf up to mourning, and faſting, for three Weeks together. He was then near the River *Tigris*, in *Perſia*. When this Time of faſting was ended, he ſaw the Viſion concerning the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Perſia*, the Empire of the *Macedonians*, and the Conqueſts of the *Romans*; of which the three laſt Chapters of his Prophecies contain an Account.

By what we find in the Concluſion of the laſt Chapter, we have Reaſon to conjecture, that he dy'd ſoon after; and indeed, his great Age makes it unlikely that he could live much longer; for, at this Time, he muſt have been, at leaſt, eighty Years of Age; if we ſuppoſe him to have been but eight, when he was carry'd to *Babylon* with the other Captives: But ſome believe him to have been eighteen Years of Age, at that Time, which will raiſe his preſent Age from eighty to ninety. In thoſe very early Years, he had given Proofs of ſomething more than human Wiſdom, in the Judgment of *Suſannah*. He was ever afterwards very much regarded by all the Princes who reign'd at *Babylon*, and was always employ'd by them with Diſtinction in the Adminiſtration of their Affairs.

Daniel's Wiſdom did not only reach to Things divine and political, but alſo to Arts and Sciences; and particularly, to that of Architecture. *Joſephus* ſpeaks of a famous Edifice built by him at *Suſa*, in the Manner of a Caſtle (which he ſays, was remaining in his Time) and finiſh'd with ſuch wonderful Art, that it then ſeem'd as freſh and beautiful, as if it had been but newly built. Within this Edifice, he ſaith, the *Perſian* and *Parthian* Kings uſed to be bury'd; and, for the Sake of the Founder, the keeping of it was committed to one of the *Jewiſh* Nation, even to his Time. It was a common Tradition in thoſe Parts for many Ages, that *Daniel* dy'd in that City, now call'd *Tuſter*; and there they ſhew his Monument even to this Day. 'Tis certain, that he uſed to go thither, from Time to Time; and he himſelf tells us, that *he did the King's Buſineſs there*; that is, was Governor for the King of *Babylon*.

We have hitherto deferr'd making any Reflections upon the Prophecies of *Daniel*, which certainly, to any reaſonable Mind, are a very convincing Proof of the Truth of our Religion. We ſhall not dwell upon that, which perſonally related to *Nebuchadnezzar*, and foretold in what Manner, for the Puniſhment of his Pride, he ſhould be reduc'd to the State of the Beaſts of the Field; and, after a certain Number of Years, reſtor'd to his Underſtanding, and his Throne. 'Tis well known, the Thing happen'd exactly according to *Daniel*'s Prediction: The King himſelf relates it in a Declaration, addreſſed to all the People, and Nations of his Empire. Was it poſſible for *Daniel* to aſcribe ſuch a Manifeſto, or Proclamation, to *Nebuchadnezzar*, if it had not been genuine; to ſpeak of it, as a Thing ſent into all the Provinces, if no-body had ſeen it; and in the Midſt of *Babylon*, that was full both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, to publiſh an Atteſtation of ſo important a Matter, and ſo injurious to the King; and of which the Falſhood muſt have been notorious to all the World?

We ſhall content ourſelves, therefore, with repreſenting very briefly, and under one and the ſame Point of View, the Prophecies of *Daniel*, which ſignify'd the Succeſſion of four great Empires; and which, for that Reaſon, have an eſſential, and neceſſary Relation to the Subject-Matter of this Treatiſe, which is nothing elſe but the Hiſtory of thoſe very Empires.

The firſt of theſe Prophecies was occaſion'd, by the Dream *Nebuchadnezzar* had, of an Image compos'd of different Metals, Gold, Silver, Braſs, and Iron; which Image was broken in Pieces, and beat as ſmall as Duſt, by a little Stone, parted from the Mountain, and afterwards became itſelf a Mountain of extraordinary Height and Bigneſs.

About fifty Years after, *Daniel* ſaw another Viſion, very like that of which we have juſt been ſpeaking: This was the Viſion of the four large Beaſts, which came out of the Sea. The firſt was like a Lion, and had Eagle's Wings; the ſecond was like a Bear; the third was like a Leopard, which had four Heads; the fourth, and laſt, ſtill more ſtrong, and terrible than the other, had great Iron Teeth; it devour'd, and brake in Pieces, and ſtamp'd the Reſidue with her Feet. From among the ten Horns, which this Beaſt had, there came up a little one, which had Eyes like thoſe of a Man, and a Mouth ſpeaking great Things; and this Horn became greater than the other: The ſame Horn made War with the Saints, and prevail'd againſt them, until the *Ancient of Days*, that is, the Everlaſting *God*, came, and ſitting upon his Throne, ſurrounded with a thouſand Millions of Angels, pronounc'd an irreverſible Judgment upon the four Beaſts, whoſe Time, and Duration, he had determin'd, and gave the *Son of Man* Power over all the Nations, and all the Tribes; an everlaſting

Power

Power and Dominion, which ſhall not paſs away, and a Kingdom, which ſhall not be deſtroy'd.

It is generally agreed, that theſe two Viſions, the one of the Image compos'd of different Metals, the other of the four Beaſts, that came out of the Sea, ſignify'd ſo many different Monarchies, which were to ſucceed one another, that were to be ſucceſſively deſtroy'd by each other, and were all to give Place to the eternal Empire of *Jeſus Chriſt*, from whom alone they had ſubſiſted. It is likewiſe agreed, that theſe four Monarchies were thoſe of the *Babylonians*, of the *Perſians*, and *Medes* united; of the *Macedonians*, and *Romans*. Though ſome Interpreters, inſtead of the *Romans*, put the Kings of *Syria*, who were *Alexander*'s Succeſſors. This is plainly demonſtrated, by the very Order of their Succeſſion. But, where did *Daniel* ſee this Succeſſion, and this Order? Who could reveal the Changes of Empires to him, but he only, who is the Maſter of Times, and Monarchies, who has determin'd every Thing by his own Decrees; and who, by a ſupernatural Revelation, imparts the Knowledge of them to whom he pleaſes?

In the following Chapter, this Prophet ſtill ſpeaks with greater Clearneſs and Exactneſs. For, after having repreſented the *Perſian*, and *Macedonian* Monarchies, under the Figure of two Beaſts; he thus expounds his Meaning in the plaineſt Manner: The Ram, which hath two unequal Horns, repreſents the King of the *Medes*, and *Perſians*; the Goat, which overthrows, and tramples him under his Feet, is the King of the *Grecians*; and the great Horn, which that Animal has between his Eyes, repreſents the firſt King, and Founder of that Monarchy. How did *Daniel* ſee, that the *Perſian* Empire ſhould be compoſed of two different Nations, *Medes*, and *Perſians*; and that this Empire ſhould be deſtroy'd by the Power of the *Grecians*? How did he foreſee the Rapidity of *Alexander*'s Conqueſts, which he ſo aptly deſcribes, by ſaying, that *he touched not the Ground*? How did he learn, that *Alexander* ſhould not have any Succeſſor equal to himſelf; and that the firſt Monarch of the *Grecian* Empire ſhould be likewiſe the moſt powerful? By what other Light, than that of divine Revelation, could he diſcover, that *Alexander* would have no Son to ſucceed him; that his Empire would be diſmember'd, and divided into four principal Kingdoms; that his Succeſſors would be of his Nation, but not of his Blood; and that out of the Ruins of a Monarchy ſo ſuddenly form'd, there would be wherewithal to erect ſeveral States, of which ſome would be in the *Eaſt*, others in the *Weſt*; ſome in the *South*, and others in the *North*?

The Particulars of the Facts foretold in the Remainder of the eighth, and in the eleventh Chapter, are no leſs aſtoniſhing. How could *Daniel*, in the Reign of *Cyrus*, foretel, that the fourth of that Prince's Succeſſors, who was *Xerxes*, ſhould gather together all his Forces, to attack the *Grecian* States? How could this Prophet, who liv'd ſo long before the Times of the *Maccabees*, particularly deſcribe all the Perſecutions, which *Antiochus* would bring upon the *Jews*; the Manner of his aboliſhing the Sacrifices, which were daily offer'd in the Temple of *Jeruſalem*; the Prophanation of that holy Place, by ſetting up an Idol therein; and the Vengeance which *God* would inflict on him for it? How could he, in the firſt Year of the *Perſian* Empire, foretel the Wars, which *Alexander*'s Succeſſors would make in the Kingdoms of *Syria*, and *Egypt*; their mutual Invaſions of one another's Territories; their Inſincerity in their Treaties, and their Marriage-Alliances, which would only be made to cloak their fraudulent, and perfidious Deſigns?

We leave to the intelligent, and religious Reader, to draw the Concluſion, which naturally follows from theſe Predictions of *Daniel*; for, they are ſo clear, and expreſs, that *Porphyry*, a profeſſed Enemy of the *Chriſtian* Religion, could find no other Way of diſputing the divine Original of them, but by pretending, that they were written after the Events, and rather a Narration of Things paſt, than a Prediction of Things to come.

Before we conclude this Article of *Daniel*'s Prophecies, we muſt deſire the Reader to remark, what an Oppoſition the *Holy Ghoſt* has put between the Empires of the World, and the Kingdom of *Jeſus Chriſt*. In the former, every Thing appears great, ſplendid, and magnificent. Strength, Power, Glory, and Majeſty, ſeem to be their natural Attendants. In them we eaſily diſcern thoſe great Warriors, thoſe famous Conquerors, thoſe Thunder-Bolts of War, who ſpread Terror every-where; and whom nothing could withſtand: But then, they are repreſented as wild Beaſts, as Bears, Lions, and Leopards; whoſe only Property is to tear in Pieces, to devour, and to deſtroy. What an Image, and Picture, is this of Conquerors! How admirably does it inſtruct us to leſſen the Ideas we are apt to form, as well of Empires, as of their Founders, or Governors!

In the Empire of *Jeſus Chriſt* it is quite otherwiſe. Let us conſider its Origin, and firſt Riſe; or carefully examine its Progreſs, and Growth, at all Times; and we ſhall find, that Weakneſs, and Meanneſs, if we may be allow'd to ſay ſo, have always, outwardly, been one of its true Characteriſticks. It is the Leaven, the Grain of Muſtard-Seed, the little Stone cut out of the Mountain. And yet, in Reality, there is no true Greatneſs but in this Empire. The *Eternal Word* is the Founder, and the King thereof: All the Thrones of the Earth come to pay Homage to his, and to bow themſelves before him. The End of his Reign is the Salvation of Mankind; 'tis to make them eternally happy, and to form to himſelf a Nation of Saints, and juſt Perſons, who are all of them ſo many Kings, and Conquerors. 'Tis for their Sakes only, that the whole World doth ſubſiſt; and when the Number of them ſhall be compleat; *Then* (ſays St. *Paul*) *cometh the End, and the Conſummation of all Things, when* Jeſus Chriſt *ſhall have deliver'd up the Kingdom to* God, *even the Father; when he ſhall have put down all Rule, and all Authority, and Power.*

Can a Writer, who ſees in the Prophecies of *Daniel*, that the ſeveral Empires of the World, after having ſubſiſted the Time determin'd for them by the Sovereign Diſpoſer of Kingdoms, do all terminate, and center in the Empire of *Jeſus Chriſt*: Can a Writer, we ſay, forbear turning his Eyes, now and then, towards that great Object, and having it always in View, at leaſt, at a Diſtance, as the End of all others.

To return to *Cyrus*; Being equally belov'd by his own natural Subjects, and by thoſe of the conquer'd Nations, he peaceably enjoy'd the Fruits of his Labours, and Victories. His Empire was bounded, on the *Eaſt* by the River *Indus*; on the *North*, by the *Caſpian*, and *Euxine* Seas; on the *Weſt*, by the

the *Egean* Sea; and on the *South*, by *Ethiopia*, and the *Arabian* Sea. He kept his Reſidence in the Midſt of all theſe Countries, ſpending generally ſeven Months of the Year at *Babylon*, in the Winter Seaſon, becauſe of the Warmth of that Climate; three Months at *Suſa*, in the Spring; and two Months at *Ecbatana*, during the intenſe Heat of the Summer.

Having ſpent ſeven Years in this State of Tranquillity, *Cyrus* return'd into *Perſia*; which was the ſeventh Time, ſince his reigning over the whole Monarchy: And this ſhews, that he uſed to go regularly into *Perſia* once a Year. *Cambyſes* had been now dead for ſome Time, and *Cyrus* himſelf grown pretty old, being, at this Juncture, about ſeventy Years of Age; thirty of which had paſſed, ſince his being firſt made General of the *Perſian* Forces, nine from the taking of *Babylon*, and ſeven from his beginning to reign alone, after the Death of *Cyaxares*.

To the very laſt, he enjoy'd a vigorous State of Health; which was the Fruit of his ſober, and temperate Life: And whereas they, who give themſelves up to Drunkenneſs, and Debauchery, often feel all the Infirmities of Age, even whilſt they are young; *Cyrus*, on the contrary, in a very advanc'd Age, enjoy'd all the Vigour, and Advantages of Youth.

When he perceiv'd the Time of his Death to draw nigh, he order'd his Children, and the chief Officers of the State, to be aſſembled about him; and, after having thank'd the Gods for all their Favours towards him, through the Courſe of his Life, and implor'd the like Protection for his Children, his Country, and his Friends, he declar'd his eldeſt Son, *Cambyſes*, his Succeſſor; and left the other, who ſome call *Tanaoxares*, or, according to others, *Smerdis*, ſeveral very conſiderable Governments. He then gave them both excellent Inſtructions, repreſenting to them, that the main Strength and Support of the Throne, was neither the vaſt Extent of Country, nor the Number of Forces, nor immenſe Riches; but a due Reſpect for the Gods; a good Underſtanding between Brethren; and the Art of gaining, and preſerving true and faithful Friends. He dy'd equally regretted, and lamented, by all the Nations under his Dominion.

To give *Cyrus* his due Character, he may juſtly be conſider'd, as the wiſeſt Conqueror, and the moſt accompliſh'd Prince to be met with in prophane Hiſtory. He was poſſeſſed of all the Qualities requiſite to form a great Man; Wiſdom, Moderation, Courage, Magnanimity, noble Sentiments; a wonderful Ability in managing Men's Tempers, and gaining their Affections; a thorough Knowledge of all the Parts of the military Art, as far as that Age had carry'd it; a vaſt Extent of Genius, and Capacity for forming, and an equal Steddineſs, and Prudence, for executing the greateſt Projects.

It is very common for thoſe Heroes, who ſhine in the Field, and dazzle our Eyes, in the very Time of Action, to make but a very poor one upon other Occaſions, and in Affairs of a different Nature. We are aſtoniſh'd, when we ſee them alone, and without their Armies, to find what a Difference there is between a General, and a great Man; to ſee what low Sentiments, and mean Things, they are capable of in private Life; how they are influenc'd by Jealouſy, and govern'd by Intereſt; how diſagreeable, and odious they render themſelves, by their haughty Deportment, and Arrogance, which they think neceſſary to preſerve their Authority; and which only ſerve to make them hated, and deſpiſed.

Cyrus had none of theſe Defects: He appear'd always the ſame; that is, always great, even on the moſt indifferent Occaſions. Being ſure of his Greatneſs, of which real Merit was the Foundation, and Support, he thought of nothing more than to render himſelf affable, and of eaſy Acceſs: And whatever he ſeem'd to loſe by this condeſcending, humble Demeanour, was abundantly compenſated by the cordial Affection, and the ſincere Reſpect it procur'd him from his People.

Never was any Prince a greater Maſter of the Art of Inſinuation; ſo neceſſary for thoſe that bear Rule; and yet ſo little underſtood, or practiſed. He knew perfectly what Advantage may reſult from a ſingle Word rightly timed; from an obliging Carriage; from a Command, that carries a Reaſon with it; from a little Praiſe in granting a Favour, and from tempering a Refuſal with Expreſſions of Concern, and Good-Will. His Hiſtory is full of theſe Ornaments, and Graces.

He was rich in a Sort of Wealth which is wanting to moſt Sovereigns; and which they little regard, or ſtrive to acquire: They are poſſeſſed of every Thing, but faithful Friends; and their Indigence, in that Particular, is conceal'd, by the Splendor, and Affluence, with which they are ſurrounded. *Cyrus* was belov'd, becauſe he himſelf had a Love for others: For, has a Man any Friends, or, does he deſerve to have any, when he himſelf is deſtitute of Friendſhip? Nothing can be finer, than to ſee in *Xenophon*, how *Cyrus* liv'd, and converſed with his Friends; always preſerving as much Dignity, as was requiſite to keep up a fit Decorum; and yet infinitely remov'd from that ill-judg'd Haughtineſs, which deprives the Great of the moſt innocent, and agreeable Pleaſure in Life; that of converſing freely, and ſociably, with Perſons of Merit, though of an inferior Station.

The Uſe he made of his Friends, may ſerve as a perfect Model to all Perſons in Authority. His Friends had receiv'd from him, not only the Liberty, but an expreſs Command, to tell him whatever they thought. And though he was much ſuperior to all his Officers in Underſtanding, yet he never undertook any Thing, without asking their Advice: And whatever was to be done, whether it was to reform any Thing in the Government, to make Changes in the Army, or to form a new Enterprize, he would always have every Man ſpeak his Sentiments, and would often make Uſe of them to correct his own: So different was he from the Prince mention'd by *Tacitus*, who thought it a ſufficient Reaſon, for rejecting the moſt excellent Project, or Advice, that it did not proceed from himſelf: *Conſilii quamvis egregii, quod ipſe non aſſerret, inimicus.*

Cicero obſerves, that, during the whole Time *Cyrus* reign'd, he was never heard to ſpeak one rough, or angry Word: *Cujus ſummo in imperio nemo unquam verbum ullum aſperius audivit.* What a great Encomium for a Prince is comprehended in this ſhort Sentence! He muſt be a very great Maſter of himſelf, to be able, in the midſt of ſo much Action, and Commotion; and in Spite of all the intoxicating Effects of ſovereign Power,

always to preserve his Mind in such a State of Calmness, and Composure, that no Crosses, Disappointments, or unforeseen Accidents, should ever ruffle its Tranquillity; or provoke him to utter any harsh, or offensive Expression.

But, what was still greater in him, and more truly royal even than this, was his stedfast Persuasion, that all his Labours, and Endeavours, ought to tend to the Happiness of his People; and that it was not by the Splendor of Riches, by pompous Equipages, by luxurious Living, or a magnificent Table, that a King ought to distinguish himself from his Subjects, but by a Superiority of Merit in every Kind; and particularly, by a constant, indefatigable Care, and Vigilance, to promote their Interests, and secure the publick Welfare, and Tranquillity. He said himself, one Day, as he was discoursing with his Courtiers, upon the Duties of a King; that a Prince ought to consider himself as a Shepherd; (the Image under which both sacred, and prophane Antiquity, represented good Kings) and that he ought to have the same Vigilance, Care, and Goodness. "It is his Duty "(says he) to watch, that his People may live "in Safety, and Quiet; to charge himself with "Anxieties, and Cares, that they may be exempt "from them; to choose whatever is wholesome "for them, and remove what is hurtful, and pre-"judicial; to place his Delight in seeing them "increase, and multiply; and bravely expose his "own Person in their Defence, and Protection. "This (says he) is the natural Idea, and the just "Image of a good King. It is reasonable, at the "same Time, that his Subjects should render him "all the Service of which he stands in Need; but "it is still more reasonable, that he should labour "to make them happy; because it is for that very "End he is their King, as much as it is the End, "and Office, of a Shepherd to take Care of his "Flock."

Indeed, to be the Common-wealth's Guardian, and to be King; to be for the People, and to be their Sovereign, is but one and the same Thing. A Man is born for Others, when he is born to govern; because the Reason, and End of governing Others, is only to be useful, and serviceable to them. The very Basis, and Foundation of the Condition of Princes is not to be for themselves: The very Character of their Greatness is, that they are consecrated to the publick Good. They may, properly, be consider'd as Light, which is plac'd on high, only that it may diffuse, and shed its Beams on every Thing below. Are such Sentiments as these any Disparagement to the Dignity of the regal State?

'Twas by the Concurrence of all these Virtues, that *Cyrus* founded such an extensive Empire in so short a Time; that he peaceably enjoy'd the Fruits of his Conquests for several Years; that he made himself be so much esteem'd, and belov'd, not only by his own natural Subjects, but by all the Nations he had conquer'd, that, after his Death, he was regretted, as the common Father of all the People.

We ought not, however, to be at all surpriz'd, that *Cyrus* was so accomplish'd in every Virtue (it will easily be understood, that we speak only of Pagan Virtues) because we know 'twas *God* himself, who had form'd him to be the Instrument, and Executor of his gracious Designs towards his peculiar People.

When we say, that *God* himself had form'd this Prince, we do not mean, that he did it by any visible Miracle; or, that he immediately made him such, as we admire him in the Accounts we have of him in History. *God* gave him a happy Genius, and implanted in his Mind the Seeds of all the noblest Qualities; disposing his Heart, at the same Time, to aspire after the most excellent, and sublime Virtues. But, above all, he took Care, that this happy Genius should be cultivated by a good Education; and, by that Means, be prepar'd for the great Designs for which he intended him. We may venture to say, without Fear of being decev'd, the greatest Excellencies in *Cyrus* were owing to his Education, where the confounding him, in some Sort, with the rest of the Subjects, and the keeping him under the same Subjection to the Authority of his Teachers, serv'd to eradicate that Pride, which *is so natural to Princes*: This taught him to hearken to Advice, and to obey before he came to command; inur'd him to Hardship, and Toil; accustom'd him to Temperance, and Sobriety; and, in a Word, render'd him such, as we have seen him throughout his whole Conduct; gentle, modest, affable, obliging, compassionate, an Enemy to all Luxury, and Pride, and still more so to Flattery.

It must confessed, that such a Prince is one of the most precious, and valuable Presents, that Heaven can make to mortal Men. The Infidels themselves have acknowledg'd this Truth; nor has the Darkness of their false Religion been able to hide these two remarkable Truths from their Observation; that all good Kings are the Gift of *God*, and that such a Gift includes many others; for, nothing can be so excellent as that, which bears the most perfect Resemblance to the Deity; and the noblest Image of the Deity, is a just, moderate, chaste, and virtuous Prince, who reigns with no other View, than to establish the Reign of Justice, and Virtue. This is the Description which *Pliny* has left us of *Trajan*, and which has a great Resemblance to that of *Cyrus*. *Nullum est præstabilius & pulchrius Dei munus erga mortales, quam castus, & sanctus, & Deo simillimus princeps.*

When we narrowly examine this Hero's Life, we think, there seems to have been one Circumstance wanting to his Glory, which would have added to it exceedingly; we mean, that of having struggled under some grievous Calamity for some Time, and of having his Virtue try'd, by some sudden Turn of Fortune. We know, indeed, that the Emperor *Galba*, when he adopted *Piso*, told him, that the Stings of Prosperity were infinitely sharper than those of Adversity; and that the former put the Soul to a much severer Trial than the latter: *Fortunam adhuc tantum adversam tulisti; secundæ res acrioribus stimulis explorant animos.* And the Reason he gives is, that when Misfortunes come with their whole Weight upon a Man's Soul, she exerts herself, and summons all her Strength to bear up the Burden; whereas, Prosperity attacking the Mind secretly, or insensibly, leaves it all its Weakness, and insinuates a Poison into it, by so much the more dangerous, as it is the more subtle: *Quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.* Because Adversity may be born with Patience; but we are apt to be corrupted by Prosperity.

However, it must be own'd, that Adversity, when supported with Nobleness and Dignity, and surmounted by an invincible Patience, adds a great

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Luſtre to a Prince's Glory, and gives him Occaſion to diſplay many fine Qualities and Virtues, which would have been conceal'd in the Boſom of Proſperity; as a Greatneſs of Soul, independent of every Thing without; an unſhaken Conſtancy, which is Proof againſt the ſevereſt Strokes of Fortune; an Intrepidity of Soul, animated at the Sight of Danger; an happy Invention for Expedients, ſpringing even from Croſſes and Diſappointments; a Preſence of Mind, which views, and provides againſt every Thing; and laſtly, a Firmneſs of Soul, not only ſufficient for itſelf, but capable of ſupporting others.

Cyrus wanted this Kind of Glory: He himſelf informs us, that during whole Courſe of his Life, which was pretty long, the Happineſs of it was never interrupted by any unfortunate Accident; and that, in all his Deſigns, the Succeſs had anſwer'd his utmoſt Expectation. But he acquaints us, at the ſame Time, with another Thing, almoſt incredible, and which was the Source of all that Moderation and Evenneſs of Temper ſo conſpicuous in him, and for which he can never be ſufficiently admired; namely, that in the Midſt of his uninterrupted Proſperity, he ſtill preſerved, in his Heart, a ſecret Fear, proceeding from the Changes and Misfortunes that might happen: And this prudent Fear was not only a Preſervative againſt Inſolence, but even againſt every Exceſs of Joy.

There remains one Point more to be examin'd; but it is a very important one, with Regard to this Prince's Reputation and Character; namely, the Nature of his Victories and Conqueſts, which we ſhall but briefly mention. If theſe had been founded only upon Ambition, Injuſtice, and Violence, *Cyrus* would have been ſo far from meriting the Praiſes beſtow'd upon him, that he ought to be rank'd among thoſe famous Robbers of the Univerſe, thoſe publick Enemies to Mankind, who acknowledged no Law but that of Force; who look'd upon the common Rules of Juſtice as Laws only obligatory to private Perſons, and that would derogate from the Majeſty of Kings; who ſet no other Bounds to their Deſigns and Pretenſions, than their Incapacity of carrying them any farther; who ſacrificed the Lives of Millions to their particular Ambition; who made their Glory conſiſt in ſpreading Deſolation and Deſtruction, like Fires and Torrents; and who reign'd, as Bears and Lions would, if they were Maſters.

This is indeed the true Character of the greateſt Part of thoſe pretended Heroes the World admires; and by ſuch Ideas as theſe, we ought to correct the Impreſſion, made upon our Minds, by the undue Praiſes of ſome Hiſtorians; and the Sentiments of others, ſeduced by falſe Images of Greatneſs.

We do not know whether we are not biaſſed in Favour of *Cyrus*; but he ſeems to us to have been of a very different Character from thoſe Conquerors, whom we have juſt now deſcribed. Not that we would juſtify him in every Reſpect; or repreſent him as exempt from Ambition, which undoubtedly was the Soul of all his Undertakings; but he certainly reverenced the Laws, and knew that there are unjuſt Wars, which, whoever undertakes, without a warrantable Foundation, renders himſelf accountable for all the Blood that is ſhed. Now, every War is of this Sort, to which the Prince is induced by no other Motive than that of enlarging his Conqueſts; of acquiring a vain Reputation; or rendering himſelf terrible to his Neighbours.

This Hero, as we have ſeen, at the Beginning of the War, founded all his Hopes of Succeſs on the Juſtice of his Cauſe; and repreſented to his Soldiers, in order to inſpire them with the greater Courage and Confidence, that they were not the Aggreſſors; that it was the Enemy that attack'd them; and that therefore they were entitled to the Protection of the Gods, who ſeem'd themſelves to have put their Arms into their Hands, that they might fight in Defence of their Friends and Allies, unjuſtly oppreſſed. If we carefully examine his Conqueſts, we ſhall find they were all Conſequences of the Victories he obtain'd over *Cræſus*, King of *Lydia*, who was Maſter of greateſt Part of the leſſer *Aſia*; and over the King of *Babylon*, who was Maſter of all upper *Aſia*, and many other Countries; both which Princes were the Aggreſſors.

With good Reaſon therefore is *Cyrus* repreſented as one of the greateſt Princes recorded in Hiſtory; and juſtly is his Reign propoſed as a Model of a perfect Government; which it could not be, unleſs Juſtice had been the Baſis and Foundation of of it: *Cyrus a Xenophonte ſcriptus ad juſti effigiem imperii.* *Cyrus* is deſcribed by *Xenophon* as the Model of a juſt Prince.

Herodotus and *Xenophon*, who perfectly agree in the Subſtance and moſt eſſential Part of the Hiſtory of *Cyrus*, and particularly in what relates to his Expedition againſt *Babylon*, and his other Conqueſts; differ extremely in the Accounts they give of ſeveral important Facts; as the Birth and Death of that Prince, and the Eſtabliſhment of the *Perſian* Empire. We therefore think our ſelves obliged to give a ſuccinct Account of what *Herodotus* relates as to theſe Points.

He tells us, as *Juſtin* does after him, that *Aſtyages*, King of the *Medes*, being warned by a frightful Dream, that the Son, who was to be born of his Daughter, would dethrone him, did therefore marry his Daughter *Mandana* to a *Perſian*, of an obſcure Birth and Fortune, whoſe Name was *Cambyſes*: This Daughter being delivered of a Son, the King commanded *Harpagus*, one of his principal Officers, to deſtroy the Infant; who, inſtead of killing the Child, put it into the Hands of one of the King's Shepherds, and ordered him to leave it expoſed in a Foreſt. But the Child, being miraculouſly preſerved, and ſecretly brought up by the Shepherd's Wife, was afterwards known to be the ſame by his Grandfather; who contented himſelf with baniſhing him to the utmoſt Parts of *Perſia*, and vented all his Wrath upon the unfortunate *Harpagus*; whom he invited to a Feaſt, and entertain'd with the Fleſh of his own Son. Several Years after, young *Cyrus*, being inform'd by *Harpagus* who he was, and being encouraged by his Counſels and Remonſtrances, raiſed an Army in *Perſia*, march'd againſt *Aſtyages*, came to a Battle, and defeated him; and ſo transfer'd the Empire from the *Medes* to the *Perſians*.

The ſame *Herodotus* makes *Cyrus* die in a Manner little becoming ſo great a Conqueror. This Prince, according to him, carry'd his Arms againſt the *Scythians*; and, after having attack'd them, in the firſt Battle feign'd a Flight, leaving a great Quantity of Wine and Victuals behind him in the Field. The *Scythians* did not fail to ſeize the Booty.

Booty. When they had well drunken, and were ſleepy, *Cyrus* return'd upon them, and obtain'd an eaſy Victory; taking a vaſt Number of Priſoners; amongſt whom was the Son of the Queen, nam'd *Tomyris*, who commanded the Army. This young Captive-Prince, whom *Cyrus* refuſed to reſtore to his Mother, being recover'd from his drunken Fit, and not able to endure to bear being a Priſoner, kill'd himſelf with his own Hand. Hereupon, his Mother, *Tomyris*, animated by the Deſire of Revenge, gave the *Perſians* a ſecond Battle; and feigning a Flight as they had done before, by that Means, drew them into an Ambuſh, and kill'd above two hundred thouſand of their Men, together with their King. Then ordering the Head of *Cyrus* to be cut off, ſhe flung it into a Veſſel full of Blood, inſulting him, at the ſame Time, with theſe opprobrious Words; *Now glut thyſelf with Blood, in which thou haſt always delighted, and of which thou haſt ever been inſatiably thirſty.*

In Effect, the Account given by *Herodotus*, of the Infancy, and firſt Adventures of *Cyrus*, has much more the Air of a Romance, than of an Hiſtory. And, as to the Manner of his Death, what Probability is there, that a Prince ſo experienc'd in War, and no leſs renown'd for his Prudence than for his Bravery, ſhould ſo eaſily fall into an Ambuſcade laid for him by a Woman? What the ſame Hiſtorian relates concerning his haſty, violent Paſſion, and his childiſh Revenge upon the River *Gyndes*, in which one of his ſacred Horſes was drown'd, and which he immediately cauſed to be cut into three hundred and ſixty Channels, is directly repugnant to the Idea we have of *Cyrus*; who was a Prince of extraordinary Moderation, and Temper. Beſides, is it at all probable, that this Hero, who was marching to the Conqueſt of *Babylon*, ſhould ſo idly waſte his Time, which to him was ſo precious; ſhould ſpend the Ardor of his Troops, in ſuch an unprofitable Piece of Work; and miſs the Opportunity of ſurprizing the *Babylonians*; by amuſing himſelf with a ridiculous War with a River, inſtead of carrying it againſt his Enemies?

But, what decides this Point unanſwerably, in Favour of *Xenophon*, is the Conformity we find between him, and the Holy Scripture; where we ſee, that, inſtead of the *Perſian* Empire's having been raiſed upon the Ruins of that of the *Medes* (as *Herodotus* relates it) thoſe two Nations attack'd *Babylon* together, and united their Forces, to bring down the formidable Power of the *Babylonian* Monarchy.

From whence then could ſo great a Difference, as there is between theſe two Hiſtorians, proceed? *Herodotus* himſelf explains it to us. In the very Place, where he gives the Account of the Birth of *Cyrus*; and in that, where he ſpeaks of his Death, he acquaints us, that, even at that Time, thoſe two great Events were related different Ways. *Herodotus* follow'd that which pleas'd him beſt; for, it appears, that he was fond of extraordinary and wonderful Things, and was very credulous, *Xenophon* was of a graver Diſpoſition, and of leſs Credulity; and, in the very Beginning of his Hiſtory, acquaints us, that he had taken great Care, and Pains, to inform himſelf of the Birth, Education, and Character, of that great Prince.

CHAP. X.

The Life of Cambyſes; *His Expedition into* Egypt; *The Cruelty of the* Greeks *to* Phanes, *who deſerts their Party*; Cambyſes *revenges it upon the* Egyptians, *after the Reduction of* Memphis; *His ſtrange Uſage of the dead Body of* Amaſis; *His mad Expedition againſt the* Ethiopians, *and* Ammonians; *His barbarous Deſtruction of the Temples of* Thebes; *His Cruelty to the Magiſtrates of* Memphis; *He kills the falſe God* Apis; *His monſtrous Barbarity to his Brother* Smerdis, *and his Siſter*, Meroe; *The mean Flattery of* Prexaſpes; *The unuſual Proſperity of* Polycrates; *The Death of* Cambyſes; *the Uſurpation of* Smerdis; *The Diſcovery of his Impoſture, and hii Death*; Darius *elected King, in his Room*; *The Manners, and Cuſtoms of the* Aſſyrians, Babylonians, Lydians, Medes, *and* Perſians.

The HISTORY *of* CAMBYSES.

AS ſoon as *Cambyſes* was ſeated on the Throne, he reſolv'd to make War againſt *Egypt*, for a particular Affront, which, according to *Herodotus*, he pretended to have receiv'd from *Amaſis*; of which we have already given an Account. But, 'tis much more probable, that *Amaſis*, who had ſubmitted to *Cyrus*, and became tributary to him, might draw this War upon himſelf; by refuſing, after the Death of *Cyrus*, to pay the ſame Homage, and Tribute to his Succeſſor; and by attempting to ſhake off the Yoke, that had been impoſed on him.

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However that be, *Cambyſes*, in Order to carry on the War with Succeſs, made vaſt Preparations both by Sea and Land. The *Cypriots* and *Phenicians* furniſhed him with Ships; and as for his Land-Army, he added to his own Troops a great Number of *Grecians*, *Ionians*, and *Eolians*, which made up the principal Part of his Forces. But none was of greater Service to him in this War, than *Phanes* of *Halicarnaſſus*; who being the Commander of ſome auxiliary *Greeks*, in the Service of *Amaſis*, and being ſome way or other diſſatisfied with that Prince, came over to *Cambyſes*, and gave him ſuch Intelligence concerning the Nature of the Country, the Strength of the Enemy, and the State of this Affairs, as very much facilitated the Succeſs of his Expedition. 'Twas particularly by his Advice, that he contracted with an *Arabian* King, whoſe Territories lay between the Confines of *Paleſtine* and *Egypt*, to furniſh his Army with Water, during their March through the Deſart, that lay between theſe two Countries: Which Agreement that Prince fulfilled, by ſending the Water on the Backs of Camels; without which *Cambyſes* could never have march'd with his Army that Way, but they muſt have periſhed for Thirſt.

Having made all theſe Preparations, he invaded *Egypt* in the fourth Year of his Reign. When he was arrived upon the Frontiers, he was informed, that *Amaſis* was juſt dead; and that *Pſammenitus*, his Son, who had ſucceeded him, was buſy in gathering all his Forces together, to hinder him from penetrating into his Kingdom. In Effect, before *Cambyſes* could open a Paſſage into the Country, it was neceſſary he ſhould render himſelf Maſter of *Peluſium*, which was the Key of *Egypt*, on the Side he invaded it. Now *Peluſium* was ſo ſtrong a Place, that in all Likelihood it muſt have ſtopped him a great While. But according to *Polyenus*, to render the Reduction thereof eaſy, *Cambyſes* had Recourſe to the following Stratagem. Being informed, that the whole Garriſon conſiſted of *Egyptians*, he placed in the Front of his Army a great Number of Cats, Dogs, Sheep, and other Animals, which were look'd upon as ſacred by that Nation, and then attack'd the City by Storm: Whereupon the Soldiers of the Garriſon, not daring either to fling a Dart, or ſhoot an Arrow that Way, for Fear of hitting ſome of thoſe Animals, *Cambyſes* became Maſter of the Place without Oppoſition.

When *Cambyſes* had got Poſſeſſion of the C y *Pſammenitus* advanced with a great Army, to ſtop his Progreſs; and a conſiderable Battle enſued between them. But before they engaged, the *Greeks*, who were in the Army of *Pſammenitus*, in Order to be revenged of *Phanes*, for his Revolt, took his Children, which he had been oblig'd to leave in *Egypt*, when he fled, cut their Throats between the two Camps, and, in Preſence of the two Armies, drank their Blood. This outrageous Cruelty, however, did not procure them the Victory; for the *Perſians*, enraged at ſo horrid a Spectacle, fell upon them with great Fury, and quickly routed and overthrew the whole *Egyptian* Army; of which the greateſt Part were killed, upon the Spot; whilſt thoſe that could ſave themſelves eſcaped to *Memphis*, and ſhut themſelves up therein.

On Occaſion of this Battle, *Herodotus* takes Notice of an extraordinary Circumſtance, of which he himſelf was a Witneſs. The Bones of the *Perſians* and *Egyptians* were ſtill in the Place where the Battle was fought, but ſeparated from one another. The Skulls of the *Egyptians* were ſo hard, that a violent Stroke of a Stone would hardly break them; and thoſe of the *Perſians* ſo ſoft, that they might be broken, or pierced through, with the greateſt Eaſe imaginable. The Reaſon of this Difference was, that the former from their Infancy were accuſtomed to have their Heads ſhaved, and go uncovered, whereas the latter had their Heads always covered with their *Tiara* which is one of their principal Ornaments.

Cambyſes having purſued the Run-aways to *Memphis*, ſent an Herald into the City, in a Veſſel of *Mitylene*, by the River *Nile*, on which *Memphis* ſtood, to ſummon the Inhabitants to ſurrender. But the People, tranſported with Rage, fell upon the Herald, and tore him in Pieces, with all thoſe that accompanied him. However, *Cambyſes*, having ſoon after taken the Town, fully revenged this Indignity, cauſing ten times as many *Egyptians*, and of the Prime Nobility, to be publickly executed; amongſt which was the eldeſt Son of *Pſammenitus*. As for that King himſelf, *Cambyſes* was inclined to have treated him kindly; not only ſparing his Life, but appointing him an honourable Maintenance. But the *Egyptian* Monarch, little affected with this kind Uſage, did what he could to raiſe new Troubles, and Commotions, in Order to recover his Kingdom; as a Puniſhment for which he was made to drink Bull's Blood, and dyed immediately; his Reign having laſted but ſix Months; after which all *Egypt* ſubmitted to the Conqueror. On the News of this Succeſs, the *Libyans*, the *Cyrenians*, and the *Barceans*, all ſent Ambaſſadors with Preſents to *Cambyſes*, to make their Submiſſion to him.

From *Memphis*, he went to the City of *Sais*, which was the Burying-place of the Kings of *Egypt*; and as ſoon as he entered in the Palace, he cauſed the Body of *Amaſis* to be taken out of its Tomb; and, after having expoſed it to a thouſand Indignities in his own Preſence, ordered it to be caſt into the Fire, and burnt; which was a Thing equally contrary to the Cuſtoms of the *Perſians*, and the *Egyptians*. The Rage this Prince teſtified againſt the dead Carcaſs of *Amaſis*, ſhews to what a Degree he hated his Perſon: Whatever was the Cauſe of that Averſion, it ſeems to have been one of the chief Motives that induced *Cambyſes* to carry his Arms into *Egypt*.

The next Year, which was the ſixth of his Reign, he reſolved to make War with three different Countries; againſt the *Carthagenians*, *Ammonians*, and the *Æthiopians*. But the firſt of theſe Deſigns he was obliged to lay aſide, becauſe the *Phenicians* without whoſe Aſſiſtance he could not carry on that War, refuſed to ſuccour him againſt the *Carthaginians*, who were deſcended from them; *Carthage* being originally a *Tyrian* Colony.

But, however, being determined to invade the other two Nations, he ſent Ambaſſadors to *Ethiopia*; who under that Character were to act as Spies for him, to learn the State and Strength of the Country, and give him Intelligence of both. Accordingly, they carried Preſents along with 'em, ſuch as the *Perſians* uſed to make, as Purple, golden Bracelets, compounded Perfumes, and Wine. Theſe Preſents, amongſt which there was nothing uſeful, or ſerviceable, except the Wine, were deſpiſed by the *Ethiopians*; neither did they make much more

Account of his Embaſſadors; whom they took for what they really were, Spies, and Enemies in Diſguiſe. However, the *Ethiopian* Monarch was willing, after his Way, to make a Preſent in Return, to the King of *Perſia*; and taking a Bow in his Hands, which the *Perſians* were ſo far from being able to draw, that they could hardly bear its Weight, he drew it in Preſence of the Ambaſſadors, and told them: "This is the Preſent, and "the Counſel, the King of *Ethiopia* gives the "King of *Perſia*. When the *Perſians* are able to "uſe a Bow, of this Bigneſs and Strength, with "as much Eaſe as I have now bent it, then let "them come to attack the *Ethiopians*, and bring "more Troops with them than *Cambyſes* is Maſ-"ter of: In the mean Time, let them thank the "Gods for not having put it into the Hearts of "the *Ethiopians*, to extend their Dominions be-"yond their own Country.

This Anſwer greatly enraged *Cambyſes*; he commanded his Army to begin their March immediately, without conſidering, that he neither had Proviſions, nor any Thing neceſſary for ſuch an Expedition: but he left the *Grecians* behind him, in his new-conquer'd Country, to keep it in Subjection, during his Abſence.

As ſoon as he arrived at *Thebes*, in upper *Egypt*, he detached Fifty Thouſand of his Men againſt the *Ammonians*, ordering them to ravage the Country, and to deſtroy the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon* there, which was very famous. But, after they had made ſeveral Days March in the Deſart, a violent Wind blowing from the *South*, brought ſuch a vaſt Quantity of Sand upon the Army, that the Men were all overwhelmed, and buried under it.

In the mean Time, *Cambyſes* marched forwards, like a Man diſtracted, towards the *Ethiopians*; notwithſtanding his being deſtitute of all Sorts of Proviſion; which quickly cauſed a terrible Famine in his Army. He had ſtill Time, ſays *Herodotus*, to have remedied this Evil: But *Cambyſes* would have thought it a Diſhonour to have deſiſted from his Undertaking, and therefore he proceeded on his Expedition. At firſt his Army was obliged to live upon Herbs, Roots, and Leaves of Trees: But, coming afterwards into a Country entirely barren, they were reduced to the Neceſſity of eating their Beaſts of Burden. At laſt they were brought to ſuch a cruel Extremity, as to be oblig'd to eat one another; every tenth Man, upon whom the Lot fell, being doom'd to ſerve as Meat for his Companions; a Meat, ſays *Seneca*, more cruel and terrible than Famine itſelf: *Decimum quemque ſortiti, alimentum habuerunt fame ſævius.* Notwithſtanding all this, the King ſtill perſiſted in his Deſign, or rather in his Madneſs; nor did the miſerable Deſolation of his Army make him ſenſible of his Error. But at length, beginning to be afraid for his own Perſon, he ordered them to return. During all this dreadful Famine among the Troops (who would believe it?) there was no Abatement of Delicacies at the King's Table, and there were Camels ſtill reſerved to carry his Kitchen-Furniture, and the Inſtruments of his Luxury: *Sed vabantur illis interim generoſæ aves, & inſtrumenta epularum camelis vehebantur, cum ſortirentur milites ejus quis male periret, quis pejus viveret.*

The Remainder of his Army, of which the greateſt Part was loſt in this Expedition, he brought back to *Thebes*; where he ſucceeded much better in the War againſt the Gods, whom he found more eaſy to be conquered than Men. *Thebes* was full of Temples, that were incredibly rich, and magnificent. All theſe *Cambyſes* pillaged, and then ſet them on Fire. The Riches of theſe Temples muſt have been vaſtly great, ſince the very Remains, ſaved from the Flames, amounted to an immenſe Sum; Three Hundred Talents of Gold, and Two Thouſand Three Hundred Talents of Silver. He likewiſe carried away, at this Time, the famous Circle of Gold, that encompaſſed the Tomb of King *Ozymandias*, being Three Hundred and Sixty-five Cubits in Circumference; and in which were repreſented all the Motions of the ſeveral Conſtellations.

From *Thebes*, he went back to *Memphis*, where he diſmiſſed all the *Greeks*, and ſent them to their reſpective Homes: But on his Return into the City, finding it all full of Rejoicings, he fell into a great Rage, ſuppoſing all this to have been for the ill Succeſs of his Expedition. He therefore called the Magiſtrates before him, to know the Meaning of thoſe publick Rejoicings; and upon their telling him, that it was becauſe they had found their God *Apis*, he would not believe them, but cauſed them to be put to Death, as Impoſtors that inſulted him and his Misfortunes. Then he ſent for the Prieſts, who made him the ſame Anſwer: Upon which he replied, that ſince their God was ſo kind and familiar, as to appear among them, he would be acquainted with him; and therefore commanded him forthwith to be brought to him. But, when inſtead of a God he ſaw a Calf, or young Bull, he was ſtrangely aſtoniſhed; and falling again into a Rage, he drew out his Dagger, and ran it into the Thigh of the Beaſt; then uppraiding the Prieſts for their Stupidity, in worſhipping a Brute for a God, he ordered them to be ſeverely whipt, and all the *Egyptians* in *Memphis*, that ſhould be found celebrating the Feaſt of *Apis*, to be ſlain. The God was carried back to the Temple, where he languiſhed of his Wound for ſome Time, and then died.

The *Egyptians* ſay, that after this Fact, which they reckon to have been the higheſt Inſtance of Impiety, that ever was committed among them, *Cambyſes* ran mad; but his Actions ſhewed him to have been ſo long before, of which he continued to give divers Inſtances; among the Reſt are theſe following:

He had a Brother, the only Son of *Cyrus*, beſides himſelf, and born of the ſame Mother: His Name, according to *Xenophon*, was *Tanaoxares*; but *Herodotus* calls him *Smerdis*, and *Juſtin*, *Mergis*. He accompanied *Cambyſes* in his *Egyptian* Expedition. But being the only Perſon amongſt all the *Perſians*, that could draw the Bow, which the Ambaſſadors of *Cambyſes* brought from the King of *Ethiopia*, *Cambyſes* conceived ſuch a Jealouſy againſt him, that he could not longer bear him in the Army, but ſent him back into *Perſia*. And not long after, dreaming, One came and told him, *Smerdis* ſat upon the Throne, he ſent *Prexaſpes*, one of his chief Confidents, after him into *Perſia*, with Orders to put him to Death, which he accordingly executed.

This Murder was the Cauſe of another ſtill more criminal: *Cambyſes* had with him, in the Camp, his youngeſt Siſter, whoſe Name was *Meroe*; and *Herodotus* acquaints us after what ſtrange a Manner this Siſter became his Wife. As this Princeſs was exceedingly

ceedingly beautiful, *Cambyſes* abſolutely reſolved to marry her: To this End, he ſummoned together all the Judges of the *Perſian* Nation, (to whom the Interpretation of their Laws did belong) to enquire of them, whether there was any Law, that would allow a Brother to marry his Siſter? The Judges, being unwilling, on one Hand, directly to authorize ſuch an inceſtuous marriage; and on the other Hand fearing the King's violent Temper, ſhould they contradict him, endeavoured to find out an Evaſion, and gave him this ſuble Anſwer: That they had no Law, indeed, which permitted a Brother to marry his Siſter; but they had a Law which allowed the King of *Perſia* to do what he pleaſed. This ſerving his Purpoſe, as well as a direct Approbation of the Thing, he ſolemnly married her; and hereby gave the firſt Example of that Inceſt, which was afterwards practiſed by moſt of his Succeſſors; and which by ſome of them carried ſo far, as to marry their own Daughters, how repugnant ſoever it be to Modeſty and good Order. This Lady he carried with him in all his Expeditions, and her Name being *Meroe*, he from her gave that Name to an Iſland in the *Nile*, between *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, on the conquering of it; for, ſo far he advanced in his wild March againſt the *Ethiopians*. What gave Occaſion of murdering this Princeſs, was as follows: One Day *Cambyſes* was diverting himſelf, in ſeeing a Combat, between a young Lion, and a young Dog; the Lion getting the Better, another Dog, of the ſame Litter with that which was engaged, came to his Aſſiſtance, and help'd him to maſter the Lion. This Adventure mightily delighted *Cambyſes*, but drew Tears from *Meroe*; who being obliged to tell her Husband the Reaſon of her Weeping, confeſſed, that this Combat made her call to Mind the Fate of her Brother *Smerdis*, who had not had the ſame good Fortune as that little Dog. There needed no more than this, to excite the Rage of this brutal Prince; who immediately gave her, notwithſtanding her being with Child, ſuch a Kick with his Foot on the Belly, that ſhe died of it. So vile a Marriage deſerved no better End.

He cauſed alſo ſeveral of the principal of his Followers to be buried alive; and daily ſacrificed ſome or other of them to his wild Fury. One Day he would oblige *Prexaſpes*, one of his principal Officers, and Favourites, to declare to him what his *Perſian* Subjects thought and ſaid of him. "They admire, Sir, (ſays *Prexaſpes*) a great "many excellent Qualities they ſee in you; but "they are ſomewhat mortified at your immoderate "Love of Wine." "I underſtand you, (ſays the "King) that is, they pretend that Wine deprives "me of my Reaſon. You ſhall be Judge of that "immediately." Upon which he began to drink exceſſively, pouring it down in larger Quantities, than ever he had done at any Time before. Then ordering the Son of *Prexaſpes*, who was his chief Cup-Bearer, to ſtand upright at the End of the Room, with his left Hand upon his Head, took his Bow, and level'd it at him; and declaring that he aim'd at his Heart, let fly, and actually ſhot him into the Heart; then he ordered his Side to be opened, and ſhewing the Father the Heart of his Son, which the Arrow had pierced, aſked him, in an inſulting and ſcoffing Manner, if he had not a ſteady Hand? The wretched Father, who ought not to have had either Voice or Life remaining, after a Stroke like this, was ſo mean-ſpirited as to reply: "APOLLO *himſelf could not have ſhot better*: *Seneca*, who copied this Story from *Herodotus*, after having ſhewn his Deteſtation of the barbarous Cruelty of the Prince, condemns ſtill more the cowardly and monſtrous Flattery of the Father: *Scelleratius telum illud laudatum eſt, quam miſſum.*

When *Cræſus* took upon him to adviſe *Cambyſes*, againſt theſe Proceedings, and laid before him the ill Conſequences they would produce, he ordered him to be put to Death. And, when thoſe who received his Orders, knowing he would repent of it the next Day, deferred the Execution, he cauſed them all to be put to Death, becauſe they had not obeyed his Command; tho' at the ſame Time he expreſſed great Joy that *Cræſus* was alive.

It was about this Time, that *Oretes*, one of the *Satrapæ* to *Cambyſes*, and who had the Government of *Sardis*, brought about the Death of *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, after a very ſtrange and extraordinary Manner. The Story of this *Polycrates* is of ſo ſingular a Nature, that the Reader will not be diſpleaſed, if we give him an Account of it.

This *Polycrates* was a Prince, who through the whole Courſe of his Life had been perfectly proſperous and ſucceſsful in all his Affairs, and had never met with the leaſt Diſappointment, or unfortunate Accident, to diſturb his Felicity. *Amaſis*, King of *Egypt*, his Friend and Ally, thought himſelf obliged to ſend him a Letter of Admonition upon that Subject. In this Letter he declared to him, that he had terrible Apprehenſions concerning his Condition; that ſuch a long and conſtant Courſe of Proſperity was to be ſuſpected, that ſome malignant, envious God, who looked upon the Fortune of Men with a jealous Eye, would certainly, ſooner or later, bring Ruin and Deſtruction upon him; that, in Order to prevent ſuch a fatal Stroke, he adviſed him to procure ſome Misfortune to himſelf, by a voluntary Loſs, which he was perſuaded would prove a ſenſible Mortification to him.

The Tyrant followed this Advice. Having an Emerald Ring, which he mightily eſteemed particularly for its curious Workmanſhip, as he was walking upon the Deck of one of his Galleys, with his Courtiers, he threw it into the Sea without any one's perceiving what he had done. Not many Days after, ſome Fiſhermen, having caught a Fiſh of an extraordinary Bigneſs, made a Preſent of it to *Polycrates*; and when the Fiſh came to be opened, the King's Ring was found in its Belly; whereupon his Surprize was very great, and his Joy ſtill greater.

When *Amaſis* heard what had happened, he was very differently affected with it. He writ another Letter to *Polycrates*, telling him, that, to avoid the Mortification of ſeeing his Friend and Ally fall into ſome grievous Calamity, he from that Time renounced his Friendſhip and Alliance. A ſtrange, whimſical Notion this! as if Friendſhip was merely a Name, or a Title, deſtitute of all Subſtance and Reality.

Be that as it will; what the *Egyptian* Monarch apprehended, really came to paſs: Some Years after, about the Time *Cambyſes* fell ſick, *Oretes*, who, as we obſerved before, was his Governor at *Sardis*, not being able to bear the Reproach, which another *Satrapa* had made him, in a private Quarrel, of his not having yet conquer'd the Iſle of *Samos*, which lay ſo near his Government, and would be ſo commodious for his Maſter; he, upon this, reſolved,

resolved at any Rate to destroy *Polycrates*, that he might get Possession of the Island. The Way he took to compass his Point was this: He feign'd an Inclination, upon some pretended Discontent, to revolt from *Cambyses*, but must first take Care, how to secure his Treasure and Effects; for which End he declared, he was determined to depositt them into the Hands of *Polycrates*, and at the same Time make him a Present of one Half of it, which would enable him to conquer *Ionia*, and the adjacent Islands, a Thing he had long had in View.

Oretes knew the Tyrant loved Money, and passionately coveted to enlarge his Dominions: He therefore laid this double Bait before him, by which he equally tempted his Avarice and Ambition. *Polycrates*, that he might not rashly engage in an Affair of that Importance, thought it proper to inform himself more surely of the Truth of the Matter, and to that End sent a Messenger of his own to *Sardis*. When he came there, they shew'd him a vast Number of Bags full of Gold, as he thought, but in Truth filled with Stones, and having only the Mouths of them covered over with Gold. As soon as he was returned home, *Polycrates*, impatient to go and seize his Prey, set out for *Sardis*, contrary to the Advice of all his Friends; and took along with him *Democedes*, a celebrated Physician of *Crotona*. Immediately on his Arrival *Oretes* had him arrested, as an Enemy to the State; and as such caused him to be hang'd: In such an ignominious and shameful Manner did he end a Life, which 'till then had been but one continued Series of Prosperity and good Fortune.

To return to *Cambyses*; in the Beginning of the eighth Year of his Reign, he left *Egypt*, in Order to return into *Persia*: When he came into *Syria*, he found an Herald there, sent from *Susa* to the Army, to let them know, that *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, was proclaimed King, and to command them all to obey him. What had brought about this Event, was as follows: *Cambyses*, at his Departure from *Susa*, on his *Egyptian* Expedition, had left the Administration of Affairs, during his Absence, in the Hands of *Patisithes*, one of the Chiefs of the *Magi*. This *Patisithes* had a Brother, extremely like *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, and who perhaps, for that Reason, was called by the same Name. As soon as *Patisithes* was fully assured of the Death of that Prince, which was concealed from the Publick, knowing at the same Time, that *Cambyses* indulged his Extravagance to such a Degree, that he was grown insupportable, he placed his own Brother upon the Throne; and giving out, that he was the true *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, immediately dispatched Heralds into all the Parts of the Empire, to give Notice of his Accession, and to require all the Subjects thereof to pay him their Obedience.

Cambyses caused the Herald, that came with these Orders into *Syria*, to be arrested; and having strictly examined him in the Presence of *Prexaspes*, found that the true *Smerdis* was certainly dead; and he, who had usurp'd the Throne, was no other than *Smerdis*, One of the *Magi*. Upon this, he greatly lamented that, being deceived by a Dream, and the Identity of the Names, he had been induced to destroy his own Brother; and immediately gave Orders for his Army to march, and cut off the Usurper. But, as he was mounting his Horse for this Expedition, his Sword slipt out of its Scabbard, and gave him a Wound in the Thigh, of which he died shortly after. And the *Egyptians* remarking, that it was in the same Part of the Body, where he had before wounded their God *Apis*, reckon'd it as a Judgment upon him for that sacrilegious Impiety.

While he was in *Egypt*, having consulted the Oracle of *Butus*, which was famous in that Country, he was told, that he should die at *Ecbatane*; which understanding of *Ecbatane* in *Media*, he resolved to preserve his Life by never going thither; but what he thought to avoid in *Media*, he found in *Syria*: For the Town where he lay sick of this Wound, was of the same Name, being also called *Ecbatane*. Of which when he was informed, taking it for certain that he must die there, he assembled all the Chiefs of the *Persians* together, and representing to them the true State of the Case, that it was *Smerdis*, One of the *Magi*, who had usurped the Throne, earnestly exhorted them not to submit to that Impostor, and thereby permit the Soveraignty to pass from the *Persians* again to the *Medes*, of which Nation that Usurper was; but to take Care to set up a King over them of their own People. The *Persians*, however, thinking all this was said by him out of Hatred to his Brother, had no Regard to it; but upon his Death quietly submitted to him, whom they found on the Throne, supposing him to be the true *Smerdis*.

This Tyrant reigned seven Years and five Months; and in Scripture is called *Ahasverus*. When he first came to the Crown, the Enemies of the *Jews* made their Addresses directly to him, desiring him to hinder the Building of their Temple; and their Applcation was not in vain. Indeed he did not openly revoke the Edict of his Father *Cyrus*, perhaps out of some Remains of Respect for his Memory; but he in a great Measure frustrated the Design of it, by the many Discouragements he laid the *Jews* under; so that the Work went on but very slowly, during his Reign.

The HISTORY *of* *SMERDIS.*

SMERDIS, the Brother of *Patisithes*, is called in Scripture *Artaxerxes*. As soon as he was settled on the Throne, by the Death of *Cambyses*, the Inhabitants of *Samaria* wrote a Letter to him, setting forth what a turbulent, seditious, and rebellious People the *Jews* were. By Virtue of this Letter they obtained an Order from the King, prohibiting the *Jews* from proceeding any farther in the Rebuilding of their City, and Temple. So that the Work was suspended 'till the

the ſecond Year of *Darius*, which was about the Space of two Years.

The falſe *Smerdis*, on his aſcending the Throne, being ſenſible how important it was for him, that the Impoſture ſhould not be diſcover'd, affected, according to the Cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Monarchs, in thoſe Times, never to appear in publick; but to live retir'd in his Palace, and there tranſact all his Affairs by the Intercourſe of his Eunuchs; without admitting into his Preſence any but his moſt intimate Confidents.

And, the better to ſecure himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the Throne he had uſurp'd, he ſtudy'd, from his firſt Acceſſion, to gain the Affections of his Subjects; by granting them an Exemption from Taxes, and all military Service, for three Years: In Effect, he did ſo many Things for their Benefit, that his Death was much lamented, by the Generality of the *Perſians*, on the Revolution that happen'd ſoon afterwards.

But the very Precautions, he had Recourſe to, to prevent being diſcover'd, either by the Nobility, or the People, did but make it the more ſuſpected, that he was not the true *Smerdis*. He had marry'd all his Predeceſſors Wives; and, among the reſt, *Atoſſa*, a Daughter of *Cyrus*; and *Phedyma*, a Daughter of *Otanes*, a noble *Perſian*, of the firſt Quality. This Nobleman ſent a truſty Meſſenger to his Daughter, to enquire of her, whether the King was really *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, or ſome other Man. She anſwer'd, that, having never ſeen *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, ſhe could not tell. He then, by a ſecond Meſſage, deſir'd her to enquire of *Atoſſa* (who could not but know her own Brother) whether this were he, or not. Whereupon ſhe inform'd him, that the preſent King kept all his Wives apart, ſo that they never could converſe with each other; and that, therefore, ſhe could not come at *Atoſſa*, to ask this Queſtion of her. Upon this, he ſent her a third Meſſage, whereby he directed her, that when he ſhould next lie with her, ſhe ſhould take the Opportunity, when he was faſt aſleep, to feel whether he had any Ears. For, *Cyrus*, having caus'd the Ears of *Smerdis*, the Brother of *Patiſithes*, to be cut off for ſome Crime, he told her, that if the Perſon ſhe lay with had Ears, ſhe might ſatisfy herſelf, that he was *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*: But, if it was otherwiſe, he was an Impoſtor; and therefore, unworthy of poſſeſſing, either the Crown, or her. *Phedyma*, having receiv'd theſe Inſtructions, took the next Opportunity of making the Trial ſhe was directed to; and finding that the Perſon ſhe lay with had no Ears, ſent Word to her Father of it, whereby the whole Fraud was diſcover'd.

Hereupon, *Otanes* immediately enter'd into a Conſpiracy, with five more of the chief *Perſian* Nobility; and *Darius*, an illuſtrious *Perſian* Nobleman, whoſe Father *Hyſtaſpes* was Governor of *Perſia*, coming very ſeaſonably, as they were forming the Plan, was admitted into the Aſſociation, and vigorouſly promoted the Execution. The Affair was conducted with great Secreſy, and that very Day fix'd for it, leſt it ſhould be diſcover'd.

While they were concerting their Meaſures, an extraordinary Occurrence, of which they had not the leaſt Imagination, ſtrangely perplex'd the two *Magi*. In Order to remove all Suſpicion, they had propos'd to *Prexaſpes*, and obtain'd a Promiſe from him, that he ſhould publickly declare before the People (who were to be aſſembled for that Purpoſe) that the King upon the Throne was really *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*. But, when the People were aſſembled, which was on the very ſame Day, *Prexaſpes* ſpoke from the Top of a Tower, and, to the great Aſtoniſhment of all preſent, declar'd all that had paſs'd; that, with his own Hand, he had kill'd *Smerdis*, the Son of *Cyrus*, by the Order of *Cambyſes*; that the Perſon, who now poſſeſs'd the Throne, was *Smerdis*, the Brother of *Patiſithes*; and that he begg'd Pardon of the Gods, and Men, for the Crime he had committed, by Compulſion, and againſt his Will: Having ſaid this, he threw himſelf headlong from the Top of the Tower, and broke his Neck. It is eaſy to imagine, what Confuſion the News of this Accident occaſion'd in the Palace.

In the mean While, the Conſpirators, without being, in the leaſt, appriz'd of what had happen'd, were going to the Palace, at this very Juncture, and were ſuffer'd to enter unſuſpected. For, the Out-Guard, knowing them to be Perſons of the firſt Rank at Court, did not ſo much as ask them any Queſtions. But, coming near the King's Apartment, and finding the Officers there unwilling to give them Admittance, they drew their Scymitars, fell upon the Guards, and forc'd their Paſſage. Hereupon, the falſe *Smerdis*, and his Brother, who were deliberating together upon the Action of *Prexaſpes*, hearing a ſudden Uproar, ſnatch'd up their Arms, made the beſt Defence they could, and wounded ſome of the Conſpirators.

One of the two Brothers being quickly kill'd, the other fled into a diſtant Room to ſave himſelf, but was purſu'd thither by *Gobryas*, and *Darius*. There *Gobryas* ſeiz'd him, and held him faſt in his Arms; but, as it was quite dark in that Place, *Darius* was afraid to diſpatch him, leſt, at the ſame Time, he ſhould kill his Friend. Hereupon, *Gobryas*, judging what it was reſtrain'd him, oblig'd him to run his Sword through the Impoſtor's Body, though he ſhould happen to pin them both together. But *Darius* did it with ſo much Dexterity, and good Fortune, that he kill'd the falſe *Smerdis*, without hurting his Aſſociate in the Attempt.

At the ſame Inſtant, they went out of the Palace, with their Hands all ſtain'd with Blood, expos'd the Heads of the Impoſtor, and his Brother *Patiſithes*, to the Eyes of the People, and declar'd the whole Impoſture. Upon this, the People grew ſo enrag'd againſt the *Magi*, that they fell upon their whole Sect, and ſlew as many of them as they could meet with. For which Reaſon, the Day, on which this was done, thenceforward, became an annual Feſtival among the *Perſians*, by whom it was celebrated with great Rejoicings. It was call'd *Magophonia*, or the Slaughter of the *Magi*; nor durſt any of that Sect appear in publick upon that Feſtival.

When the Tumult, and Diſorder, inſeparable from ſuch an Event, were appeas'd; the Lords, who had ſlain the Uſurper, enter'd into a Conſultation among themſelves, what Sort of Government was moſt proper for them to eſtabliſh. Hereupon, *Otanes*, who ſpoke firſt, voted directly againſt Monarchy; ſtrongly repreſenting, and exaggerating the Dangers, and Inconveniencies, to which that Form of Government is liable; chiefly flowing, according to him, from that abſolute, and

unlimited Power annex'd thereto; whereby the moſt virtuous Man muſt, almoſt unavoidably, be corrupted; wherefore, he concluded, by declaring for a popular Government. *Megabyſus*, who next deliver'd his Opinion, admitting all that the other had ſaid againſt a monarchical Government, confuted his Reaſons for a Democracy. He repreſented the People as a violent, fierce, and ungovernable Creature, that acts only by Caprice and Paſſion. "A King, ſaid he, knows what he does; "but the People neither know, nor hear any "Thing; but blindly reſign themſelves up to "thoſe that have captivated their Underſtand-"ing." He, therefore, declar'd for an Ariſtocracy, wherein the ſupream Power is committed to a few wiſe, and experienc'd Perſons.

What were the Sentiments of the Reſt, we are not inform'd; but *Darius*, who ſpoke laſt, ſhew'd the Inconveniencies of an Ariſtocracy, otherwiſe call'd Oligarchy, wherein Diſtruſt, Envy, Diſſenſions, and Ambition, all natural Springs of Faction, Sedition, and Murder reign; and for which there is uſually no other Remedy, than by ſubmitting to one Man's Authority; which is call'd Monarchy, and which, of all Forms of Government, is the moſt commendable, the ſafeſt, and the moſt advantagious, inexpreſſibly great being the Good that can be done by a Prince, whoſe Power is equal to his good Inclinations. "In "ſhort (ſaid he) to determine this Point, by a "Fact, which, to me, ſeems deciſive, and unde-"niable, to what Form of Government is owing "the preſent Greatneſs of the *Perſian* Empire? "Is it not to this, which I am now recommend-"ing?" Hereupon, the Opinion of *Darius* was embrac'd by the Reſt of the Lords; and they reſolv'd, that the Monarchy ſh uld be continu'd on the ſame Foot whereon it had been ſettled by the great Founder, *Cyrus*.

The Queſtion was next, to know, which of them ſhould be King, and how they ſhould proceed to the Election. This they thought fit to refer to the Gods. Accordingly, they agreed to meet, the next Morning by Sun-Riſing, on Horſe-Back, at a certain Place in the Suburbs of the City; and he, whoſe Horſe firſt neigh'd, ſhould be King. For, the *Sun* being the chief Deity of the *Perſians*, they imagin'd, that, taking this Courſe, would be giving him the Honour of the Election.

The Groom of *Darius*, happening to hear of the Agreement, made Uſe of the following Artifice to ſecure the Crown to his Maſter. He carry'd, the Night before, a Mare to the Place appointed for their Meeting the next Day, and brought to her his Maſter's Horſe. Accordingly, upon the ſeven Princes going next Morning to the Rendezvous, no ſooner was the Horſe of *Darius* come to the Place where he had ſmelt the Mare, but he began to neigh; whereupon, *Darius* was ſaluted King by the Others, and plac'd on the Throne. He was the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, a *Perſian* by Birth, and of the Royal Family of *Achæmenes*, the Grand-Father of *Cyrus*.

Upon the *Perſian* Empire's being thus reſtor'd, and ſettled, by the Wiſdom, and Valour of theſe ſeven Lords, they were rais'd, by the new King, to the higheſt Dignities, and honour'd with moſt ample Privileges. They had Acceſs to his Perſon, whenever they would, and, in all publick Affairs, were the firſt to deliver their Opinions; and whereas, all the other *Perſians* wore their *Tiara*, or Turban, with the Top bent backwards, except the King, who wore his erect; theſe Lords had the Privilege of wearing theirs with the Top bent forwards; becauſe, that when they attack'd the *Magi*, they had bent theirs in that Manner, the better to know one another in the Hurry, and Confuſion. From that Time forwards, the *Perſian* Kings of this Family always had ſeven Counſelors, honour'd with the ſame Privilege, who are call'd in Scripture, the *ſeven Princes, who ſaw the King's Face*; Eſther i. 14.

The Remainder of the Hiſtory of the *Perſian* Empire being interwoven with the Tranſactions of other Nations, of whom we ſhall ſpeak, in the Courſe of this Work; we ſhall defer it till hereafter, when it will come in more properly.

The MANNERS *of the* ASSYRIANS.

BUT firſt, we ſhall give a joint Account of the Manners, and Cuſtoms of all the ſeveral Nations, whereof we have been treating, ſince the *Egyptians*; becauſe they agree in ſeveral Points; and, if we were to treat of them ſeparately, we ſhould have frequent Repetitions; and becauſe, excepting the *Perſians*, we have hardly any Account of the Manners of the other Nations; we ſhall, therefore, reduce, what we have to ſay upon theſe Heads, to theſe four Articles:

I. Their Government.
II. Their Art of War.
III. Their Arts, and Sciences: And,
IV. Their Religion.

This done, we ſhall examin the Cauſes of the Declenſion, and Ruin of the great Empire founded by *Cyrus*.

To begin with the firſt; after a ſhort Account of the Nature of the Government in *Perſia*, and the Manner of educating the Children of their Kings, we ſhall, next, proceed to conſider theſe few Particulars relating thereunto: Their publick Council, wherein their State-Affairs were examin'd; their Adminiſtration of Juſtice; their Care of the Provinces; and the good Order obſerv'd in their Revenues.

Monarchical, or Regal Government, as we call it, is, of all others, the moſt ancient, the moſt uni-

univerſal, the moſt proper to keep the People in Peace, and Union; and the leaſt expos'd to the Revolutions, and Viciſſitudes, incident to other States. For theſe Reaſons, the wiſeſt Writers among the Ancients, as *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Plutarch*, have thought fit to prefer this Government to all others. 'Tis likewiſe the only Form, that was ever eſtabliſh'd among the *Eaſtern* Nations; a Republican Government being utterly unknown in that Part of the World, even to this Day; unleſs it be in the *Dutch* Plantations.

Amongſt theſe Nations, then, extraordinary Honours were paid to the Prince on the Throne; becauſe, in his Perſon, they reſpected the Character of the Deity, whoſe Image, and Vice-gerent he was; being plac'd on the Throne, by the Hands of the Supreme Governor of the World, and inveſted with his Authority, and Power, in order to be the Miniſter of his Providence, and the Diſpenſer of his Goodneſs towards the People. In this Manner did the *Pagans* themſelves, in old Times, both think, and ſpeak; as we may find, by *Pliny*, who, in his Panegyrick on *Trajan*, ſays, *Principem dat Deus, qui erga hominum genus vice ſua fungatur.*

Theſe Sentiments are very laudable, and juſt: For, certainly, the moſt profound Reſpect, and Reverence are due to the Supreme Power; becauſe it cometh from *God*, and is entirely appointed for the Good of the Publick: Beſides, 'tis evident, that an Authority not reſpected, according to the full Extent of its Commiſſion, muſt thereby, either become uſeleſs; or, at leaſt, very much limited, in the good Effects, which ought to flow from it. But, in the Times of Paganiſm, theſe Honours, and this Homage, though juſt, and reaſonable in themſelves, were often carry'd too far; the *Chriſtian* Religion being the only one, that has known how to keep within Bounds in that Particular. "We honour the Emperor (ſaid *Tertul-*
" *lian*) in the Name of all the *Chriſtians*; but in
" ſuch a Manner, as is lawful for us, and proper
" for him:" That is, as a Man, who is next, to God, in Rank, and Authority, from whom he has receiv'd all that he is, and whatever he has; and who knows no Superior but *God* alone. For this Reaſon he calls, in another Place, the Homage paid the *Emperor*, the Religion of the ſecond Majeſty, inferior to nothing but the firſt: *Religio ſecundæ Majeſtatis.*

Among the *Aſſyrians*, and more particularly, among the *Perſians*, the Prince us'd to be ſtil'd, *The great King*; *and the King of Kings.* Two Reaſons might induce thoſe Princes to take this oſtentatious Title. The one, becauſe their Empire was form'd by the Conqueſt of ſeveral Kingdoms, all united under one Dominion: The other, becauſe they had ſeveral Monarchs their Vaſſals, either in their Court, or under their Dependance.

The Crown was hereditary among them, deſcending from Father to Son, and generally to the eldeſt. When an Heir to the Crown was born, all the Empire teſtify'd their Joy, by Sacrifices, Feaſts, and all Kinds of publick Rejoicings: And his Birth-Day was, thence-forward, an annual Feſtival, and Day of Solemnity for all the *Perſian* Empire.

But, no Part of their Government was ſo much admir'd by *Plato*, as their Manner of educating their future Maſter; accordingly, he recommended it to the *Greeks*, as the moſt perfect Model for the bringing up a Prince.

To begin from his very Birth, he was never wholly committed to the Care of the Nurſe; who, generally, was a Woman of mean, and low Condition. But ſome of the moſt approv'd Merit, and Probity were choſen from amongſt the Eunuchs, that is, the principal Officers of the Houſhold, to take Care of the young Prince's Perſon, and Health, till he was ſeven Years of Age, and to begin to form his Manners, and Behaviour. He was then taken from them, and put into the Hands of other Maſters, who were to continue the Care of his Education; to teach him to ride, aſſoon as his Strength would permit, and to exerciſe him in Hunting, and other manly Diverſions.

When he arriv'd at the Age of fourteen, that is, when the Mind begins to come to its Maturity, four of the wiſeſt, and moſt virtuous Men of the State, were appointed to be his Preceptors. The firſt, ſays *Plato*, taught him Magick; that is, in their Language, the Worſhip of the Gods, according to their ancient Maxims, and the Laws of *Zoroaſtres*, the Son of *Oromaſdes*: His Buſineſs was, likewiſe, to ground him in the Principles of Government. The ſecond was to accuſtom him to ſpeak Truth, and to obſerve, and adminiſter Juſtice. The third was to teach him, not to be overcome by Pleaſures; that hereafter he might be truly a King, and always free; Maſter of himſelf, and his Deſires. The fourth was to fortify his Courage againſt Fear, particularly, that to which he was moſt ſubject; and to inſpire him with a noble, and prudent Aſſurance, ſo neceſſary for thoſe that are born to command. Each of theſe Governors excell'd in his Way, and was eminent in that Part of Education, aſſign'd to him. One was particularly diſtinguiſh'd for his Knowledge in Religion, and the Art of governing: Another for his Love of Truth, and Juſtice: This for his Moderation, and Abſtinence from Pleaſures: That for a ſuperior Strength of Mind, and an uncommon Intrepidity, even in the greateſt Dangers.

We do not know, whether ſuch a Diverſity of Maſters, who, without Doubt, were of different Tempers; and, perhaps, had different Intereſts in View, was proper to anſwer the End propos'd: Or, whether it was poſſible, that four Men ſhould agree together in the ſame Principles, and harmoniouſly purſue the ſame End. Probably, the Reaſon of having ſo many was, that they apprehended it impoſſible to find any one Perſon poſſeſs'd of all the Qualities they judg'd neceſſary for giving a right Education to the preſumptive Heir of the Crown; ſo great an Idea had they, even in thoſe Times of Corruption, of the Importance of the right breeding up a Prince.

Notwithſtanding all this Care, however, as *Plato* obſerves, in the ſame Place; the Luxury, Pomp, and Magnificence, wherewith the young Prince was ſurrounded; the numerous Train of Attendants, that waited on him with a ſervile Submiſſion; all the Appurtenances, and Equipage, belonging to a voluptuous, and effeminate Life; where nothing ſeem'd to be minded but Pleaſure, and the inventing of new Delights; Dangers, which the moſt excellent Diſpoſition could hardly ever withſtand; render'd all their Labour, and Precautions vain, and uſeleſs. The corrupt Manners of the Nation, therefore, quickly debauch'd the Prince;

and

and drew him into the reigning Pleaſures; againſt which ſcarce any Education is a ſufficient Defence.

What is here ſaid by *Plato*, can relate only to the Children of *Artaxerxes*, ſurnam'd *Longimanus*, the Son, and Succeſſor of *Xerxes*; in whoſe Time liv'd *Alcibiades*, who is introduc'd in the Dialogue, from whence this Obſervation is taken. For, that Philoſopher, in another Paſſage, which we ſhall cite hereafter, informs us, that neither *Cyrus*, nor *Darius*, ever thought of giving the Princes, their Sons, a good Education: And what we find in Hiſtory, concerning *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, gives us Reaſon to believe, that he was more careful than his Predeceſſors in this Point of well-breeding up his Children; but was not much imitated, in that Reſpect, by his indolent Succeſſors; as the *Perſians* experienc'd too often to their Coſt.

We have already obſerv'd, that the Regal Authority, among the *Perſians*, was abſolute; but yet it was, in ſome Meaſure, kept within Bounds, by the Eſtabliſhment of a Council, appointed by the State; a Council, which conſiſted of ſeven of the Princes, or chief Lords, of the Nation, no leſs diſtinguiſh'd for their Wiſdom, and Abilities, than for their Extraction. We have already ſeen the Origin of this Eſtabliſhment, in the Conſpiracy of the ſeven *Perſian* Noblemen, who enter'd into an Aſſociation againſt *Smerdis*, the Impoſtor, and kill'd him.

Accordingly, we are inform'd, in Scripture, that *Ezra* was ſent into *Judæa*, in the Name, and by the Authority of King *Artaxerxes*, and his ſeven Councellors: *From before the King, and his ſeven counſellors.* Ezra vii. 14. The ſame Scripture, a long Time before this, in the Reign of *Darius*, otherwiſe call'd *Ahaſuerus*, who ſucceeded the falſe *Smerdis*, informs us, That theſe counſellors were well vers'd in the Laws, ancient Cuſtoms, and Maxims of the State; that they always attended the Prince, who never tranſacted any Thing, or determin'd any Affair of Importance without their Advice: Which laſt Paſſage gives Room to ſome Reflections, that may greatly contribute to the Knowledge of the Genius, and Character of the *Perſian* Government.

In the firſt Place, *Darius* the King, who is there ſpoken of, was one of the moſt celebrated Princes that ever reign'd in *Perſia*; and one of the moſt eminent, on Account of his Wiſdom, and Prudence; though he had his Failings. 'Tis to him, as well as to *Cyrus*, that the greateſt Part of thoſe excellent Laws are aſcrib'd, which, for Ages after, ſubſiſted in that Country, and which were the Foundation, and Standard of their Government. Now, this Prince, notwithſtanding his extraordinary Penetration and Ability, thought he ſtood in Need of Counſel; nor did he apprehend, that the joining a Number of Aſſiſtants to himſelf, for the Determination of Affairs, would be any Diſcredit to his own Underſtanding: By which Proceeding, he really ſhew'd a Superiority of Genius, which is very uncommon, and ſuppoſes a great Fund of Merit. For, a Prince of ſlender Talents, and a narrow Capacity, is generally full of himſelf; and the leſs Underſtanding he has, ſo much is he the more obſtinate, and untractable. He thinks it a Want of Reſpect, to offer to diſcover any Thing to him, which he does not perceive; and is affronted, if you ſeem to doubt, that he, who is ſupreme in Power, is not the ſame in Penetration, and Underſtanding. But *Darius*, very juſtly, had a different, and better Way of thinking, and did nothing without the Advice of his Council.

Again, *Darius*, however abſolute he was, and how jealous ſoever he might be of his Prerogative, did not think he derogated from either, when he inſtituted that Council; for, the Council did not at all interfere with the King's Authority of ruling, and commanding, which always reſides in the Perſon of the Prince; but was confin'd entirely to that of Reaſon, which conſiſted in communicating, and imparting their Knowledge, and Experience to the King. He was perſwaded, that the nobleſt Character of ſovereign Power, when it is pure, and has neither degenerated from its Origin, nor deviated from its End, is for the King to govern by the Laws; to make them the Rule of his Will, and Deſire; and to think nothing allowable for him, of which they diſapprove.

In the third Place, this Council, which everywhere accompany'd the King, was a perpetual ſtanding Council, conſiſting of the greateſt Men, and the beſt Heads in the Kingdom; who, under the Direction of the Sovereign, and always with a Dependency upon him, were the main Spring, as we may ſay, of publick Order, and the Fountain-Head of all the wiſe Regulations, and Tranſactions at home and abroad. Upon this Council the King diſcharg'd himſelf of ſeveral weighty Cares, with which he muſt, otherwiſe, have been over-burden'd; and by them he likewiſe executed whatever had been reſolv'd on. 'Twas by the Means of this ſtanding Council, that the great Maxims of the State were preſerv'd; the Knowledge of its true Intereſt perpetuated; Affairs carry'd on with Harmony, and Order; and Innovations, Errors, and Overſights, prevented. For, in a publick, and general Council, Things are diſcuſs'd by unſuſpected Perſons; all the Miniſters are mutual Inſpectors of one another; all their Knowledge, and Experience in publick Matters are united; and they all become equally capable of every Part of the Adminiſtration: Becauſe, though, as to the executive Part, they move only in one particular Sphere of Buſineſs; yet they are obliged to ſtudy all the Branches thereof, that they may be able to deliver their Opinions in a ſenſible, and rational Manner.

The fourth, and laſt Reflection, we have to make on this Head is, that we find it ſet down in Scripture, that the Perſons of which this Council conſiſted, were throughly acquainted with the Cuſtoms, Laws, Maxims, and Rights of the Empire.

Two Things, which, as the *Scriptures* inform us, were practis'd by the *Perſians*, might very well contribute to inſtruct the King, and his Council, in the Methods of governing with Wiſdom and Prudence. The firſt was, their having publick Regiſters, wherein all the Prince's Edicts, and Ordinances, all the Privileges granted to the People, and all the Favours conferr'd upon particular Perſons, were enter'd, and recorded. The ſecond was, the Annals of the Kingdom, in which all the Events of former Reigns, all Reſolutions taken, Regulations eſtabliſh'd, and Services done, by any particular Perſons, were exactly related. Theſe Annals were carefully preſerv'd, and frequently perus'd, both by the Kings, and the Miniſters, that

that they might acquaint themſelves with Times paſs'd; might have a true and clear Idea of the State of the Kingdom; that they might avoid an arbitrary, unequal, uncertain Conduct; maintain an Uniformity in the Management of Affairs; and, in ſhort, acquire ſuch Light from the Peruſal of theſe Books, as ſhould qualify them to govern the State well.

To be a Monarch, and to be Judge, is but one and the ſame Thing. The Throne is a Tribunal, and the Sovereign Power is the higheſt Authority of adminiſtring Juſtice. GOD *hath made you King over his People* (ſaid the Queen of *Sheba* to *Solomon*) *to the End that you ſhall judge them, and render Juſtice and Judgment unto them.* GOD hath put every Thing under Subjection to Princes, to put them into a Condition of fearing none but him. His Deſign, in making them independent, was to give them the more inviolable Attachment to Juſtice. That they might not excuſe themſelves on a Pretence of Inability, or Want of Authority, he has delegated his whole Power unto them; he has made them Maſters of all the Means requiſite for the Reſtraining and Suppreſſing of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; that Iniquity ſhould tremble in their Preſence, and never be capable of doing any Miſchief.

But what is that Juſtice which GOD hath put into the Hands of Princes, and whereof he hath made them Depoſitaries? Why, it is nothing elſe but Order; and Order conſiſts in obſerving an univerſal Equity, that Force may not take the Place of Law; that one Man's Property be not expoſed to the Violence of another; that the common Ties of Society be not broken; that Artifice and Fraud may not prevail over Innocence and Simplicity; that all Things may raſt in Peace under the Protection of the Laws; and the weakeſt among the People may find their Sanctuary in the publick Authority, and Protection.

We learn from *Joſephus*, that the Kings of *Perſia* uſed to adminiſter Juſtice in their own Perſons. And it was to qualify them for the worthy Diſcharge of this Duty, that Care was taken to have them inſtructed, from their tendereſt Youth, in the Knowledge of the Laws of their Country; and that in their publick Schools. as we have mentioned in the Hiſtory of *Cyrus*, they had *Equity* and *Juſtice* inculcated to them, in the ſame Manner as *Rhetorick* and *Philoſophy* are taught in other Places. And certainly the one is much more requiſite and neceſſary for a Prince, than the other.

This is the great and eſſential Duty, annex'd to the Regal Dignity. Indeed it is reaſonable, and abſolutely neceſſary, that the Prince ſhould be aſſiſted in the Execution of that auguſt Function, as he is in others: But to be aſſiſted, is not to be deprived, or diſpoſſeſſed. He continues Judge, as long as he continues King; and notwithſtanding he communicates his Authority, yet does he not reſign or divide it. 'Tis, therefore, abſolutely neceſſary for him to beſtow ſome Time upon the Study of *Equity* and *Juſtice*; not that he need enter into the whole Detail of particular Laws, but only acquaint himſelf with the principal Rules and Maxims of the Law of his Country, that he may be capable of doing Juſtice, and of ſpeaking prudently upon important Points. For this Reaſon, the Kings of *Perſia* never aſcended the Throne, 'till they had been for ſome Time under the Care and Inſtruction of the *Magi*, who were to teach them that Science, whereof they were the only Maſters and Profeſſors, as well as of their religious Rites.

Since then the Sovereign alone has the Right of adminiſtring Juſtice; and that within his Dominions there is no other Power of adminiſtring it, than what is delegated by him, how greatly does it behove him to take Care into what Hands he commits a Part of ſo great a Truſt; to know whether thoſe he places ſo near the Throne, are worthy to partake of ſuch a Prerogative; and to keep all ſuch at a Diſtance from it, as he judges unworthy? Accordingly, we find that in *Perſia*, their Kings were extremely careful to have Juſtice adminiſter'd with Integrity and Impartiality. One of their royal Judges (for ſo they called them) having ſuffer'd himſelf to be corrupted by *Bribery*, was condemned by *Cambyſes* to be put to Death without Mercy, and then to have his Skin put upon the Seat where he had uſed to ſit and give Judgment; and where his Son, who ſucceeded him in his Office, was to ſit; that the very Place, whence he gave Judgment, ſhould remind him of his own Duty. Hereby *Cambyſes*, though in other Reſpects a very Tyrant, at once diſplay'd his Love to Juſtice and Impartiality: The *firſt*, in ſtrictly puniſhing the Offender, who was before one of his Favourites; being well aware of what pernicious and fatal Conſequence the Perverting of Juſtice is in any Government; and the *ſecond*, in ſhewing that he hated not the Man, but his Crime, by promoting his Son to the ſame Dignity.

The Judges of the *Perſians* were uſually taken out of the Claſs of old Men, into which none were admitted 'till the Age of fifty Years; ſo that a Man could not exerciſe the Office of a Judge before that Age; the *Perſians* being of Opinion, that too much Maturity could not be required in an Employment, which entitled the Poſſeſſor to diſpoſe of the Fortunes, Reputations, and Lives of his Fellow-Citizens; and, undoubtedly, this Precaution was very commendable.

Amongſt them, it was not lawful either for a private Perſon to put any of his Slaves to Death, or for the Prince to inflict capital Puniſhment upon any of his Subjects, for the firſt Offence; becauſe it might rather be conſider'd as an Effect of human Weakneſs and Frailty, than a Sign of Malice, or a criminal Intention.

Beſides, the *Perſians* thought it reaſonable to put the Good as well as the Evil, the Merits of the Offender as well as his Demerits, into the Scales of Juſtice: nor was it juſt, in their Opinion, that one ſingle Crime ſhould obliterate all the good Actions a Man had done during his Life. Upon this Principle it was, that *Darius*, having condemned a Judge to Death, for ſome Prevarication in his Office, and afterwards calling to Mind the important Services that Judge had rendered both the State and the royal Family, revok'd the Sentence at the very Moment of its going to be executed; and acknowledged, that he had pronounc'd it with more Precipitation, than Wiſdom. How few Princes now-a-days would imitate ſo chriſtian and human a Conduct.

One important and eſſential Rule they obſerved in all their Proſecutions; which was, in the firſt Place, never to condemn any Perſon without bringing his Accuſer to his Face, and without giving him Time, and all other Means neceſſary, for defending himſelf againſt the Articles laid to his Charge: And in the ſecond Place, if the Perſon

accuſed was found innocent, to inflict the very ſame Penalties upon the Accuſer, as the other was to have ſuffered, had he been found guilty.

Artaxerxes gave a fine Example of the juſt Rigor which ought to be exerciſed on ſuch Occaſions. One of that Prince's Favourites, ambitious of getting a Place poſſeſſed by one of his beſt Officers, endeavoured to make the King ſuſpect the Fidelity of that Officer; and to that End, ſent Informations to Court, full of Calumnies againſt him, perſuading himſelf, that the King, on Account of the great Credit, he had with his Majeſty, would believe the Thing upon his bare Word, and not enter into any Examination of it. For ſuch is the general Character of Calumniators. They are afraid of Evidence and Light: They make it their Buſineſs to ſhut out the Innocent from all Acceſs to the Prince, and thereby to put it out of their Power to clear themſelves. Accordingly, the Officer was *impriſon'd; but he deſired of the King, before* he was condemned, that his Cauſe might be heard, and his Accuſers ordered to produce their Evidence againſt him. *Artaxerxes*, as it was but Juſtice, did ſo: And as there was no Proof but the Letters which his Enemy had written againſt him, he was cleared, and his Innocence fully juſtify'd by the three Commiſſioners that ſat upon his Trial; and all the King's Indignation fell upon the perfidious Calumniator, who had thus attempted to abuſe the Favour and Confidence of his royal Maſter.

This Prince, who was very wiſe, and knew that one of the true Signs of a prudent Government, was to have the Subjects ſtand more in Fear of the Laws, than of Informers, would have thought that to have acted otherwiſe than he did, would have been a direct Violation of the moſt common Rules of natural Equity, and Humanity; it would have been opening a Door to Envy, Hatred, Calumny, and Revenge; it would have been expoſing the honeſt Simplicity of good ad faithful Subjects to the cruel Malice of deteſtable Informers, and arming them with the Sword of publick Authority; in a Word, it would have been diveſting the Throne of the moſt noble Privilege belonging to it, namely, of being a Sanctuary for Innocence and Juſtice, againſt Violence, Calumny, and Oppreſſion.

We have likewiſe upon Record a ſtill more memorable Example of his Goodneſs, Prudence, and Love of Juſtice, in another King of *Perſia*, before *Artaxerxes*; in him, we mean, whom the Scripture calls *Aſſuerus*; and who is thought to be the ſame as *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*; from whom *Haman*, by his earneſt Sollicitations, had extorted that fatal Edict, which was calculated to exterminate the whole Race of the *Jews*, throughout the whole *Perſian* Empire, in one Day. When GOD by the Means of *Eſther*, had opened his Eyes, he made Haſte to repair his Fault, not only by revoking his Edict, and inflicting an exemplary Puniſhment upon the Impoſtor who had deceived him; but, which was more, by a publick Acknowledgment of his Fault; which ſhould be a Pattern to all Ages, and to all Princes, and teach them, that far from debaſing thereby their Dignity, or weakening their Authority, they procure themſelves the more Reſpect. After declaring, that it is but too common for Calumniators to impoſe, by their Miſrepreſentations and Craftineſs, on the Goodneſs of their Princes, whom their natural Sincerity induces favourably to judge of others; he was not aſhamed to acknowledge, that he had been ſo unhappy as to ſuffer himſelf to be prejudiced by ſuch Means againſt the *Jews*, who were his faithful Subjects, and the Children of the moſt high GOD, through whoſe Goodneſs he and his Anceſtors had obtained the Throne he then enjoied.

Nor were the *Perſians* only Enemies of Injuſtice, as we have juſt now ſhewn; but they alſo abhor'd Lying, which always was deem'd amongſt them as a mean and infamous Vice. What they eſteemed moſt pitiful, next to Lying, was to live upon Truſt, or by Borrowing. Such a Kind of Life ſeemed to them idle, ignominious, ſervile; and the more deſpicable, becauſe it lays People almoſt under a Neceſſity of being Lyars.

Notwithſtanding it may ſeem to be no difficult Matter to maintain good Order in the Metropolis of a Kingdom, where the Conduct of the Magiſtrates and Judges is nearly inſpected; and the very Sight of the Throne is capable of keeping the Subjects in Awe; the Caſe is quite otherwiſe with Reſpect to the Provinces, where the Diſtance from the Court of the Sovereign, and the Hopes of Impunity, may occaſion any Miſdemeanours in the Magiſtrates and Officers, as well as great Licentiouſneſs and Diſorder in the People: In this the *Perſian* Policy exerted itſelf with the greateſt Care; and we may alſo ſay, had the greateſt Succeſs therein.

The *Perſian* Empire was divided into an Hundred and Twenty-ſeven Governments, the Governors whereof were called *Satrapæ*. Over them were appointed three principal Miniſters, who watched over their Conduct, to whom they gave an Account of all the Affairs of their ſeveral Provinces, and who were afterwards to make their Report of the ſame to the King. It was *Darius* the *Mede*, that is, *Cyaxares*, or rather *Cyrus*, in the Name of his Uncle, who put the Government of the Empire into this excellent Method. Theſe *Satrapæ*, by the very Deſign of their Office, were each in his reſpective Diſtrict, to have the ſame Care and Regard for the Intereſts of the People, as for thoſe of the Prince: For it was a Maxim with *Cyrus*, that no Difference ought to be made between theſe two Intereſts, which are neceſſarily link'd together; ſince the People can neither be happy, unleſs the Prince is powerful, and in a Condition to defend them; nor the Prince truly powerful, unleſs his People be happy, and proſperous.

Theſe *Satrapæ* being the moſt conſiderable Perſons in the Kingdom, *Cyrus* aſſigned them certain Funds and Revenues, proportionable to their Station, and the Importance of their Employments. He was willing they ſhould live nobly in their reſpective Provinces, that they might gain the Reſpect of the Gentry, and Commonalty, within their Juriſdiction; and for that Reaſon their Retinue, their Equipage, and their Table, ſhould be anſwerable to their Dignity, yet without exceeding the Bounds of Prudence and Moderation. He himſelf was their Model in this Reſpect, as he deſired they would be to all the Noblemen and Gentlemen, as far as their Authority and Influence extended; ſo that the ſame Order, which reign'd in the Prince's Court, might likewiſe have been obſerved proportionably in the Courts of the *Satrapæ*, and in the Noblemen's Families. And to prevent, as far as poſſible, all Abuſes, which might be made of ſo extenſive an Authority, the King reſerved

ſerved to himſelf alone the Nomination of the *Satrapæ*, and cauſed the Governors of Places, the Commanders of the Troops, and other ſuch like Officers, to depend immediately upon himſelf; from whom alone they were to receive their Orders and Inſtructions, by Letters; to the End, that, if theſe *Satrapæ* were inclined to abuſe their Power, they might be ſenſible thoſe Officers were ſo many Overſeers and Cenſors of their Conduct. And to make this Correſpondence, by Letters, the more ſure and expeditious, the King cauſed Poſt-houſes to be erected throughout the Empire, and appointed Couriers, who travelled Night and Day, and made wonderful Diſpatch.

Notwithſtanding all this, the Care of the Provinces was not entirely left to the *Satrapæ*, and Governors: The King himſelf took Cognizance of them in his own Perſon, being fully perſuaded, that the governing only by others, is but to do it by Halves. Accordingly, an Officer of the Houſhold was ordered to repeat theſe Words to him every Morning, when he wak'd: *Riſe, Sir, and think of diſcharging the Duties, for which* Oromaſdes *has placed you upon the Throne.* *Oromaſdes* was the principal God, anciently worſhipped by the *Perſians*. A good Prince, ſays *Plutarch*, in the Account he gives of this Cuſtom, has no Occaſion for an Officer, to give him this daily Admonition: His own Heart, and the Love he has for his People, are ſufficient Monitors, to incline him thereto.

Beſides, the *Perſian* Monarch thought himſelf oblig'd, according to the ancient Cuſtom eſtabliſh'd in that Country, from Time to Time perſonally to viſit all the Provinces of his Empire; being perſuaded, as *Pliny* ſays of *Trajan*, that the moſt ſolid Glory, and the moſt exquiſite Pleaſure, a good Prince can enjoy, is now and then to let the People ſee their common Father; to reconcile the Diſſenſions and mutual Animoſities of rival Cities; to calm Commotions or Seditions amongſt the People, and that not ſo much by the Dint of Power and Severity, as by Reaſon and Temper; to prevent injuſtice and Oppreſſion in Magiſtrates; and cancel and reverſe whatever has been decreed againſt Law and Equity: In a Word, like a beneficent Planet, and to ſhed his ſalutary Influences far and wide on every Side; or rather like a Kind of Divinity to be preſent every-where, to ſee, to hear, and know every Thing, without rejecting any Man's Petition or Complaint, if juſt.

If the Sovereign was not able to viſit the Provinces himſelf, he ſent, in his ſtead, ſome of the greateſt Men of the Kingdom, ſuch as were the moſt eminent for Wiſdom and Virtue. Theſe Perſons were generally called the Eyes and Ears of the Prince, becauſe by their Means he ſaw and was informed of every Thing. When theſe, or any other of his great Miniſters, or the Members of his Counſel were ſaid to be the Eyes and Ears of the Prince, it was at once an Admonition to the King, that he had his Miniſters, as we have the Organs of our Senſes, not that he ſhould lye ſtill and be idle, but that he ſhould act by their Means; and to the Miniſters, that they ought not to act for themſelves, but for their Maſter and Head, and for the Advatage of the whole Body politick.

The particular Detail of Affairs, which the *Perſian* Monarch, or the Commiſſioners appointed by him, entered into, is highly worthy of Admiration; and ſhews, how well they underſtood in thoſe Days, wherein conſiſts the Wiſdom and Ability of Governors. The Attention of the King and his Miniſters was not only employed upon great Objects, as War, the Revenue, Juſtice and Commerce; but Matters of leſs Importance, as the Security and Beauty of Towns and Cities; the convenient Habitation of the Inhabitants; the Reparations of High-Roads, Bridges, and Cauſe-Ways; the Keeping Woods and Foreſts from being laid waſte and deſtroyed, the Improvement of Agriculture, above all, and the Encouraging and Promoting of all Sorts of Trades, even to the loweſt and meaneſt of handicraft Employments; every Thing, in ſhort, came within the Sphere of their Policy; and was thought to deſerve their Care and Inſpection. And indeed, whatever belongs to the Subjects, as well as the Subjects themſelves, is a Part of the Truſt committed to the Head of the Common-wealth, and is entitled to his Care, his Concern, and his Activity. His Love for the Commonwealth is, or ought to be univerſal. It extends itſelf to all Matters, and comprehends every Thing: It is the Support of private Perſons, as well as of the Publick. Every Province, every City, every Family ought to have a Place in his Heart and Affections. Every Thing in the Kingdom has a Relation to, and concerns him; every Thing challenges his Attention and Regard.

We have already ſaid, that Agriculture was one of the mean Things, on which the *Perſians* beſtowed their Care and Attention; and, indeed, one of the Prince's firſt Cares was, to make Husbandry flouriſh; and thoſe *Satrapæ*, whoſe Provinces were the beſt cultivated, were the moſt in his Favour. And as there were Offices erected to ſuperintend the Marching and Conducting their Armies; ſo were there likewiſe for the Inſpecting their rural Labours and Oeconomy. For theſe two Employments had a near Relation to each other; the Buſineſs of the one being to guard the Country, and of the other to cultivate it.

The Prince protected both almoſt with the ſame Degree of Affection; becauſe both concurred, and were equally neceſſary for the publick Good. For as the Lands, on the one Hand, cannot be cultivated without the Protection of the Soldiers, who watch over their Defence and Security; ſo neither can the Soldiers, on the other Hand, be fed and maintained, without the Labour of the Husbandmen, who cultivate the Ground. 'Twas with good Reaſon then, that the Prince, (ſince it was impoſſible for himſelf to ſee every Thing) cauſed an exact Account to be given him, how every Province and Canton was cultivated; that he might know, whether each Country brought forth abundantly ſuch Fruits, as it was capable of producing; that he deſcended ſo far into thoſe Particulars, as *Xenophon* remarks of *Cyrus* the *younger*, as to inform himſelf, whether the private Gardens of his Subjects were well kept, and yielded Plenty of Fruit; that he rewarded the Superintendants and Overſeers, whoſe Provinces or Cantons were beſt cultivated, and puniſhed the Lazineſs and Negligence of thoſe idle Perſons, who did not labour and improve their Grounds. Such a Care as this is by no Means unworthy of a King, as it naturally tends to propagate Riches and Plenty throughout his Kingdom, and to beget a Spirit of Induſtry amongſt his Subjects; which is the ſureſt Means of preventing that Increaſe of Drones and idle Fellows, that are ſuch a Burden upon the Publick, and a Diſhonour to any Country.

Xenophon,

Xenophon, in the next Paſſage to this we have now cited, puts into the Mouth of *Socrates*, who is introduc'd as a Speaker therein, a very noble Encomium upon Agriculture; which he repreſents as the Employment the moſt worthy of all others of Men's Application thereto; as the moſt ancient, and the moſt ſuitable to their Nature; as the common Nurſe of Perſons of all Ages, and Conditions of Life; as the Source of Health, Strength, Plenty, Riches, and a thouſand ſober Delights and honeſt Pleaſures; as the Miſtreſs and School of Sobriety, Temperance, Juſtice, Religion; in a Word, of all Kinds of Virtues, both Civil and Military.

After this, he relates the fine Saying of *Lyſander*, the *Lacedæmonian*, who, as he was walking at *Sardis*, with the *younger Cyrus*, hearing from that Prince's own Mouth, that it was he himſelf who had planted ſeveral of the Trees he was looking at, made the following Anſwer: That the World had Reaſon to extol the Happineſs of *Cyrus*, whoſe Virtue was as eminent as his Fortune; and who in the Midſt of the greateſt Affluence, Splendor, and Magnificence, had yet preſerved his Taſte ſo pure, and ſo conformable to right Reaſon. *Cum* Cyrus *reſpondiſſet: Ego iſta ſum dimenſus, mei ſunt Ordines, mea deſcriptio; multæ etiam iſtarum arborum mea manu ſunt ſatæ: tum* Lyſandrum *intuentem ejus purpuram, & nitorem corporis, ornatumque* Perſicum *multo auro multiſque gemmis, dixiſſe:* RECTE VERO TE, *CYRE,* BEATUM FERUNT, QUONIAM VIRTUTI TUÆ FORTUNA CONJUNCTA EST. How much is it to be wiſh'd, that our young Nobility, who, in the Time of Peace, do not know how to employ themſelves, had the like Taſte for Planting and Agriculture; which ſurely, after ſuch an Example of this of *Cyrus*, ſhould be thought no Diſhonour to their Quality; eſpecially if they would conſider, that for ſeveral Ages it was the conſtant Employment of the braveſt and moſt warlike People in the World! The learned Reader may eaſily perceive, that we mean the ancient *Romans*, whoſe Conſuls and Dictators were often taken from then Plough.

We have before obſerved, that the *Perſians* had Poſthouſes erected throughout the Empire, which Invention is aſcribed to *Cyrus*: Nor, indeed, can we find any Mention of ſuch an Eſtabliſhment before his Time. As the *Perſian* Empire, after its laſt Conqueſt, was of a vaſt Extent, and *Cyrus* required, that all his Governors of Provinces, and his Chief Commanders of his Troops, ſhould write to him, and give an exact Account of every Thing that paſſed in their ſeveral Diſtricts and Armies, in Order to render that Correſpondence the more ſure and expeditious, and to put himſelf into a Condition of receiving ſpeedy Intelligence of all Occurrences and Affairs, and of ſending his Orders thereupon with Expedition, he cauſed Poſthouſes to be built, and Meſſengers to be appointed in every Province.

The Method he took therein was this; having computed how far a good Horſe, with a brisk Rider, could go in a Day, without being ſpoiled, he had Stables built in Proportion at equal Diſtances from each other, and had them furniſhed with Horſes, and Grooms to take Care of them. At each of theſe Places he likewiſe appointed a Poſtmaſter, to receive the Packets from the Couriers as they arriv'd, and give them to others; and to take the Horſes that had performed their Stage, and to find freſh ones. Thus the Poſts went continually Night and Day, with extraordinary Speed: Nor did either Rain or Snow, Heat or Cold, or any Inclemency of the Seaſon, interrupt its Progreſs. *Herodotus* ſpeaks of the ſame Sort of Couriers in the Reign of *Xerxes*.

They were called in the *Perſian* Language *Angaroi*, and the Superintendency of the Poſts became a conſiderable Employment. *Darius* the laſt King of the ancient *Perſians*, had it before he came to the Crown; and *Xenophon* takes Notice, that this Eſtabliſhment ſubſiſted in his Time; which perfectly agrees with what is related in the Book of *Eſther*, concerning the Edict publiſhed by *Ahaſuerus*, in Favour of the *Jews*: which Edict was carried throughout that vaſt Empire with a Rapidity that would have been impoſſible, without theſe Poſts erected by that great Founder of the Empire.

Mankind have been juſtly ſurpriz'd to find, that this Eſtabliſhment of Poſts and Couriers, firſt invented in the *Eaſt* by *Cyrus*, and continued for ſo many Ages afterwards by his Succeſſors, (eſpecially conſidering the Uſefulneſs of it to a Government) ſhould never be imitated in the *Weſt*; particularly by People ſo well verſed in the Art of Government, as the *Greeks* and the *Romans*, are allowed to have been.

It is likewiſe aſtoniſhing, that, where this Invention was put in Execution, it was not farther improved; and that the Uſe of it was confined only to Affairs of State; without conſidering the many Advantages the Publick might have reap'd from it, by facilitating a mutual Correſpondence, as well as the Buſineſs of Merchants and Bankers; by the Expedition wherewith the Affairs of private Perſons might have been thereby tranſacted; by the Diſpatch of Journeys, which required Haſte; the eaſy Communication between Families, Cities and Provinces; and by the Safety and Conveniency of remitting Money from one Country to another. 'Tis well known what Difficulty People at a Diſtance, had then, and for many Ages afterwards, to communicate any News, or to treat of Affairs together; being oblig'd either to ſend a Servant on Purpoſe, which could not be done without great Charge and Loſs of Time; or to wait for the Departure of ſome other Perſon, that was going into the Province, or Country, whither they had Letters to ſend; which Method was liable to numberleſs Accidents, Delays, and Diſappointments.

Europe, at preſent, enjoys this general Conveniency at a ſmall Expence; but we do not thoroughly conſider the Advantage of it; the Want whereof would make us fully ſenſible of our Happineſs in this Reſpect.

A good Prince ought to be the Sword and Buckler of the State; by him is the Peace and Tranquillity thereof ſecured. But to enable him ſo to do, he has Occaſion for Arms, Soldiers, Arſenals, fortified Towns, and Ships: and all theſe Things require great Expences. Beſides, it is but juſt and reaſonable, that the King ſhould have wherewithal to ſupport the Dignity of the Crown, and the Majeſty of Empire; as alſo to procure Reverence and Reſpect to his Perſon and Authority. Theſe are the two principal Reaſons, that have given Occaſion for the Exacting of Tribute, and Impoſition of Taxes. As the publick Advantage, and the Neceſſity of defraying the Expences of the State, have been the firſt Cauſes of theſe Burdens; ſo ought they likewiſe to be the conſtant Standard

of

of their Uſe. Nor is there any Thing in the World more juſt and reaſonable than ſuch Impoſitions; ſince every private Perſon ought to think himſelf very happy, that he can purchaſe his Peace, and Security, at the Expence of ſo ſlender a Contribution, as a good Government will be careful to require.

The Revenues of the *Perſian* Kings conſiſted, partly, in Money levy'd upon the People, and partly, in their being furniſh'd with ſeveral of the Products of the Earth and Commodities, in Kind; as Corn, and other Proviſions, Forage, Horſes, Camels, or whatever Rarities each Province afforded. *Strabo* relates, that the *Satrapa* of *Armenia* ſent regularly, every Year, to the King his Maſter, twenty thouſand young Colts. By this we may form a Judgment of the other Levies in the ſeveral Provinces. But we are to conſider, that the Tributes were only exacted from the conquer'd Nations: For, the natural Subjects, that is, the *Perſians*, were exempt from all Impoſitions. Nor was the Cuſtom of impoſing Taxes, and of determining the Sums each Province was yearly to pay, introduc'd till the Reign of *Darius*: At which Time, the pecuniary Impoſitions, as well as we can judge, by the Computation made by *Herodotus*, which is attended with great Difficulties, did not amount to above ten Millions *Sterling*: A very ſmall Sum, for ſo vaſt an Empire!

The publick Treaſure of the *Perſians* was kept in a Place, call'd in their Language *Gaza*. There were Treaſures of this Kind at *Suſa*, at *Perſepolis*, at *Paſargada*, at *Damaſcus*, and in divers other Cities. The Gold, and Silver, were there kept in Ingots, and coin'd into Money, according as the King had Occaſion. The Money chiefly us'd by the *Perſians*, was Gold; and call'd *Daricus*, from the Name of *Darius*; who firſt caus'd them to be coin'd, with his Image on one Side, and an Archer on the Reverſe. The *Daricus* is ſometimes alſo call'd *Stater Aureus*, becauſe the Weight of it, like that of the *Attic Stater*, was two Drachms of Silver; and conſequently, it was worth about ten Shillings.

Beſides theſe Tributes, which were paid in Money, there was another Contribution made in Kind, by furniſhing Victuals, and Proviſions for the King's Table, and Houſhold, Grain, Forage, and other Neceſſaries, for the Subſiſtence of his Armies; and Horſes, for the remounting of his Cavalry. This Contribution was impos'd upon the hundred and twenty *Satrapies*, or Provinces, each of them furniſhing ſuch a Part, as they were ſeverally tax'd at. *Herodotus* obſerves, that the Province of *Babylon*, the largeſt, and wealthieſt of them all, did alone furniſh the whole Contribution, for the Space of four Months; and conſequently, did bear a third Part of the Burthen of the whole Impoſition, whilſt all the Reſt of *Aſia* together, did but contribute the other two Thirds. A prodigious Inequality!

We may ſee, hereby, that the Kings of *Perſia* did not exact all their Taxes, and Impoſitions in Money; but were content to levy a Part of them in *Specie*, and to take the Reſt in ſuch Products, and Commodities, as the ſeveral Provinces afforded: Which is a Proof of the great Wiſdom, Moderation, and Humanity of the *Perſian* Government. Without Doubt, they had obſerv'd, how difficult it often is for the People, eſpecially in Countries at a Diſtance from Commerce, to convert their Goods into Money, without ſuffering great Loſſes; whereas, nothing can tend ſo much to the rendering of Taxes eaſy, and to ſhelter the People from Vexation, and Trouble, as well as Expence, as the taking in Payment from each Country ſuch Fruits, and Commodities, as that Country produceth; by which Means, the Contribution becomes eaſy, natural, and equitable: An admirable Regulation!

There were likewiſe certain Diſtricts aſſign'd, and ſet apart, for the maintaining of the Queen's Toilet, and Wardrobe; one for her Girdle, another for her Veil, and ſo on for the reſt of her Cloaths: And theſe Diſtricts, which were of a great Extent, ſince one of them contain'd as much Ground, as a Man could walk over in a Day: Theſe Diſtricts, we ſay, took their Names from the particular Uſe, or Part of the Apparel to which they were appropriated; and were accordingly call'd, one the Queen's *Girdle*, another the Queen's *Veil*, and ſo on. In *Plato*'s Time, the ſame Cuſtom ſtill continu'd among the *Perſians*.

The Penſions the King gave in thoſe Days, to ſuch Perſons as he had a Mind to gratify, were regulated exactly in the ſame Manner, as we obſerv'd concerning the Queen. We read, that the *Perſian* Monarch aſſign'd the Revenue of four Cities to *Themiſtocles*; one of which was to ſupply him with Wine, another with Bread, the third with Meats for his Table, and the fourth with his Cloaths and Furniture. Before that Time, *Cyrus* had acted in the ſame Manner with *Pytharcus* of *Cyzicus*, for whom he had a particular Conſideration, and to whom he gave the Revenue of ſeven Cities. In following Times, we find many Inſtances of the ſame Nature.

The People of *Aſia*, in general, were, in thoſe Days, naturally of a warlike Diſpoſition, and did not want Courage; but, in Time, they all grew effeminate, through Luxury, and Pleaſure. When we ſay all, we would be underſtood to except the *Perſians*; who, even before *Cyrus*, as well as in his Reign, and ſome little Time after, had the Reputation of being a People very proper for military Exploits. The Situation of their Country, which is rugged and mountainous, might be one Reaſon of their hard and frugal Manner of Living; which is a Thing of no little Importance for the forming of good Soldiers. But the good Education, which the *Perſians* gave their Youth, was the chief Cauſe of their Courage, and martial Spirit.

As to their Manner of waging War, therefore, we muſt make ſome Diſtinction between the different Nations of *Aſia*: So that, in the following Account of military Affairs, what Perfection, and Excellence, is to be found in the Rules, and Principles of War, is to be apply'd only to the *Perſians*, as they were in the Reign of *Cyrus*: The Reſt belongs to the other Nations of *Aſia*, the *Aſſyrians*, *Babylonians*, *Medes*, and *Lydians*; and even to the *Perſians* likewiſe, after they had degenerated from their ancient Valour; which happen'd not long after *Cyrus*, as will be ſeen hereafter.

As to the *Perſians*, they were train'd up to the Service from their tender Years, by paſſing through different Exerciſes; and, generally ſpeaking, they

ſerv'd in the Armies, from the Age of twenty to fifty Years: And whether they were in Peace, or War, they always wore Swords, as our Gentlemen do, which was never practis'd among the *Greeks*, or the *Romans*. They were oblig'd to liſt themſelves at the Time appointed; and it was eſteem'd a great Crime, to deſire to be diſpens'd with in that Reſpect; as will be ſeen hereafter, by the cruel Manner in which *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, treated two young Noblemen, whoſe Fathers had deſir'd, as a Favour, that one of their Sons might be permitted to ſtay at home, for a Comfort to them in their Old-Age.

Amongſt the Reſt, *Herodotus* ſpeaks of a Body of Troops appointed to be the King's Guard, which were call'd *Immortal*; becauſe this Body, which conſiſted of ten thouſand, perpetually ſubſiſted, and was always compleat: For, as ſoon as any of the Men dy'd, another was immediately put into his Place. The Eſtabliſhment of this Body, probably, began with the ten thouſand Men, ſent for by *Cyrus* out of *Perſia*, to be his Guard. They were diſtinguiſh'd from all the other Troops, by the Richneſs of their Armour; and ſtill more by their ſingular Courage. *Quintus Curtius* mentions alſo this Body of Men, and another Corps beſides, conſiſting of fifteen thouſand, deſign'd, in the like Manner, to be a Guard to the King's Perſon: The latter were call'd *Doryphori*, or the *Lanciers*.

The ordinary Arms of the *Perſians* were a Sabre, or Scymitar; a Kind of Dagger, which hung in their Belt on the Right-Side; and a Javelin, or Half-Pike, having a ſharp-pointed Iron at one End thereof. They ſeem to have carry'd two Javelins, or Lances, one to fling, and the other to fight with, Hand to Hand. They made, likewiſe, great Uſe of the Bow, and of the Quiver, in which they carry'd their Arrows. The Sling was not unknown amongſt them; but they did not much eſteem that Weapon.

It is evident alſo, from ſeveral Paſſages in ancient Authors, that the *Perſians* wore no Helmets, but only their common Cap, which they call'd *Tiara*; this is particularly ſaid of *Cyrus* the *younger*, and of his Army: And yet the ſame Authors, in other Places, make mention of their Helmets; from whence we muſt conclude, that their Cuſtoms had been different, at various Times. The Foot, for the moſt Part, wore Cuiraſſes made of Braſs, which were ſo artificially fitted to their Bodies, that they were no Impediment to the Motion, and Agility of their Limbs; no more than the Vambraces, or other Pieces of Armour, which cover'd the Arms, Thighs, and Legs of the Horſemen. Their Horſes themſelves, for the moſt Part, had their Faces, Breaſts, and Flanks, cover'd with Braſs. Theſe were what are call'd *Equi cataphracti*, barbed Horſes.

Authors differ very much about the Form and Fashion of their Shields; at firſt, they uſed ſuch as were very ſmall, and light, made only of Twigs of Oſier; but it appears, from ſeveral Paſſages, that they had alſo Shields of Braſs, which were of a great Length, and Weight.

We have already obſerv'd, that in the firſt Ages, the light-arm'd Soldiers, that is, the Archers, Slingers, *&c.* made the Bulk of the Armies amongſt the *Perſians*, and *Medes*. But *Cyrus*, who had found, by Experience, that ſuch Troops were only fit for skirmiſhing, or engaging at a Diſtance, thinking it moſt advantagious to come quickly to cloſe fighting; made a Change in his Army, and reduc'd thoſe light-arm'd Troops to a very ſmall Number, ordering the Reſt to be arm'd *Cap-a-pe*, like the Reſt of the Troops.

That able General, likewiſe, introduc'd a conſiderable Change, with Reſpect to the Chariots of War; which had been in Uſe a long While before his Time, as appears both from *Homer*, and the Sacred Writings. Theſe Chariots had only two Wheels, and were generally drawn by four Horſes a-breaſt, with two Men in each; one of diſtinguiſh'd Birth, and Valour, for fighting; and the other only for guiding, and conducting the Chariot. *Cyrus* juſtly thought this Method, which was very expenſive, was but of little Service; ſince for the equipping of three hundred Horſes, and ſix hundred Men, of which there were but three hundred, who really fought; the other three hundred, though all Men of Merit, and Diſtinction, and capable of doing great Service, if otherwiſe employ'd, ſerving only as Charioteers, or Drivers. To remedy this Inconvenience, he alter'd the Form of the Chariots; and doubled the Number of the Fighting-Men that rode in them; by putting the Drivers into a Condition to engage, as well as thoſe who ſat in the Chariot, without driving.

In Order to this, he caus'd the Wheels of the Chariots to be made ſtronger, that they ſhould not be ſo eaſily broken; and their Axle-Trees to be made longer, to make them the more firm, and ſteady. At each End of the Axle-Tree he caus'd Scythes to be faſten'd that were three Foot long, and plac'd horizontally; and caus'd other Scythes to be fix'd under the ſame Axle-Tree with their Edges turn'd to the Ground, that they might cut in Pieces Men, or Horſes, or whatever the impetuous Violence of the Chariots ſhould overturn. It appears, from ſeveral Paſſages in Authors, that in After-Times, beſides all this, they added two long Iron-Spikes at the End of the Pole, in Order to pierce whatever came in the Way; and that they arm'd the Hinder-Part of the Chariot with ſeveral Rows of ſharp Knives, to hinder any one from mounting, and attacking thoſe that were in the Chariot, behind.

Theſe Chariots were in Uſe, for many Ages, in all the *Eaſtern* Countries, where they were look'd upon as the principal Strength of their Armies; as the moſt certain Cauſes of Victory; and as the moſt capable, of all others, to ſtrike the Enemy with Conſternation, and Terror: And, in Effect, they were ſo, till Means were found to avoid them, and render them of little, or no Uſe. Accordingly, we find, that, when *Jabin* oppreſs'd the *Iſraelites*, what made them fear him moſt, was, his nine hundred Chariots of Iron.

But, in Proportion, as the military Art improv'd, the People found the Inconveniencies of them; and, at length, laid them aſide: For, to reap any Advantage from them, it was neceſſary to fight in vaſt large Plains, where the Soil was very even, and where there were no Rivulets, Gutters, Woods, nor Vineyards. Wherefore, in After-Times, ſeveral Methods were invented, to render theſe Chariots abſolutely uſeleſs. It was enough to cut a Ditch in their Way, which immediately ſtopp'd their Courſe.

Some

Sometimes, an able, and experienc'd General, as *Eumenes*, in the Battle which *Scipio* fought with *Antiochus*, would attack the Chariots with a Detachment of Slingers, Archers, and Spear-Men, who ſpreading themſelves on all Sides, would pour ſuch a Storm of Stones, Arrows, and Lances, upon them, and, at the ſame Time, fall a-ſhouting ſo loud, with the whole Army, that they terrify'd the Horſes of the Chariots; and occaſion'd ſuch a Diſorder and Confuſion among them, as often made them turn about, and run foul upon their own Forces. At other Times, they would render the Chariots ineffectual, and of no Uſe; only by marching over the Space, which ſeparated the two Armies, with an extraordinary Swiftneſs, and advancing ſuddenly upon the Enemy. For, the Strength, and Execution of the Chariots, proceeded from the Length of their Courſe, which was what gave that Impetuoſity, and Rapidity to their Motion, without which they were but very inſignificant. It was after this Manner, that the *Romans* under *Sylla*, at the Battle of *Chæronea*, defeated, and put to Flight the Enemy's Chariots; by raiſing loud Peals of Laughter, as if they had been at the Games of the *Circus*; and by crying out, that they ſhould ſend more, for thoſe were not ſufficient.

As to the Diſcipline of the *Aſiatics*, it is impoſſible to imagine any Thing more ſtrict, than the Diſcipline, and good Order, obſerv'd amongſt their Troops, in the Reign of *Cyrus*, whether they were at War, or in Peace. Accordingly, *Xenophon*, in his *Cyropædia*, gives us an ample Account, of the Methods us'd by that great Prince, for this Purpoſe. Theſe were, to form his Troops by frequent Exerciſes; and inure them to Fatigues, by keeping them in a continual Breathing, and never ſuffering them to be idle. He prepar'd them for real Battles, by uſing them to Mock-Fights; and fir'd them with Courage, and Reſolution, by Exhortations, Praiſes, and Rewards: This is a perfect Pattern for all Perſons that have the Command of Troops; to which, generally ſpeaking, Peace, and Tranquillity, become extreamly pernicious: For, a Relaxation of Diſcipline, which uſually enſues, enervates the Vigour of the Soldiers; and Inaction blunts the Edge of that Courage, which the Motions of Armies, and the Approach of Enemies, infinitely ſharpen, and excite. A timely Apprehenſion, and Foreſight of future Emergencies, ought to make us prepare, in Peace, whatever will be needful, when we are forc'd into a War; for, then it will be too late to begin our military Preparations.

Again, whenever the *Perſian* Armies were upon a March, they obſerv'd as much Regularity, and Exactneſs, as on a Day of Battle; not a Soldier, or Officer, daring to quit his Rank, or ſtep aſide from the Colours. It was the Cuſtom, amongſt all the *Aſiatics*, whenever they encamp'd, though but for a Day, or a Night, to have their Camp ſurrounded with pretty deep Ditches. This they did, to prevent their being at any Time ſurpriz'd by the Enemy, and that they might not be forc'd to engage againſt their Inclinations. Theſe Ditches, however, had ſeldom any additional Strengthenings; being only common Trenches, with the Earth, thrown up on one Side, that was dug out of them; though ſometimes they did fortify them with good Palliſades, or long Stakes, well driven into the Ground.

By what has been ſaid of their Diſcipline in Time of Peace, and of their Manner of marching, and encamping their Armies, we may judge of their Exactneſs on a Day of Battle. Nothing can be more wonderful than the Accounts we have of it in ſeveral Parts of the *Cyropædia*. No ſingle Family can be better regulated, or pay a quicker, or more exact Obedience to the firſt Signal, than the whole Army of *Cyrus*. He had long accuſtom'd them to that prompt Obedience, on which the Succeſs of all Enterprizes depends. For, what avails the beſt Head in the World, if the Arms do not act accordingly, and follow its Directions?

At firſt, he had us'd ſome Severity, which is neceſſary in the Beginning, in order to ſettle, and eſtabliſh a good Diſcipline: But this Severity was always accompany'd with Reaſon, and temper'd with Kindneſs. The Example of their Leader, who was firſt upon all Duty, gave Weight and Authority to his Diſcourſe, and ſoften'd the Rigor of his Commands. The unalterable Rule he laid down to himſelf, of granting nothing but to Merit only, and of refuſing every Thing to Favour, was a ſure Means of keeping all the Officers attach'd to their Duty, and of making them perpetually vigilant, and careful. For, there is nothing more diſcouraging to Perſons of that Profeſſion, even to thoſe who love their Prince, and their Country, than to ſee the Rewards, to which the Dangers they have undergone, and the Blood they have ſpilt, intitle them, conferr'd upon Others. But *Cyrus* had the Art of inſpiring his common Soldiers with a perfect Zeal for Diſcipline, and Order; by firſt inſpiring them with a Love for their Country, for their Honour, and their Fellow-Citizens; and above all, by endearing himſelf to them, by his Bounty, and Liberality. Theſe are the true Ties of military Diſcipline, and the only Methods capable of maintaining it in its full Force, and Vigour: For, Soldiers are but too apt to relax therein, unleſs a ſtrict Eye, and Hand, is kept over them; and alſo, unleſs due Encouragement is given, to ſuch as are obſervant of it.

There being but very few fortify'd Towns, in the Time of *Cyrus*, all their Wars were little elſe but Field-Expeditions: For which Reaſon, that wiſe Prince found out, by his own Reflection, and Experience, that nothing contributed more to Victory, than a numerous, and good Cavalry; and that the Gaining of one ſingle pitch'd Battle was often attended with the Conqueſt of a whole Kingdom. Accordingly, we ſee, that, having found the *Perſian* Army entirely deſtitute of that important, and neceſſary Article, he turn'd all his Thoughts towards remedying that Defect; and ſo far did he ſucceed, by his great Application, and Activity, as to form a Body of *Perſian* Cavalry, which became ſuperior to that of his Enemies, in Goodneſs, at leaſt, if not in Number. There were ſeveral Breeds of Horſes in *Perſia* and *Media*: But in the latter Province, thoſe of a Place, call'd *Niſea*, were the moſt eſteem'd; and 'twas from thence the King's Stable was furniſh'd. We ſhall now examine what Uſe they made of their different Bodies of Troops.

We need only read carefully the celebrated Battle of *Thymbræa*, in order to acquire a juſt Notion of the military Skill of the Ancients, in the Days of *Cyrus*; and to ſhew, how far their Ability

lity extended, either in the Uſe of Arms, or the Diſpoſition of Armies. We may find, thereby, that they knew, the moſt advantagious Order of Battle was to place the Infantry in the Centre, and the Cavalry, which conſiſted chiefly of the Curiaſſiers, on the two Wings of the Army. By this Diſpoſition, the Flanks of the Foot were cover'd, and the Horſe were at Liberty to act, and extend themſelves, as Occaſion ſhould require. They were likewiſe ſenſible of the Neceſſity of drawing out an Army into ſeveral Lines, in Order to ſupport one another; becauſe, otherwiſe, one ſingle Line might eaſily be pierc'd through, and broken; and conſequently, not being able to rally, the Army muſt be irrecoverably routed.

For this Reaſon, they form'd their Armies, generally, into four Lines; the firſt of which were of Foot heavily arm'd, twelve Men thick; who, on the firſt Onſet, made Uſe of the Half-Pike; and afterwards, when the Fronts of the two Armies came together, engag'd the Enemy in cloſe Fight, with their Swords, or Scymitars.

The ſecond Line conſiſted of ſuch Men, as were lightly arm'd, whoſe Manner of fighting was to throw their Javelins over the Heads of the firſt. Theſe Javelins were made of a heavy Wood, had a ſharp-pointed Spike of Iron at the End; and they us'd to hurl them with great Violence. The Deſign of them was to put the Enemy into Diſorder, before they came to a cloſer Engagement.

The third Line conſiſted of Archers, whoſe Bows, being bent with the utmoſt Force, carry'd their Arrows over the Heads of the two preceding Lines, and extreamly annoy'd the Enemy. Among theſe Archers were ſometimes intermix'd Slingers, who flung great Stones with a terrible Force: But, in After-Times, the *Rhodians*, inſtead of Stones, made Uſe of Leaden-Bullets, which the Slings carry'd to a much greater Diſtance.

A fourth Line, form'd of Men arm'd in the ſame Manner as thoſe of the firſt, clos'd the Body of the Army. This Line was extended to ſupport the others, and to keep them to their Duty, in Caſe they gave Way. It ſerv'd, likewiſe, for a Rear-Guard, and a Body of Reſerve, to repulſe the Enemy, if they ſhould happen to penetrate ſo far.

They had, likewiſe, Moving-Towers, carry'd upon huge Waggons, drawn by ſixteen Oxen each; and defended by twenty Men, whoſe Buſineſs was to hurl Stones, and Javelins. Theſe were plac'd in the Rear of the whole Army, behind the fore-mention'd Body of Reſerve; and ſerv'd to ſupport their Troops, when they were puſh'd by the Enemy; and to favour their rallying, when they were put into Diſorder, and Confuſion.

They made great Uſe alſo of their Chariots arm'd with Scythes, as we have already obſerv'd. Theſe they generally plac'd in the Front of the Battle, and ſome of them, at certain Times, upon the Flanks of the Army; when they had any Reaſon to fear their being ſurrounded, by the Enemy's over-powering them with Numbers.

Thus far, and not much farther, did the Ancients carry their Knowledge in the military Art, with Reſpect to their Battles, and Engagements. But we do not find they had any Skill in chooſing advantagious Poſts, in ſeaſonably poſſeſſing themſelves of a favourable Ground; or, that they underſtood the Benefit of bringing the War into a cloſe Country; of making Uſe of Defiles, and narrow Paſſages, either to moleſt the Enemy in their March, or to cover themſelves from their Attacks; of laying artful, and ſecret Ambuſcades; of drawing a Campaign to a great Length, by skilful Delays; of not ſuffering a ſuperior Enemy to force them to a deciſive Action; and of reducing him to the Neceſſity of preying upon himſelf, through the Want of Forage, and Proviſions. Neither do we ſee, that they had much Regard to the defending of their Right, and Left, with Rivers, Marſhes, or Mountains; and, by that Means, making the Front of a ſmaller Army equal to that of another much more numerous; and putting it out of the Power of the Enemy to ſurround, or hem them in.

It muſt be own'd, however, that, in the firſt Campaign of *Cyrus*, againſt the *Armenians*, and afterwards againſt the *Babylonians*, there ſeems to have been ſome Beginnings, and Eſſays, as it were, of this Art; but they were not improv'd, or carry'd on to any Degree of Perfection in thoſe Days. Time, Reflection, and Experience, made the great Commanders in After-Ages acquainted with theſe Precautions, and Subtleties in War; and we ſhall hereafter ſhew, in the Wars of the *Carthaginians*, what Uſe *Hannibal*, *Fabius*, *Scipio*, and other Generals of both Nations, made of theſe military Wiles, and Stratagems; wherein *Hannibal* particularly excell'd.

It muſt alſo be confeſs'd, that the Ancients both devis'd, and executed, as much as could be expected, from the Nature of the Arms known in their Days; or from the Force, and the Variety of Engines then in Uſe; either for aſſaulting, or defending Fortreſſes.

Their firſt Method of attacking a Place, was by Blockade. They inveſted the Town with a Wall built quite round it; and in which, at proper Diſtances, were made Redoubts, and Places for Arms: And between the Wall, and the Town, they dug a deep Trench, which they ſtrongly fenc'd with Palliſado's, to hinder the Beſieg'd from ſallying out, as well as to prevent Succours, or Proviſions from going in. And thus did they quietly wait, till they brought about, by Famine, what they could not effect by Force, or Art. From hence proceeded the Length of thoſe Sieges, which are recorded in Antiquity; as the Siege of *Troy*, which laſted ten Years; that of *Azotus* by *Pſammeticus*, which laſted twenty-nine; that of *Nineveh*, where we find *Sardanapalus* defended himſelf for the Space of ſeven. And *Cyrus* might have lain a long Time before *Babylon*, where they had laid in a Stock of Proviſions for twenty Years, if he had not proceeded in that Affair after an extraordinary Manner; or rather, if he had not been aſſiſted therein by *God* himſelf.

Upon experiencing to what tedious Delays Blockades were liable, the Method of ſcaling was afterwards invented; which was done, by raiſing great Numbers of Ladders againſt the Town-Wall, by Means whereof, many Files of Soldiers might climb up together, and force their Way into the Place.

In Order, therefore, to render this impracticable, or, at leaſt, ineffectual, they made the Walls of their City extreamly high; and the Towers, wherewith they were flank'd, ſtill conſide-

ſiderably higher, that the Ladders of the Beſiegers might not be able to reach the Top of them. This oblig'd them to ſtudy ſome other Way of getting at the Top of their Ramparts: And this was building Moving-Towers of Wood, ſtill higher than their Walls, and approaching the Walls with thoſe Wooden Towers.

On the Top of theſe Towers, which form'd a Kind of Platform, were plac'd a competent Number of Soldiers; who, with Darts, and Arrows, and the Aſſiſtance of their *Baliſtæ*, and *Catapultæ*, clear'd the Ramparts, and drove from thence all the Beſieged: Then, from a lower Stage of the Tower, they ſlid a Kind of Draw-Bridge, which reſted upon the Wall, and gave the Soldiers an eaſy Admittance.

But, what extreamly ſhorten'd the Length of their Sieges, was the Invention of the Battering-Ram; by which they made Breaches in the Walls, and open'd themſelves a Paſſage into the Places beſieg'd. This Battering-Ram was a vaſt thick Beam of Timber, with a ſtrong Spike of Iron, or Braſs, at the End of it; which was puſh'd with the utmoſt Force againſt the Walls. There were ſeveral Kinds of them; but we propoſe to give a more ample, and particular Account of theſe, as well as of other warlike Engines, in another Place.

The Ancients had ſtill a fourth Method of attacking Places, which was, that of Sapping, and Undermining; and this was done two different Ways. They either carry'd on a ſubterraneous Paſſage, quite under the Walls, into the Heart of the City; and ſo open'd themſelves a Paſſage, and Entrance into it; or elſe, after they had ſapp'd the Foundation of the Wall, and put Supporters under it, they fill'd the void Space with all Sorts of combuſtible Matter; and then uſed to ſet it on Fire, in order to burn down the Props, and calcine the Materials of the Wall, whereby Part of it muſt fall in, and give the Beſiegers an Entrance.

Proceed we now to the fortifying, and defending of Towns, wherein the Ancients made Uſe of all the fundamental Principles, and eſſential Rules, now practis'd in the Art of Fortification. They had the Method of overflowing the Country round, to hinder the Enemy's approaching the Town; they made their Ditches deep, and of a ſteep Aſcent, and fenc'd them round with Palliſado's, to render the Enemy's Aſcent, or Deſcent, the more difficult; they made their Ramparts very thick, and fenc'd them with Stone, or Brick-Work, that the Battering-Ram might not be able to demoliſh them; and very high, that the ſcaling of them might be equally impracticable; they had alſo their jutting-out Towers, from whence our modern Baſtions deriv'd their Origin, for the flanking of the Curtains.

They had, likewiſe, the ingenious Invention of different Machines for the ſhooting of Arrows, the throwing of Darts, and Lances; and the hurling of great Stones with vaſt Force, and Violence; their Parapets, and Battlements in the Walls, for the Security of the Soldiers; and their cover'd Galleries, which went quite round the Walls, and ſerv'd as a ſubterraneous Paſſage; their Intrenchments behind the Breaches, or at the Breaſt of the Towers; they made their Sallies too, in order to deſtroy the Works of the Beſiegers, and to ſet their Engines on Fire; as alſo their Countermines, to defeat the Mines of the Enemy; and laſtly, they built Citadels to retreat to, in Caſe of Extremity, and to ſerve as a Place of Refuge, to a Garriſon upon the Point of being forc'd; and to render the taking of the Town of no Effect; or, at leaſt, to obtain a more advantagious Capitulation.

All theſe Methods of defending Places againſt thoſe that beſieg'd them, were known in the Art of Fortification, as it was practis'd among the Ancients; and they are the very ſame, as are now in Uſe among the Moderns, allowing for ſuch Alterations, as the Difference of Arms has neceſſarily introduc'd.

We judg'd it requiſite, to enter into theſe Particulars, in order to give our Readers a tolerable Idea of the ancient Manner of defending fortify'd Towns; as alſo, to remove a Prejudice, which prevails among many of the Moderns; who imagine, that, becauſe new Names are now given to the ſame Things, the Things themſelves are, therefore, different in Nature, and Subſtance. Since the Invention of Gun-Powder, Cannon, indeed, has been ſubſtituted in the Place of the Battering-Ram; and Muſquet-Shot, in the Room of the *Baliſtæ*, *Catapultæ*, Scorpions, Javelins, Slings, and Arrows. But, does it, therefore, follow, that any of the fundamental Rules of Fortification are chang'd? By no Means. The Ancients made as advantagious an Uſe of the Solidity, and Velocity of Bodies, as Art, and Ingenuity can poſſibly: Nay, we queſtion, whether the famous *Archimedes*, at the Siege of *Syracuſe*, did not perform more for the Defence of a Town, than the moſt expert Engineer amongſt the Moderns, could ever do ſince.

We have already obſerv'd, more than once, that we muſt not judge of the Merit, and Courage of the *Perſian* Troops, at all Times, by what we read of their Conduct, in the Reign of *Cyrus*. We ſhall, therefore, conclude this Article of War, with a judicious Reflection made by *Monſieur Boſſuet*, Biſhop of *Meaux*, on that Subject. He obſerves, that, after the Death of that Prince, the *Perſians*, generally ſpeaking, were ignorant of the great Advantages that redound to an Army, from Severity, Order, and Diſcipline; from the proper diſpoſing of Forces; the Regularity of their marching, and encamping; and from a maſterly Addreſs, and Conduct, which moves thoſe great Bodies, without claſhing, or Confuſion. Being full of a vain Oſtentation of their own Power, and Greatneſs; and relying more upon Strength, than Prudence; upon the Number, than the Choice of their Troops; they thought they had done all that was needful, when they had drawn together immenſe Numbers of People; who fought, indeed, with Reſolution enough, but without Order; and who found themſelves incumber'd with the vaſt Multitudes of uſeleſs Perſons, who were in the Retinue of the King, and his chief Officers.

For, to ſuch an Height was their Luxury grown, that they would needs have the ſame Magnificence, and enjoy the ſame Pleaſures, and Delights in the Army, as in Court: So that, in their Wars, their Monarchs march'd, accompany'd with their Wives, their Concubines, and all their Eunuchs. Their Silver, and Gold Plate, and all their rich Furniture, were likewiſe carry'd after them in prodigi-

ous Quantities; and, in ſhort, all the Equipage, and Conveniences, that ſuch a voluptuous Life requires. Thus were their Armies compos'd; already incumber'd with the exceſſive Numbers of their Soldiers; they were quite over-burden'd with the unreaſonable Train of Women, and uſeleſs Attendants.

In this Confuſion, the Troops could not regularly move: Their Orders never reach'd them in Time; and, in the Midſt of an Action, every Thing went on at Random; and, as it were, without the Poſſibility of any Commander's preventing the Diſorder. Add to this, the Neceſſity they were under of finiſhing an Expedition quickly; and of paſſing into an Enemy's Country with great Rapidity; becauſe ſuch a vaſt Body of People, greedy, not only of the Neceſſaries of Life, but of ſuch Things alſo, as were requiſite for Luxury, and Pleaſure, conſum'd all that could be met with in a very ſhort Time; nor, indeed, is it eaſy to comprehend, from whence they could procure a Sufficiency, for the Subſiſtence of ſuch infinite Numbers.

But, with all this vaſt, and uſeleſs Train, the *Perſians* bore down, and over-ran thoſe Nations, that were as unexpert in military Affairs as themſelves; and many of thoſe, that were better vers'd therein, were yet overcome by them, being either weaken'd, or diſtreſs'd by their own Diviſions, or over-power'd by the Numbers of their Enemy. And by this Means, *Egypt*, as proud as ſhe was of her Antiquity, her wiſe Inſtitutions, and the Conqueſts of her *Seſoſtris*, became ſubject to the *Perſians*. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer the leſſer *Aſia*, and ſuch *Greek* Colonies, as the Luxury of *Aſia* had corrupted. But, when they came to engage with *Greece* itſelf, they found, what they had never met with before; regular, and well diſcipli'n'd Troops; skilful, and experienc'd Commanders; Soldiers accuſtom'd to Temperance, whoſe Bodies were inur'd to Toil, and Labour; and render'd both robuſt, and active, by the Wreſtling, and other Exerciſes practis'd in that Country. The *Grecian* Armies, indeed, were but ſmall; but they were like ſtrong, vigorous Bodies, that ſeem to be all Nerves, and Sinews, and full of Spirits in every Part: Then they were ſo well commanded, and ſo prompt in obeying the Orders of their Generals, that the Soldiers ſeem'd as if they had been all actuated with one Soul; ſuch a perfect Harmony was there in all their Motions.

Come we now to their Arts, and Sciences; under which Head, we don't pretend to give an Account of the *Eaſtern* Poetry; of which we know little more, than what is to be met with in the Books of the *Old Teſtament*. Thoſe precious Fragments are ſufficient to let us know the Origin of Poeſy; its true Deſign; the Uſe that was made of it by thoſe inſpir'd Writers; namely, the celebrating, and ſinging of the Divine Perfections, and his wonderful Works; as alſo, that Sublimity, and Dignity of Stile, which ought to accompany it; adapted to the Majeſty of the Subject of which it treats. The Diſcourſes of *Job*'s Friends, who liv'd in the *Eaſt*, as he himſelf did likewiſe; and who were diſtinguiſh'd among the *Gentiles*, as much by their Learning, as their Birth, may likewiſe ſerve to give us ſome Notion of the *Eaſtern* Eloquence in thoſe early Ages.

What the *Egyptian* Prieſts ſaid of the *Greeks* in general, and of the *Athenians* in particular, according to *Plato*; that they were but Children in Antiquity, is very true, with Reſpect to Arts, and Sciences; of which they have falſely aſcrib'd the Invention to chimerical Perſons, much poſterior to the Deluge. The Holy Scripture informs us, that, before that Period, *God* had diſcover'd to Mankind, the Art of tilling, and cultivating the Ground; of feeding their Flocks and Cattle, when their Habitations were in Tents; of ſpinning Wool, and Flax, and weaving it into Stuffs, and Linnen; of forging, and poliſhing Iron, and Braſs; and putting them to numberleſs Uſes, that were neceſſary, and convenient for Life, and Society.

We learn from the ſame Scriptures, that pretty ſoon after the Deluge, human Induſtry had made ſeveral Diſcoveries very worthy of Admiration; as, 1. The Art of ſpinning Gold-Thread, and of intermixing it in the weaving of Stuffs. 2. That of beating Gold, and with light thin Leaves of it to gild Wood, and other Materials. 3. The Secret of caſting Metals; as Braſs, Silver, or Gold; and of making all Sorts of Figures with them, in Imitation of Nature; of repreſenting any Kind of different Objects; and of making an infinite Variety of Veſſels of thoſe Metals, for Uſe, and Ornament. 4. The Art of painting, or carving upon Wood, Stone, or Marble: And, 5. To name no more, that of dying Silks, and Stuffs, and giving them the moſt exquiſite, and beautiful Colours.

As it was in *Aſia*, that Men firſt ſettled after the Deluge, it is eaſy to conceive, that *Aſia* muſt have been the Nurſe, as it were, of ſuch Arts and Sciences, the Remembrance whereof had been preſerv'd by Tradition; and which were afterwards reviv'd again, and reſtor'd, by the Means of Men's Wants, and Neceſſities; which put them upon all the Methods of Induſtry, and Application.

To begin with Architecture; the Building the Tower of *Babel*, and ſhortly after, thoſe famous Cities, *Babylon*, and *Nineveh*, which have been look'd upon as Prodigies; the Grandeur, and Magnificence of royal, and other Palaces, divided into ſundry Halls, and Apartments, and adorn'd with every Thing, that either Decency, or Conveniency could require; the Regularity, and Symmetry of the Pillars, and vaulted Roofs, rais'd, and multiply'd one upon another; the noble Gates of their Cities; the Breadth, and Thickneſs of their Ramparts; the Height, and Strength of their Towers; their large commodious Keys on the Banks of their great Rivers; and their curious bold Bridges built over them: All theſe, with many other Works of the like Nature, ſhew to what Perfection this Art was carry'd, even in thoſe early Days.

Nevertheleſs, we cannot ſay, whether, in thoſe Ages, this Art was carry'd to that Degree of Elegance, to which it was brought afterwards in *Greece*, and *Italy*; or, whether thoſe vaſt Structures in *Aſia*, and *Egypt*, ſo much boaſted of by the Ancients, were as remarkable for their Beauty, and Regularity, as they were for their Bulk, and Greatneſs. We hear of five Orders in Architecture, the *Tuſcan*, *Doric*, *Ionic*, *Corinthian*, and *Compoſite*; but we never hear of an *Aſiatic*, or

Egyp-

Egyptian Order; which gives us Reaſon to doubt, whether the Symmetry, Meaſures, and Proportions of Pillars, Pilaſters, and other Ornaments in Architecture, were exactly obſerv'd in thoſe ancient Structures, which are ſo celebrated in Hiſtory.

To proceed, next, to Muſick; it is no Wonder, if, in a Country like *Aſia*, addicted to voluptuous, and luxurious Living, Muſick, which is the Soul, as it were, of other Delights, was in high Eſteem, and cultivated with great Application. The very Names of the principal Notes of ancient Muſick, which the modern has ſtill preſerv'd; namely, the *Doric*, *Phrygian*, *Lydian*, *Ionian*, and *Eolian*, ſufficiently indicate the Place, where it had its Origin; or, at leaſt, where it was improv'd, and brought to Perfection. We learn from Holy Scripture, that, in *Laban*'s Time, inſtrumental Muſick was much in Uſe in the Country where he dwelt, that is, in *Meſopotamia*; ſince, among the other Reproaches he makes to his Son-in-Law *Jacob*, he complains, that, by his precipitate Flight, he had put it out of his Power to conduct him, and his Family, *with Mirth, and with Songs; with Tabret, and with Harp.* And, amongſt the Booty, that *Cyrus* order'd to be ſet apart for his Uncle, *Cyaxares*, Mention is made of two famous Female Muſicians, very skilful in their Profeſſion; who accompany'd a Lady of *Suſa*, and were taken Priſoners, at the ſame Time with their Miſtreſs.

But, it has been a Queſtion, which has very much puzzled the Learned, to determine to what Degree of Perfection, Muſick was carry'd by the Ancients. This Queſtion is the harder to be decided; becauſe, to determine juſtly upon this Matter, it ſeems neceſſary, we ſhould have ſeveral Pieces of Muſick, compos'd by the Ancients, with their Notes, that we might examine it, both with our Eyes, and our Ears. But, by Misfortune, it is not with Muſick, in this Reſpect, as with ancient Sculpture, and Poetry; of which we have ſo many noble Monuments remaining; whilſt, on the contrary, we have not any one Piece of their Compoſition, in the other Science, by which we may make a certain Judgment in that Particular, and determine, whether the Muſick of the Ancients was carry'd to as great a Perfection, as it has been ſince in our Days. Criticks are generally agreed, that the Ancients were acquaint-with the treble Symphony; that is, the Harmony of Voices, that of Inſtruments, and that of Voices, and Inſtruments join'd in Concert. Neither is it diſputed, that they excell'd in the *Rythmus*. What is meant by the *Rythmus*, is the Aſſemblage, or Union of various Times in Muſick, which are join'd together with a certain Order, and in certain Proportions.

To underſtand this Definition, it is to be obſerv'd, that the Muſick whereof we are here ſpeaking, was always ſet, and ſung, to the Words of certain Verſes, in which every Syllable was diſtinguiſh'd into long, and ſhort; that the ſhort Syllable was pronounc'd as quick again as the long; that, therefore, the former was reckon'd to make up but one Time, whilſt the later made up two; and conſequently, the Sound, which anſwer'd to this, was to continue twice as long, as the Sound which anſwer'd to the other; or, which is the ſame Thing, it was to take in two Times, or Meaſures, whilſt the other comprehended but one; that the Verſes, that were ſung, conſiſted of a certain Number of Feet, form'd by the different Combination of theſe long, and ſhort Syllables; and that the *Rythmus* of the Song regularly follow'd the March of theſe Feet.

As theſe Feet, of what Nature, or Extent ſoever, were always divided into two equal, or unequal Parts, of which the former was call'd, in *Greek*, *Arſis*, that is, Elevation, or Raiſing; and the latter, *Theſis*, which is, Falling: So, the *Rythmus* of the Song, which anſwer'd to every one of thoſe Feet, was divided into two Parts equally, or unequally, by what we now call a Beating, and a Reſt, or Intermiſſion. The ſcrupulous Regard the Ancients had to the Quantity of their Syllables in their vocal Muſick, made their *Rythmus* much more perfect, and regular, than ours: For, our Poetry is not form'd upon the Meaſure of long, and ſhort Syllables; but, nevertheleſs, a skilful Muſician amongſt us, may, in ſome Sort, expreſs, by the Length of the Sounds, the Quantity of every Syllable.

What the Learned have chiefly diſputed concerning the Muſick of the Ancients, is, whether they underſtood Compound-Muſick; that is, a Compoſition, conſiſting of ſeveral Parts, each of which forms a compleat Piece by itſelf; and, at the ſame Time, has an harmonious Connection with the Others.

The next Science we ſhall conſider, amongſt the Ancients, is *Phyſick*; the Origin of which may likewiſe be diſcover'd in thoſe early Times: Its Beginnings, like thoſe of other Arts, and Sciences, were very rude, and imperfect. *Herodotus*, and after him, *Strabo*, obſerves, that it was a general Cuſtom among the *Babylonians*, to expoſe their ſick Perſons to the View of Paſſengers; in Order to learn of them, whether they had been afflicted with the like Diſtemper, and by what Remedies they had been cur'd. From hence ſeveral People have pretended, that Phyſick is nothing elſe but a conjectural, and experimental Science; entirely reſulting from Obſervations made upon the Nature of different Diſeaſes; and upon ſuch Things as are conducive, or prejudicial to Health. It muſt be confeſs'd, that Expereience will go a great Way; but that alone is not ſufficient. The famous *Hippocrates* made great Account of it in his Practice; but he did not entirely rely upon it. It was the Cuſtom, in thoſe Days, for all Perſons, who had been ſick, and were cur'd, to put up a Picture in the Temple of *Æſculapius*, wherein they gave an Account of the Remedies, which had reſtor'd them to their Health. That celebrated Phyſician caus'd all theſe Inſcriptions, and Memorials, to be copy'd out, and made great Uſe of them in his Practice.

Even in the Time of the *Trojan* War, Phyſick was in vaſt Uſe, and Eſteem. *Æſculapius*, who flouriſh'd at that Time, is reckon'd the Inventor of that Art; and had, even then, brought it to a great Perfection, by his profound Knowledge in Botany; by his great Skill in medicinal Preparations, and chirurgical Operations: For, in thoſe Days, theſe ſeveral Branches were not ſeparated from one another, but were all included together, under the Denomination of Phyſick.

The two Sons of *Æſculapius*, *Podalirius*, and *Machaon*, who commanded a certain Number of Troops at the Siege of *Troy*, were both excellent Phy-

Phyſicians, and brave Officers; and render'd as much Service to the *Grecian* Army, by their Skill, in their phyſical, as they did, by their Courage, and Conduct, in their military, Capacity. Nor did *Achilles* himſelf, or even *Alexander* the *Great*, in After Times, think the Knowledge of this Science improper for a General; or beneath his Dignity. On the contrary, *Achilles* himſelf learn'd it of *Chiron*, the Centaur; and did, afterwards, inſtruct his Governor, and Friend, *Patroclus*, therein; who did not diſdain to exerciſe the Art, in healing the Wound of *Eurypilus*.

This Wound he heal'd, by the Application of a certain Root, which immediately aſſwag'd the Pain, and ſtopp'd the Bleeding. Botany, or that Part of Phyſick, which treats of Herbs, and Plants, was very much known; and almoſt the only Branch of the Science, us'd in thoſe early Times. *Virgil*, ſpeaking of a celebrated Phyſician, who was inſtructed in his Art by *Apollo* himſelf, ſeems to confine that Profeſſion to the Knowledge of Simples: *Scire Poteſtates Herbarum Uſumque Medendi maluit*. 'Twas Nature herſelf, that offer'd theſe innocent, and ſalutary Remedies; and ſeem'd to invite Mankind to make Uſe of them. Their Gardens, Fields, and Woods, ſupply'd them *Gratis*, with an infinite Plenty, and Variety. As yet, no Uſe was made of Minerals, Treacles, and other Compoſitions, which have been ſince diſcover'd, by cloſer, and more inquiſitive Reſearches into Nature.

We are inform'd by *Pliny*, that the Practice of this Science, which had been brought, by *Æſculapius*, into great Reputation, about the Time of the *Trojan* War, was, ſoon after, neglected, and loſt; and lay bury'd, as it were, in Darkneſs, till the Time of the *Peloponneſian* War; when it was reviv'd by *Hippocrates*, and reſtor'd to its ancient Honour, and Credit. This may be true, with Reſpect to *Greece*: But, in *Perſia*, we find, it was always cultivated, and conſtantly held in great Reputation. The great *Cyrus*, as is obſerv'd by *Xenophon*, never fail'd to take a certain Number of excellent Phyſicians along with him in the Army; rewarding them very liberally, and ſhewing a particular Regard for them: He farther remarks, that, in this, *Cyrus* did but follow a Cuſtom, that had been anciently eſtabliſh'd among their Generals; and that the younger *Cyrus* follow'd his Example, and kept up the ſame Cuſtom.

It muſt, nevertheleſs, be acknowledg'd, that it was *Hippocrates*, who carry'd this Science to the higheſt Point of Perfection: And, though it be certain, that ſeveral Improvements, and new Diſcoveries, have been made in that Art ſince his Time; yet, is he ſtill look'd upon, by the ableſt Phyſicians, as the firſt, and chief Maſter of the Faculty; and as the Perſon, whoſe Writings ought to be the chief Study of thoſe, who would diſtinguiſh themſelves in that Profeſſion.

Such as have thus qualify'd themſelves, and beſides, having ſtudy'd the moſt celebrated Phyſicians, ancient, and modern; beſides acquiring a perfect Knowledge of the Virtues of Simples, the Principles of natural Philoſophy, and the Contexture, and different Conſtitution of human Bodies, have been long Practitioners, and had great Experience; and have thereto added their own ſerious Reflections; deſerve to be highly rewarded, and diſtinguiſh'd, in every well-order'd State: Nay, we are told, in the Scripture itſelf, *The Skill of the Phyſician ſhall lift up his Head; and in the Sight of great Men he ſhall be in Admiration*, Eccluſ. xxxviii. 3.

Nor is this any Thing but what is highly reaſonable; ſince all the Labours, Lucubrations, and Watchings, of an honeſt, and able Phyſician, are devoted to the People's Health; which, of all human Bleſſings, is the deareſt, and moſt valuable. And yet, this Bleſſing is what Mankind are the leaſt careful to preſerve. They do not only deſtroy it by Riot, and Exceſs; but, through a blind Credulity, they fooliſhly entruſt it with Perſons of no Skill, or Experience; who either impoſe upon them by their Impudence, and Preſumption; or ſeduce them, by their flattering Aſſurances of an infallible Recovery: The almoſt certain Sign of a Quack, or an Empirick!

To proceed, next, to *Aſtronomy*; notwithſtanding, the *Greeks* were very deſirous of being eſteemed the Authors, and Inventors of all Arts, and Sciences, they could never abſolutely deny the *Babylonians* the Honour of having laid the Foundations of this Science; though the ancient *Egyptians* have pretended to diſpute with the latter the Invention thereof: But, however that be, the advantageous Situation of *Babylon*, which was built upon a wide, extended Flat, where no Mountains bounded the Proſpect; the conſtant Clearneſs, and Serenity of the Air in that Country, ſo favourable to the free Contemplation of the Heavens; perhaps too, the extraordinary Height of the Tower of *Babel*, which ſeem'd to be intended for an Obſervatory; all theſe Circumſtances, were ſtrong Motives to engage this People nicely to obſerve the various Motions of the heavenly Bodies, and the regular Courſe of the Stars. Accordingly, the Abbot *Renaudot*, in his Diſſertation upon the Sphere, obſerves, that the Plain, which, in Scripture, is call'd *Shinar*, and in which *Babylon* ſtood, is the ſame as is call'd, by the *Arabians*, *Sinjar*; where the Chaliph *Almamon*, the ſeventh of the *Habbaſſides*, in whoſe Reign the Sciences began to flouriſh among the *Arabians*, caus'd thoſe Aſtronomical Obſervations to be made, which, for ſeveral Ages, directed all the Aſtronomers of *Europe*: And that the Sultan *Gelaleddin Melikſchah*, the third of the *Seljukides*, caus'd a Courſe of the like Obſervations to be made, near three hundred Years afterwards, in the ſame Place: From whence it appears, that this Place was always reckon'd one of the propereſt in the World, for obſerving the Courſe of the heavenly Bodies.

Nevertheleſs, the Obſervations made, by the *Babylonians*, could not be carry'd to any great Perfection, for Want of Teleſcopes; which are of modern Invention, and have greatly contributed to render our Aſtronomical Enquiries, of late Years, moſt perfect, and exact. Whatever the Obſervations of the *Babylonians* were, they have not deſcended to us; but *Epigenes*, a great, and credible Author, according to *Pliny*, mentions Obſervations, made for the Space of ſeven hundred and twenty Years, and imprinted upon Squares of Brick; which, if it be true, muſt reach back to a very early Antiquity. Thoſe of which *Calliſthenes*, a Philoſopher in *Alexander*'s Retinue, makes Mention, and of which he gave *Ariſtotle* an Account, took in 1903 Years; and conſequently,

ly, muſt go back pretty near to the Deluge, and the Time of *Nimrod*'s building the City of *Babylon*, call'd in Scripture, *Babel*, *Gen.* x. 10.

But, whoever they were to whom we are indebted for it, Mankind are, certainly, under great Obligations, and ought accordingly to acknowledge as much, for the Benefits they have receiv'd, from the Labours, and curious Enquiries of thoſe, who have contributed to the Diſcovery, or Improvement, of ſo uſeful a Science; a Science, not only of great Service to Agriculture, and Navigation, by the Knowledge it gives us of the regular Courſe of the Stars; and of the wonderful, conſtant, and uniform Proportion of Days, Months, Seaſons, and Years; but even to Religion itſelf; with which, as *Plato* ſhews, the Study of that Science has a very cloſe, and neceſſary Connexion; as it directly tends to inſpire us with great Reverence to the Deity, who, with an infinite Wiſdom, preſides over the Government of the Univerſe; and is preſent, and attentive to all our Actions. But, at the ſame Time, we cannot ſufficiently deplore the Misfortune of thoſe very Philoſophers; who, by their curious Reſearches, and aſtronomical Enquiries, came ſo very near their Great Creator, and yet were ſo unhappy, as not to find him; becauſe they did not ſerve, and adore him, as they ought to do; nor govern their Actions by the Rules, and Directions of that divine Pattern.

In Effect, ſo far were the *Babylonians*, and other *Eaſtern* Philoſophers, from ſo doing; and ſo far was the Study of the Heavenly Bodies from leading them, as it ought to have done, to the Knowledge of him, who is both their Creator, and Director; that, for the moſt Part, it carry'd them into impious Practices, and the Extravagancies of *judicial Aſtrology*. So we term that deceitful, and preſumptuous Science, which teaches us to judge of Things to come, by the Knowledge of the Stars; and to foretel Events, by the Situation of the Planets, and by their different Aſpects: A Science, juſtly look'd upon as a Madneſs, and Folly, by all the moſt ſenſible Writers among the *Pagans* themſelves. *O Deliberationem incredibilem!* cries *Cicero*, where he is refuting the extravagant Opinions of thoſe Aſtrologers, frequently call'd *Chaldeans*, from the Country that firſt produc'd them; who, in Conſequence of the Obſervations made, as they affirm'd, by their Predeceſſors, upon all paſt Events, for the Space of four hundred and ſeventy thouſand Years; pretended to know aſſuredly, by the Aſpect, and Combination of the Stars, and Planets, at the Inſtant of a Child's Birth, what would be his Genius, Temper, Manners, the Conſtitution of his Body, his Actions, and, in a Word, all the Events, and the Duration of his Life.

In Effect, that great *Roman* detects a thouſand Abſurdities in this Opinion, the Extravagance whereof ſufficiently expoſes it to Contempt; and asks, why, of all that vaſt Number of Children, that are born on the ſame Moment; and, without Doubt, exactly under the Aſpect of the ſame Stars, there are not two of them, whoſe Lives, and Fortunes reſemble each other? He puts this farther Queſtion, Whether all that great Number of Men, who periſh'd at the Battle of *Cannæ*, and dy'd one and the ſame Death, were born under the ſame Conſtellations?

One would hardly believe, that ſo abſurd an Art, founded entirely upon Fraud, and Impoſture, *fraudulentiſſima Artium*, as *Pliny* calls it, could ever have acquir'd ſo much Credit, as this has obtain'd, throughout the whole World, and in all Ages. What has ſupported, and brought it into ſo great Vogue, continues that great Author, is, the natural Curioſity Men have to penetrate into Futurity, and to know before-hand the Things that are to befal them; accompany'd with a ſuperſtitious Credulity, which finds itſelf agreeably flatter'd, with the large, and pleaſing Promiſes, of which thoſe Fortune-Tellers are never ſparing.

Modern Writers; and, among Others, two of our greateſt Philoſophers, *Gaſſendi*, and *Rohault*, have inveigh'd againſt the Folly of this pretended Science, with the ſame Energy; and have, demonſtratively, prov'd it to be equally deſtitute of the Principles, and of Experience. As for its Principles; the Heavens, according to the Syſtem of the Aſtrologers, are divided into twelve equal Parts: Which Parts are taken, not according to the Poles of the World, but according to thoſe of the *Zodiack*: Theſe twelve Parts, or Proportions of the Heavens, have, each of them, their Attributes; as Riches, Knowledge, Parentage, *&c.* the moſt important, and deciſive Portion, is that, which is next under the Horizon, and which is call'd the Aſcendant; becauſe it is ready to aſcend, and appear above the Horizon, when a Man comes into the World: The Planets are divided into the propitious, the malignant, and the mix'd: The Aſpects of theſe Planets, which are only certain Diſtances from one another; are likewiſe, either happy, or unhappy. We ſhall ſay nothing of ſeveral other *Hypotheſes*, which are all equally arbitrary; but we ask, whether any Man of common Senſe can give into them, upon the bare Word of theſe Impoſtors, without any Proofs, or, even without the leaſt Shadow of Probability?

The critical Moment, and that, on which all their Predictions depend, is that of the Birth. And why not as well the Moment of Conception? Why have the Stars no Influence during the nine Months of Child-bearing? Or, is it poſſible, conſidering the incredible Rapidity of the Heaven's Motion, always to be ſure of hitting the preciſe, determinate Moment, without the leaſt Variation more, or leſs; which is ſufficient to overthrow all? A Thouſand other Objections, of the ſame Kind, might be made, which are altogether unanſwerable; and which evidently demonſtrate the Abſurdity of this Science.

Theſe pretended Aſtrologers have ſtill leſs Reaſon to flatter themſelves upon their Experience: If they have any, it muſt conſiſt in Obſervations taken of Events, that have always come to paſs in the ſame Manner, whenever the Planets were found, in the ſame Situation. Now, it is unanimouſly agreed, by all Aſtronomers, that ſeveral Thouſands of Years muſt paſs, before any ſuch Situation of the Stars, as they would imagine, can twice happen: And it is very certain, that the State, in which the Heavens will be To morrow, has never yet been ſince the Creation of the World. The Reader may conſult the two Philoſophers above-mention'd, upon this Head; particularly, *Gaſſendi*, who has treated this Subject very copiouſly: But ſuch, and no better, are the Foundations, up-

on which the whole Structure of *judicial Astrology* is built.

But, what is most astonishing, and shews an absolute Want of all Reason, is, that many pretended Wits, who obstinately harden themselves against the most convincing Proofs of Religion, and who refuse to believe even the clearest, and most certain Prophecies, upon the Word of *God*, will frequently give entire Credit to the vain Predictions of these Astrologers, and Impostors.

However, St. *Austin*, in several Passages of his Writings, gives us to understand, that this stupid, and sacrilegious Credulity, is a just Chastisement from the *Almighty*, who frequently punisheth the voluntary Blindness of Men, by inflicting a still greater Blindness on them; and who suffers evil Spirits, (that they may keep their Servants still faster in their Nets) *sometimes* to foretel Things, which do really come to pass, and the Expectation whereof, very often serves only to add to their Uneasiness, and Misery.

God, who alone foresees future Contingencies, and Events, because he alone is the sovereign Disposer, and Director of them; frequently, in Scripture, reviles the Ignorance of the *Babylonian* Astrologers, so much boasted of, calling them Forgers of Lies, and Falshoods: He, moreover, defies all their false Gods to foretel any Thing whatsoever; and consents, if they do, that they should be worshipp'd as Gods. Then, addressing himself to the City of *Babylon*, he particularly declares all the Circumstances of the Miseries, with which she was to be overwhelm'd above two hundred Years after that Prediction; and that none of her Prognosticators, who had flatter'd her with the Assurances of a perpetual Grandeur, they preten ed to have read in the Stars, should be able to avert the Judgment, or even to foresee the Time of its Accomplishment.

Indeed, how should they; since, at the very Time of its Execution, when *Belshazzar*, the last King of *Babylon*, saw a Hand come out of the Wall, and write unknown Characters thereon; the *Magi*, *Chaldeans*, and, in a Word, all the pretended Sages of the Country, were not able so much as to read the Writing. Here then we see Astrology, and Magic, convicted of Ignorance, and Impotence, in the very Place where they were most in Vogue; and on an Occasion, when it was, certainly, their Interest, to display the utmost of their pretended Art, and Science.

But, leaving the Believers in this pretended Science to their Folly, let us proceed to a more important Article, which is the Religion, if Idolacan be so call'd, of the ancient *Eastern* Nations. Of this Idolatry there were innumerable Kinds; the most ancient, and general of which was that wherein the *Sun* and *Moon* were the Objects of divine Worship. This Idolatry was founded upon a mistaken Gratitude; which, instead of ascending up to the Deity, stopp'd short at the Veil, which both cover'd, and discover'd him. With the least Reflexion, or Penetration, they might have discern'd the Sovereign, who commanded, from the Minister, who did but obey his Mandates.

Mankind, in all Ages, have been sensibly convinc'd, of the Necessity of an Intercourse between *God* and them; and Adoration supposes *God* to be both attentive to our Desires, and capable of fulfilling them: But the Distance of the *Sun*, and of the *Moon*, is an Obstacle to this Intercourse. Therefore, foolish Men endeavour'd to remedy this Inconvenience, by laying their Hands upon their Mouths; and then lifting them up to those false Gods, in order to testify that they would be glad to unite themselves to them, but that they could not. This was that impious Custom, so prevalent throughout all the *East*, from which *Job* esteem'd himself happy to have been preserv'd: *If I beheld the* Sun *when it shined, or the* Moon *walking in Brightness: And my Heart hath been secretly enticed, or my Mouth hath kissed my Hand.*

The *Persians* ador'd the *Sun*; and particularly, when rising, with the profoundest Veneration. To him they dedicated a magnificent Chariot, with Horses of the greatest Beauty, and Value, as we have seen in the stately Procession of *Cyrus*. (The same Ceremony was practis'd by the *Babylonians*; of whom some impious Kings of *Judah* borrow'd it, and brought it into *Palestine*.) Sometimes they likewise sacrific'd Oxen to this God, who was known amongst them by the Name of *Mithra*.

The particular Veneration they likewise paid to the Element of *Fire*, was a natural Consequence of their worshipping the *Sun*, whereof it was a Type, or Symbol. They always invok'd that Element, first, in their Sacrifices, and carry'd it with great Respect, before the King, in all his Marches. They had a sacred Fire, which, as they pretended, came down from Heaven; the Keeping of which they would intrust with none but the *Magi*; and which, had it been suffer'd to go out, would have been look'd upon as the greatest of Misfortunes.

Accordingly, History informs us, that the Emperor *Heraclius*, when he was at War with the *Persians*, in order to give them the most sensible Mortification, demolish'd several of their Temples; and particularly, the Chapel, in which the sacred Fire had been preserv'd till that Time; which occasion'd great Mourning, and Lamentations, throughout the whole Country. The *Persians* likewise honour'd the *Water*, the *Earth*, and the *Winds*, as so many Deities.

The cruel Ceremony of making Children pass through the *Fire*, was, undoubtedly, a Consequence of the horrid Worship paid to that Element: For this Fire-Worship was common to the *Babylonians*, and *Persians*. The Scripture positively says of the People of *Mesopotamia*, who were sent, as a Colony, into the Country of the *Samaritans*, that *they caused their Children to pass through the Fire*. It is well known how common this barbarous Usage was grown in many Provinces of *Asia*.

But, besides these, the *Persians* had two Gods of a more extraordinary Nature; namely, *Oromasdes*, and *Arimanius*; the former of which they look'd upon as the Author of all the Blessings, and good Things, that happen'd to them; and the latter, as the Author of all the Evils wherewith they were afflicted: We shall give a large Account of these Deities, in the Sequel.

The *Persians*, at first, erected neither Statues, Temples, nor Altars; but offer'd their Sacrifices in the open Air, and, generally, on the Tops of Hills, or on high Places. It was in the open Fields, that *Cyrus* acquitted himself of that religious Duty, when he made the pompous, and solemn Procession, already describ'd; and it is suppos'd,

to

to have been through the Advice, and Inſtigation of the *Magi*, that *Xerxes*, that Tyrant of the *Perſians*, burnt all the *Grecian* Temples, eſteeming it injurious to the Majeſty of *God*, to ſhut him up within Walls; to whom all Things are open, and to whom the whole World ſhould be reckon'd but as an Houſe, and Temple.

It was the Opinion, however, of *Cicero*, that the *Greeks*, and *Romans*, acted more wiſely than the *Perſians*, in that they erected Temples, and thereby ſuppos'd their Gods to reſide among them; which was a proper Way to inſpire the People with Sentiments of Religion, and Piety: But *Varro* was not of the ſame Opinion: (St. *Auſtin* has preſerv'd that Paſſage of his, which informs us of this Particular.) After having obſerv'd, that the *Romans* had worſhip'd their Gods without Statues, or Images, for above an hundred and ſeventy Years, he adds, that, if they had ſtill preſerv'd that ancient Cuſtom, their Religion would have been the purer, and freer from Corruption: *Quod ſi adhuc manſiſſet, caſtius Dii obſervarentur*: And, to confirm his Sentiments, he cites the Example of the *Jews*.

What was commendable, however, in the Laws of the *Perſians*, was, that they ſuffer'd no Man to confine the Motive of his Sacrifices to any private, or domeſtick Intereſt. This was a fine Way of attaching all particular Perſons to the publick Good; by teaching them, that they ought never to ſacrifice for themſelves alone, but for the King, and the whole State; wherein every Man was comprehended with the Reſt of his Fellow-Citizens.

The *Magi* were the Guardians of all the Ceremonies relating to their Worſhip; and it was to them the People had Recourſe, in order to be inſtructed therein; and to know on what Days, to what Gods, and after what Manner, they were to offer their Sacrifices. As theſe *Magi* were all of one Tribe, and that none, but the Son of a Prieſt, could pretend to the Honour of the Prieſthood, they kept all their Learning, and Knowledge, whether in religious, or political Concerns, to themſelves, and their Families; nor was it lawful for them to inſtruct any Stranger in thoſe Matters, without the King's Permiſſion. This Permiſſion was granted in Favour of *Themiſtocles*; and was, according to *Plutarch*, a particular Effect of the Prince's great Conſideration for that Great *Grecian*.

This Knowledge, and Skill, in religious Matters, which made *Plato* define Magic, or the Learning of the *Magi*, the Art of worſhipping the Gods in a becoming Manner, gave the *Magi* great Authority, both over the Prince, and People; who could offer no Sacrifice without their Preſence, and Aſſiſtance.

What was yet more, before a Prince, in *Perſia*, could come to the Crown, he was oblig'd to receive Inſtruction, for a certain Time, from ſome of the *Magi*, and to learn of them, both the Art of reigning, and that of worſhipping the Gods, after a proper Manner. Nor did he determine any important Affair of State, when he was upon the Throne, without taking their Advice, and Opinion, before-hand: For which Reaſon, *Pliny* ſays, that, even in his Time, they were look'd upon, in all the *Eaſtern* Countries, as the Maſters, and Directors of Princes; and of thoſe, who ſtil'd themſelves the Kings of Kings; a Title due only to the *Almighty*.

Theſe were the Sages, the Philoſophers, and Men of Learning, amongſt the *Perſians*; as, the *Gymnoſophiſts*, and *Brachmans*, were amongſt the *Indians*; and the *Druids*, among the *Gauls*. Their great Reputation made People come from the moſt diſtant Countries, to be inſtructed by them in Philoſophy, and Religion; and we are aſſur'd, it was from them, *Pythagoras* borrow'd the Principles of that Learning, which procur'd him ſo much Veneration, and Reſpect among the *Greeks*; excepting only his Doctrine of *Tranſmigration*, which he learn'd of the *Egyptians*; and by which he corrupted, and debas'd the ancient Doctrine of the *Magi*, concerning the *Immortality of the Soul*, a Principle they always held.

It is generally agreed, that *Zoroaſtres* was the original Author, and Founder of this Sect: But Authors are pretty much divided in their Opinions, about the Time in which he liv'd. What *Pliny* ſays upon this Head, may reaſonably ſerve to reconcile this Variety of Opinions, as is very judiciouſly obſerv'd by Dr. *Prideaux*. We read in that Author, that there were two Perſons nam'd *Zoroaſtres*, between whoſe Lives there might be the Diſtance, perhaps, of ſix hundred Years. The firſt of theſe was the Founder of the Sect of the *Magi*, about the Year of the World 2900; and the latter, who, certainly, flouriſh'd between the Beginning of the Reign of *Cyrus*, in the *Eaſt*, and the End of that of *Darius*, Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, was the Reſtorer, and Reformer thereof.

Throughout all the *Eaſtern* Countries, Idolatry was divided into two principal Sects; that of the *Sabeans*, who ador'd Images; and that of the *Magi*, who worſhip'd *Fire*. The former of theſe Sects firſt ſprung up amongſt the *Chaldeans*; who, from the Knowledge they had of Aſtronomy, and their particular Application to the Study of the ſeveral Planets, which they believ'd to be inhabited by ſo many Intelligences, who were to thoſe Orbs what the Soul of Man is to his Body, were induc'd to repreſent *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Venus*, and *Diana*, or the *Moon*, by ſo many Images, or Statues; in which they imagin'd, thoſe pretended Intelligences, or Deities, were as really preſent, as in the Planets themſelves. In Time, the Number of their Gods conſiderably increas'd; and this Image-Worſhip from *Chaldea* ſpread itſelf throughout all the *Eaſt*; from whence it paſs'd into *Egypt*; and, at length, came among the *Greeks*, who propagated it through all the *Weſtern* Nations.

To this Sect of the *Sabeans*, that of the *Magi*, which alſo took its Riſe in the ſame *Eaſtern* Countries, was diametrically oppoſite. Theſe *Magi* utterly abhorr'd Images, and worſhipp'd *God* only under the Form of *Fire*; looking upon that, on Account of its Purity, Brightneſs, Activity, Subtilty, Fecundity, and Incorruptibility, as the moſt perfect Symbol, or Repreſentation of the Deity. They began firſt in *Perſia*; and there, and in *India*, were the only Places where this Sect was propagated, and where they remain even to this Day. Their chief Doctrine was, that there were two Principles; one the Cauſe of all *Good*, and the other the Cauſe of all *Evil*. The former is repreſented by *Light*, and the other by *Darkneſs*, as their trueſt Symbols. The good God they

they name *Yazdan*, and *Ormuzd*; and the evil God *Abraman*. The former is, by the *Greeks*, call'd *Oromaſdes*, and the latter *Arimanius*. And therefore, when *Xerxes* pray'd, that it might be put into the Minds of all his Enemies, to drive away their beſt, and braveſt Men, as the *Athenians* had *Themiſtocles*, he addreſs'd his Prayer to *Arimanius*, the evil God of the *Perſians*, and not to *Oromaſdes*, their good Deity.

Concerning theſe two falſe Deities, they had theſe different Opinions; that, whereas, ſome held, both of them to have been from all Eternity; others contended, that the good God only was eternal, and the other was created. But they both agreed in this, that there will be a continual Oppoſition between theſe two, till the End of the World: That then the good God ſhall overcome the evil One; and that, from that Time, each of them ſhall have his World to himſelf; that is, the good God, his World, with all good Men with him; and the evil God, his, with all the evil Ones with him.

The ſecond *Zoroaſtres*, who liv'd in the Time of *Darius*, undertook to reform ſome Articles, in the Religion of the Sect of the *Magi*; which, for ſeveral Ages, had been the predominant Religion of the *Medes*, and *Perſians*; but, ſince the Death of *Smerdis*, and his chief Confederate, and the Maſſacre, that was made of their Adherents, and Followers, was fallen into great Contempt. 'Tis thought, this pretended Reformer made his firſt Appearance in *Ecbatana*, the chief City of *Media*.

The chief Reformation he made in the Religion of the *Magi*, was in the firſt Principle of it. For, whereas, before they had held the Being of the two firſt Cauſes; the firſt Light, who was the Author of all Good; and the other Darkneſs, who was the Author of all Evil; and that, of the Mixture of theſe two, as they were in a continual Struggle with each other, all Things were made; he then introduc d a Principle ſuperior to them both, one Supream *God*, who created both *Light*, and *Darkneſs*; and who, out of theſe two Principles, made all otherThings according to his own Will, and Pleaſure.

But, to avoid making *God* the Author of Evil, his Doctrine was, that there was one Supream Being, independent, and ſelf-exiſting from all Eternity: That, under him there were two Angels; one the *Angel* of *Light*, who is the Author of all Good; and the other the *Angel* of *Darkneſs*, who is the Author of all Evil: That theſe two out of the Mixture of Light, and Darkneſs, made all Things that are; that they are in a perpetual Struggle with each other; and that where the *Angel* of *Light* prevails, there Good reigns; and where the *Angel* of *Darkneſs* prevails, there Evil takes Place: That this Struggle ſhall continue to the End of the World; that then there ſhall be a general Reſurrection, and a Day of Judgment, wherein all ſhall receive a juſt Retribution, according to their Works. That, after this, the *Angel* of *Darkneſs*, and his Diſciples, ſhall go into a World of their own, where they ſhall ſuffer in everlaſting Darkneſs, the Puniſhments of their evil Deeds; and the *Angel* of *Light*, and his Diſciples, ſhall go into aWorld of their own, where they ſhall receive in everlaſting Light, the Reward due unto their good Deeds; that, from that Time, they ſhall remain ſeparated for ever; and Light, and Darkneſs be no more mix'd together, to all Eternity. And all this the Remainder of that Sect, which is now in *Perſia*, and *India*, ſtill hold, even to this Day, without any Variation, after ſo many Ages.

It would be needleſs to inform the conſiderate Reader, that, almoſt every one of theſe Articles, though alter'd in many Circumſtances, do, in general, agree with the Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures; with which, it plainly appears, the two *Zoroaſtres* were well acquainted; it being eaſy for both of them to have had an Intercourſe, or perſonal Acquaintance with the People of *God*, the firſt of them in *Syria*, where the *Iſraelites* had been long ſettled; the latter at *Babylon*, to which Place the ſame People were carry'd Captive; and where *Zoroaſtres* might confer with *Daniel* himſelf, who was in very great Power, and Credit, in the Court of the *Perſian* Monarchs.

Another Reformation, made by *Zoroaſtres* in the ancient Religion of the *Magi*, was, that he caus'd Temples to be built, wherein their ſacred Fires were carefully, and conſtantly preſerv'd; and eſpecially, that which he pretended himſelf to have brought down from Heaven. Over this the Prieſts kept a perpetual Watch, Night, and Day, to prevent its being extinguiſh'd; which, as we have already obſerv'd, would have been look'd upon as the greateſt of Misfortunes.

Having ſaid ſo much of the Religion of the *Eaſtern* Nations, which is an Article, we thought ourſelves oblig'd to enlarge upon, becauſe we look upon it, as an eſſential Part of their Hiſtory, we ſhall be forc'd to treat of their other Cuſtoms with the greater Brevity; amongſt which, their Marriages, and Burials, are too material, to be paſs'd over in Silence.

Nothing can be more ſhocking, or give us a greater Idea, of the profound Darkneſs into which Idolatry had plung'd Mankind, than the publick Proſtitution of Women at *Babylon*; which was not only authoriz'd by Law, but even commanded, by the Religion of the Country, upon a certain Feſtival of the Year, celebrated in Honour of the Goddeſs *Venus*, under the Name of *Mylitta*; whoſe Temple, by Means of this infamous Ceremony, became a Brothel, or Place of the moſt abominable Debauchery. This wicked Cuſtom was ſtill in being, when the *Iſraelites* were carry'd captive to that criminal City; for which Reaſon, the Prophet *Jeremiah* thought fit, to caution, and admoniſh them againſt ſo crying, and deteſtable a Sin.

Nor had the *Perſians* any better Notion of the Dignity, and Sacredneſs of the Matrimonial Inſtitution, than the *Babylonians*. We do not mean only with Regard to that incredible Multitude of Wives, and Concubines, with which their Kings fill'd their Seraglio's; and of which they were as jealous, as if they had not had more than one; keeping them all ſhut up in ſeparate Apartments, under a ſtrict Guard of Eunuchs; without ſuffering them to have any Communication with one another, much leſs with Perſons without-doors; but it ſtrikes a Man with Horror, to read how far they neglected the moſt common Laws of Nature. Even Inceſt with a Siſter, was allow'd amongſt them, by their Laws; or, at leaſt, authoriz'd by

their

their *Magi*, thoſe pretended Sages of *Perſia*, as we have ſeen in the Hiſtory of *Cambyſes*: Nor did even a Father reſpect his own Daughter, or a Mother the Son of her own Body.

Accordingly we read in *Plutarch*, that *Paryſatis*, the Mother of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, who ſtrove in all Things to pleaſe the King her Son, perceiving that he had conceived a violent Paſſion for one of his own Daughters, call'd *Atoſſa*, was ſo far from oppoſing his unlawful Deſire, that ſhe herſelf adviſed him to marry her, and make her his lawful Wife; and laugh'd at the Maxims and Laws of the *Gricians*, which taught the Contrary. For, ſays ſhe to him, carrying her Flattery to a monſtrous Exceſs, *Are not you your ſelf ſet by* GOD *over the* Perſians, *as the only Law and Rule of what is becoming or unbecoming, virtuous or vicious?* Could there be a more abominable Doctrine!

Nor was this deteſtable Cuſtom aboliſhed 'till the Time of *Alexander* the *Great*; who, being become Maſter of *Perſia*, by the Overthrow and Death *Darius*, made an expreſs Law to ſuppreſs it. Theſe Enormities may ſerve to teach us from what an Abyſs the Goſpel has deliver'd us; and how weak a Barrier human Wiſdom is, of it ſelf, againſt the moſt extravagant and abominable Vices.

We ſhall finiſh this Article by ſaying a Word or two, concerning their Manner of burying their Dead: It was not the Cuſtom of the *Eaſtern* Nations, and eſpecially of the *Perſians*, to erect funeral Piles for the Dead, and to conſume their Bodies in the Flames. Accordingly we find that *Cyrus*, when he was going to dye, took Care to charge his Children to interr his Body, and to reſtore it to the Earth: This was his very Expreſſion; by which he ſeemed to declare, that he look'd upon the Earth as the original Parent, from whence he ſprung, and to which he ought to return. And when *Cambyſes* had offer'd a thouſand Indignities to the dead Body of *Amaſis*, King of *Egypt*, he thought he crown'd all by cauſing it to be burnt; which was equally contrary to the *Egyptian* and *Perſian* Manner of treating the Dead: It was the Cuſtom of the latter, to wrap up their Dead in Wax, in Order to keep them the longer from Corruption.

We thought proper to give the larger Account in this Place of the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Perſians*, becauſe the Hiſtory of that People takes up a great Part of this Work; and, becauſe we ſhall ſay no more on that Subject in the Sequel.

When we compare the *Perſians*, as they were before *Cyrus* and during his Reign, with what they were afterwards, in the Reigns of his Succeſſors, we can hardly believe they were the ſame People: And we ſee an evident Illuſtration of this Truth, that a Degeneracy and Corruption of Manners, in any State, is always attended with a Decay of Empire and Dominion.

Among many other Cauſes, that occaſioned the Declenſion of the *Perſian* Empire, the four following may be look'd upon, as the principal: Their exceſſive Luxury and Pride; the abject Submiſſion and Slavery of the Subjects; the wretched Education of their Princes, which was the Source of all their Irregularities; and their Want of Sincerity with Reſpect to the Execution of their Treaties, and the Obſervations of their Oaths and Engagements.

To ſhew the fatal Effects of their Luxury, and Pride, we need only conſider, that what made the *Perſian* Troops, in the Time of *Cyrus*, be look'd upon as invincible, was the temperate Life, and hard Fare, to which they accuſtom'd from their Infancy; having nothing but Water for their ordinary Drink; Bread and Roots for their Eating; the Ground, or ſomething as hard, to lye upon, and inuring themſelves to the moſt painful Exerciſes and Labours, and eſteeming the greateſt Dangers as nothing. The Nature of the Country, where they were born, which was rough, mountainous and woody, might ſomewhat contribute to their Hardineſs; for which Reaſon *Cyrus* would never conſent to the Project of tranſplanting them into a more mild and agreeable Climate. Beſides, the excellent Manner of educating the ancient *Perſians*, of which we have already given a ſufficient Account, and which was not left to the Humours and Fancies of Parents, but was ſubject to the Authority and Direction of the Magiſtrates, and regulated upon Principles of the publick Good, prepared them for obſerving, in all Places, and at all Times, a moſt exact and ſevere Diſcipline. Add to this the Influence of the Prince's Example, who made it his Ambition to ſurpaſs all his Subjects in Regularity; was the moſt abſtemious and ſober in his Eating and Drinking; the plaineſt in his Dreſs; the moſt inur'd and accuſtom'd to Hardſhips and Fatigues; as well as the Braveſt and moſt Intrepid in Time of Action. What might not be expected from Soldiers ſo form'd and ſo train'd up? By them, therefore, we find, *Cyrus* conquer'd a great Part of the World.

When his Victories were over, he ſtill exhorted his Army and People, not to degenerate from their ancient Virtue, that they might not eclipſe the Glory they had acquir'd; but carefully to preſerve that Simplicity, Sobriety, Temperance, and Love of Labour, which were the Means by which they had obtained it. But we do not know, whether *Cyrus* himſelf did not at that very Time, ſow the firſt Seeds of that Luxury, which quickly overſpread and corrupted the whole Nation. In that auguſt Ceremony, which we have already deſcribed at large, and on which he firſt ſhewed himſelf in Publick to his new conquer'd Subjects, he thought proper, in Order to highten the Splendor of his regal Dignity, to make a pompous Diſplay of all the Magnificence and Show, that could be contriv'd to dazzle the Eyes of the People. Among other Things, he changed his own Apparel, as alſo that of his Officers; giving them all Garments made after the Faſhion of the *Medes*, richly ſhining with Gold and Purple, inſtead of their *Perſian* Cloaths, which were very plain and ſimple.

This Prince ſeem'd to have forgot how contagious the Example of a Court is; as alſo the natural Inclination all Men have to value and eſteem what pleaſes the Eye, and makes a fine Show; how glad they are to diſtinguiſh themſelves above others, by a falſe Merit, eaſily attained, in Proportion to the Degrees of Wealth and Vanity, a Man has above his Neighbours; he forgot how capable all this together was of corrupting the Purity of their ancient Manners; and of introducing, by Degrees, a general predominant Taſte for Extravagance and Luxury.

Theſe were in Time carried to ſuch an Exceſs, as was little better than downright Madneſs. The Prince carried in the Wars all his Wives along

with him; and what an Equipage such a Troop must be attended with, is easy to judge. All his Generals and Officers followed his Example, each in Proportion to his Rank and Ability. Their Pretence for so doing was, that the Sight of what they held most dear and precious in the World, would encourage them to fight with the greater Resolution: But the true Reason was the Love of Pleasure, with which they were overcome, before they came to engage with the Enemy.

Another Instance of their Folly was, that they carried their Luxury and Extravagance in the Army, with Respect to their Tents, Chariots, and Diet, to a greater Excess, if possible, than they did in their Cities. The finest Meats, the rarest Birds, and the most exquisite Dainties must needs be found for the Prince, in what Part of the World soever he was incamped. They had their Vessels of Gold and Silver, without Number; Instruments of Luxury, says a certain Historian, not of Victory, proper to draw on and enrich an Enemy, but not to repel, or defeat him.

We cannot see what Reasons *Cyaus* could have for changing his Conduct, in the last Years of his Life. It must be owned, indeed, that the Station of Kings requires a suitable Grandeur and Magnificence; which may, on certain Occasions, be carried even to a Degree of Pomp and Splendor. But Princes, that are possess'd of a real and solid Merit, have a thousand Ways, of making up what they may seem to lose, by retrenching some Part of their outward State and Magnificence.

Cyrus himself had found by Experience, that a King is more sure of gaining Respect from his People, by the Wisdom of his Conduct, than by the Greatness of his Expences; and that Affection and Confidence produce a closer Attachment in them to his Person, than a vain Admiration of unnecessary Pomp and Grandeur. Be this as it will, the last Example of *Cyrus* became very contagious. A Taste for Vanity and Expence first prevailed at Court, then spread itself into the Cities and Provinces, and in a little Time infected the whole Nation; and was one of the principal Causes of the Ruin of that Empire, which he himself had founded.

What is here said of the fatal Effects of Luxury, is not peculiar to the *Persian* Empire. The most judicious Historians, the most learned Philosophers, and the profoundest Politicians, all lay it down as a certain, indisputable Maxim, that, where-ever Luxury prevails, it never fails to destroy the most flourishing States and Kingdoms; and the Experience of all Ages, and all Nations, does but too clearly demonstrate this Maxim; and it will be happy for us, if we do not fatally prove the Truth thereof, since Luxury never prevailed so much amongst us as at present,

What then is this subtle and secret Poison, that thus lurks under the Pomp of Luxury, and the Charms of Pleasure, and is capable of enervating, at the same Time, both the whole Strength of the Body, and the Vigour of the Mind? It is not very difficult to account for its having had this terrible Effect. When Men are accustom'd to a soft and voluptuous Life, can they be very fit for undergoing the Fatigues and Hardships of War? Are they qualify'd for suffering the Rigour of the Seasons; for enduring Hunger and Thirst; for passing whole Nights without Sleep, upon Occasion; for going through continual Exercise and Action; for facing Danger, and despising Death?

The natural Effect of Voluptuousness and Delicacy, which are the inseparable Companions of Luxury, is to render Men subject to a thousand false Wants and Necessities; to make their Happiness depend upon a thousand trifling Conveniencies and Superfluities, which they can no longer deny themselves; and to give them an unreasonable Fondness for Life, on Account of a thousand secret Ties and Engagements, that endear it to them; and which by stifling in them the great Motives of Glory, of Zeal for their Prince, and Love for their Country, render them fearful and cowardly; and hinder them from exposing themselves to Dangers, which may in a Moment deprive them of all those Things, wherein they place their Felicity.

We are assured by *Plato*, that the abject Submission, and Slavery of the *Persians*, was one of the Causes of the Declension of that Empire. And, indeed, what contributes most to the Preservation of States, and renders their Arms victorious, is not the Number, but the Vigour and Courage of their Armies: And, as it was finely said by one of the Ancients, *from the Day a Man loseth his Liberty, he loseth one Half of his ancient Virtue.* He is no longer concerned for the Prosperity of of the State, to which he looks upon himself as an Alien; and having lost the principal Motives of his Attachment to it, he becomes indifferent about the Success of publick Affairs, or about the Glory or Welfare of his Country, in which his Circumstances allow him to claim no Share, and by which his own private Condition is not altered, or improved.

It may truly be said, that the Reign of *Cyrus* was a Reign of Liberty. That Prince never acted in an arbitrary Manner; nor did he think, that a despotic Power was worthy of a King; or that there was any great Glory in ruling an Empire of Slaves. His Tent was always open; and free Access allowed to every one, that had a Mind to speak with him. He lived not retired, but was visible, accessible, and affable to all; he heard their Complaints, and with his own Eyes observed and rewarded Merit; inviting to his Table, not only his General Officers, and Prime Ministers, but even the subaltern Officers, and sometimes whole Companies of Soldiers. The Simplicity and Frugality of his Repasts made him capable of giving such Entertainments frequently. His Aim therein was to animate his Officers and Soldiers; to inspire them with Courage and Resolution, to attach them to his Person rather than to his Dignity; and to make them warmly espouse his Glory, and still more the Interest and Prosperity of the State. This is what may be called the Art of truly governing, and commanding.

In reading *Xenophon*, with what Pleasure do we observe, not only those fine Turns of Wit, that Justness and Ingenuity in their Answers and Repartees, that Delicacy in Jesting and Rallery, but likewise that amiable Chearfulness, and Gaiety, which enlivened their Entertainments; from which all Vanity and Luxury were banished; and in which the principal Seasoning was a decent and becoming Freedom, which prevented all Constraint; and a Kind of Familiarity, which was so far from lessening their Respect for the Prince, that it

it gave such a Life and Spirit to it, as nothing but a real Affection and Tenderness could produce.

We may venture to say, that by such a Conduct as this, a Prince doubles and trebles his Army at a small Expence. Thirty Thousand Men of this Sort are preferable to Millions of such Slaves, as the *Persians* became afterwards. In the Time of Action, on a decisive Day of Battle, this Truth is easily perceived; and the Prince is more sensible of it than any Body else. In his Description of the Battle of *Thymbræa*, when the Horse of *Cyrus* fell under him, *Xenophon* takes Notice how much it concerns a Commander to be loved by his Soldiers. The Danger of the King's Person became the Danger of the Army; and his Troops gave incredible Proofs of their Courage and Bravery, when fighting for their Prince's Safety.

But the greatest Part of his Successors did not behave in the same Manner: Their only Aim was to cause themselves to be revered; and we must confess, their outward Ornaments and Ensigns of Royalty did not a little contribute thereto. A Purple Robe richly embroidered, and hanging down to their Feet; a *Tiara*, worn upright on their Heads, with an imperial Diadem round about it, a golden Scepter in their Hands, a magnificent Throne, a numerous and shining Court, a Multitude of Officers and Guards; these Things must needs contribute to heighten the Splendor of regal Majesty; but all this, when this is all, is little to be regarded. What is that King in Reality, who loses all his Merit, and his Dignity, when he puts off his Ornaments?

Most of the *Eastern* Princes, in Order to make themselves the more reverenced, were generally shut up in their Palaces, and seldom seen by their Subjects. We have already seen, that *Dejoces*, the first King of the *Medes*, at his Accession to the Throne, intoduc'd this Policy; which afterwards became very common in all the *Eastern* Countries. But 'tis a great Mistake, to imagine that a Prince cannot descend from his Grandeur, by a Sort of Familiarity, without debasing or lessening his Greatness. *Artaxerxes* did not think so; and *Plutarch* observes, that that Prince, and Queen *Statira*, his Wife, took a Pleasure in being visible, and of easy Access to their People: And by so doing they were but the more respected by them.

Again, among the *Persians*, no Subject whatsoever was allowed to appear in the King's Presence without prostrating himself before him; and this Law, which *Seneca* with good Reason calls a *Persian* Slavery, *Persicam Servitutem*, extended likewise to Foreigners. We shall find, hereafter, that several *Grecians* refused to comply with it; looking upon such a Ceremony as derogatory to Men, born and bred in a Country which enjoyed Liberty. Some of them, less scrupulous, did submit to it, but not without great Reluctancy: And we are told, that One of them, in Order to cover the Shame of such a servile Prostration, purposely let fall his Ring, when he came near the King, that he might have Occasion to bend his Body on another Account. But it would have been criminal for any of the Natives of the Country, to hesitate or deliberate about an Homage, which their Kings exacted from them with the utmost Rigour.

What the Scripture relates of two Sovereigns, whereof the One commanded all his Subjects, on Pain of Death, to prostrate themselves before his Image; and the Other, on the same Penalty, suspended all Acts of Religion, with Regard to all the Gods in general, except to himself only, as a Mark of the ready and blind Obedience of the whole City of *Babylon*, who ran altogether, at the first Signal, to bend the Knee before the Idol, and to invoke the King exclusively of all the Powers of Heaven, shews to what an extravagant Excess the *Eastern* Kings carried their Pride, and the People their flattery Submission, and abject Servitude.

So great was the Distance between the *Persian* Monarch and his Subjects, that the latter of what Rank or Quality soever, whether *Satrapæ*, Governors, near Relations, or even Brothers, were only look'd upon as Slaves; whereas the King himself was always consider'd, not only as their Sovereign Lord and absolute Master, but as a Kind of Divinity. In a Word, the peculiar Character of the *Asiatics*, and the *Persians* more particularly than any other, was Servitude and Slavery; which made *Cicero* say, that the despotick Power, some were endeavouring to establish in the *Roman* Common-Wealth, was an insupportable Yoke, not only to a *Roman*, but even to a *Persian*.

It was, therefore, this arrogant Haughtiness of the Princes on one Hand, and this abject Submission of the People on the other, which, according to *Plato*, were the principal Causes of the Ruin of the *Persian* Empire; by dissolving all the Ties, wherein a King is united to his Subjects, and the Subjects to their King. Such an Haughtiness extinguishes all Affection and Humanity in the former; and such an abject State of Slavery leaves the People neither Courage, Zeal, nor Gratitude.

The *Persian* Kings governed and commanded only by Threats and Menaces; and the Subjects neither obeyed nor marched, but with Unwillingness and Reluctance. This is the Idea *Xerxes* himself gives us of them, in *Herodotus*, where that Prince is represented as wondering, how the *Grecians*, who were a free People, could march to Battle with a good Will and Inclination. How could any Thing great or noble be expected from Men, so dispirited and depressed by Slavery, as the *Persians* were, and reduc'd to such an abject Servitude? Which, to use the Words of *Longinus*, is a Kind of Imprisonment, wherein a Man's Soul may be said, in some Measure, to lose its Vigour, and Spirit.

We say it with Reluctance, but we don't know, whether the great *Cyrus* himself did not contribute to introduce among the *Persians*, both that extravagant Pride in their Kings, and that abject Submission and Flattery in the People. It was in that pompous Ceremony, which we have several times mentioned, that the *Persians* ('till then very jealous of their Liberty, and very far from being inclined to make a shameful Prostitution of it, by any mean Behaviour or servile Compliances) first bent the Knee before their Prince, and stoop'd to a Posture of Adoration. Nor was this only an Effect of Chance: for *Xenophon* intimates pretty clearly, that *Cyrus*, who was desirous of having that Homage paid him, had appointed Persons on Purpose, to begin it; whose Example was accordingly followed by the Multitude, and by the *Persians* as well as the other Nations.

In these little Tricks and Stratagems we no longer

er diſcern that Nobleneſs, and Greatneſs of Soul, which had ever been conſpicuous in that Prince, till this Occaſion: And we are apt to think, that, being arriv'd at the utmoſt Pitch of Glory, and Power, he could no longer reſiſt thoſe violent Attacks, wherewith Proſperity is always aſſaulting even the beſt of Princes, *ſecundæ res ſapientium animos fatigant*; and that, at laſt, Pride, and Vanity, which are almoſt inſeparable from ſovereign Dominion, forc'd him, and tore him, as it were, from himſelf, and his own natural Inclinations: *Vi dominationis convulſus & mutatus.*

Another Cauſe, as we are likewiſe aſſur'd by *Plato*, the Prince of Philoſophers, of the Declenſion of the *Perſian* Empire, was the pernicious Education their Princes gave their Children, who were to be their Succeſſors: In Effect, if we carefully examine into the Matter of Fact, we ſhall find how ſolid, judicious, and well-grounded, this Reflection is; and how inexcuſable the Conduct of *Cyrus* was, in this Reſpect: For, certainly, never had any Man more Reaſon, than himſelf, to be ſenſible, how highly neceſſary a good Education is for a young Prince. He knew the whole Value of it, with Reſpect to himſelf; and had found all the Advantages of it, by his own Experience. What he moſt earneſtly recommended to his Officers, in that fine Diſcourſe he made, after the Taking of *Babylon*, in order to exhort them to maintain the Glory, and Reputation, they had acquir'd, was to educate their Children in the ſame Manner, as they knew they were educated in *Perſia*; and to inure them to the Practice of the ſame Manners, as were cuſtomary in that Country.

After this, could it have been believ'd, that a Prince, who ſpoke, and thought in this Manner, could ever have entirely neglected the Education of his own Children? Yet, this is what is to be highly blam'd in *Cyrus*. Forgetting, that he was a Father, and employing himſelf about his Conqueſts, he left the Care of that important Buſineſs entirely to the Women; that is, to Princeſſes, brought up in a Country, where Vanity, Luxury, and Voluptuouſneſs, reign'd in the higheſt Degree: For, the Queen, his Wife, was of *Media*: And in the ſame Manner were the two young Princes, *Cambyſes*, and *Smerdis*, educated. Nothing they ask'd was ever refus'd them: Nor were their Deſires only granted, but prevented.

The great Maxim, that was order'd to be obſerv'd by all about them, was, that their Attendants ſhould not croſs them in any Thing; nor ever contradict them, or make Uſe of Reproofs, or Remonſtrances. No one open'd his Mouth in their Preſence, but to praiſe, and commend, what they ſaid, and did. Every one cring'd, and ſtoop'd, and bent the Knee before them: And it was thought to be eſſential to their Greatneſs, to put an infinite Diſtance between them, and the Reſt of Mankind; as if they had been of a different Species from them. 'Tis *Plato*, that informs us of all theſe Particulars: For, *Xenophon*, probably, to ſpare his Hero, ſays not one Word of the Manner, in which theſe Princes were brought up; though he gives us ſo ample an Account of their Father's Education.

But, what we are moſt amaz'd at is, that *Cyrus* did not, at leaſt, take them along with him in his laſt Campaigns; in order to wean them from their ſoft, and effeminate Courſe of Life, and inſtruct them in the Art of War; for, they muſt needs have then been of competent Age, for that Purpoſe: But, perhaps, the Women oppos'd his Deſign, and over-rul'd him therein.

However that be, and whatever might be the Reaſon, that *Cyrus* was ſo negligent in this Reſpect, the Education given his Sons, naturally produc'd the Conſequences, that were to be expected from it. *Cambyſes* came out of the Hands of his Governors, juſt ſuch as he is repreſented in Hiſtory; an obſtinate, and ſelf-conceited Prince, full of Arrogance, and Vanity; given up to the moſt ſcandalous Exceſſes in Drunkenneſs, and Debauchery; and cruel, and inhuman, to Exceſs; even to the cauſing of his own Brother to be murder'd, upon the Credit of a Dream: In a Word, a furious, frantick Mad-Man, who, by his ill Conduct, brought that flouriſhing Empire to the Brink of Deſtruction.

Hereupon, *Plato* makes this juſt Obſervation; His Father (ſays he) left him, at his Death, a great many vaſt Provinces, immenſe Riches, immenſe Riches, together with Fleets, and Troops without Number; but he had not render'd him capable of preſerving them, by teaching how to put to a right Uſe what he left him.

Plato, again makes the ſame Reflection, upon the different Conduct of *Darius*, Son to *Hyſtaſpes*, and his Succeſſor *Xerxes*. The former, not being Son to a King, had not been brought up in the ſame effeminate Manner, as Princes were; but came to the Throne with a long Habit of Induſtry; with great Temper, and Moderation; and with a Courage, little inferior to that of *Cyrus*; by which he added to the Empire, almoſt as many Provinces as the other had conquer'd. But he was no better a Father than that Founder of the Empire; and reap'd no Benefit from the Fault of which the other had been guilty, in neglecting the Education of his Children: Accordingly, his Son *Xerxes* was little better than a ſecond *Cambyſes*.

From theſe convincing Examples, the ſame great Philoſopher, having ſhewn what numberleſs Rocks, and Quick-Sands, almoſt unavoidable, lye in the Way of Perſons bred in the Boſom of Wealth, and Greatneſs, concludes, that one principal Cauſe of the Declenſion, and Ruin of the *Perſian* Empire, was the wretched Education of their Princes; becauſe thoſe firſt Examples had an Influence upon, and became as a Rule to, all their ſucceeding Princes; under whom every Thing ſtill degenerated more and more; till, at laſt, their Luxury exceeded all Bounds, and Reſtraints, and even ſurpaſs'd Imagination.

Another Cauſe, as we are inform'd by *Xenophon*, both of the great Corruption of Manners among the *Perſians*, and of the Deſtruction of their Empire, was their Want of publick Faith. Formerly (ſays he) the King, and thoſe, who govern'd under him, thought it an indiſpenſible Duty to keep their Word; and inviolably to obſerve all Treaties, into which they had enter'd with the Solemnity of an Oath; and that, even with Reſpect to thoſe, who had render'd themſelves the moſt unworthy of ſuch Treatment, through their Perfidiouſneſs, and Inſincerity: And it was by this true Policy, and prudent Conduct, that they gain'd the abſolute Confidence, both

of

of their own Subjects, and of all their Neighbours, and Allies.

This is a very great Encomium given by that Hiſtorian to the *Perſians*, which, undoubtedly, belongs to the Reign of the Great *Cyrus*; though *Xenophon* applies it, likewiſe, to that of the younger *Cyrus*; whoſe grand Maxim it was (as he tells us) never to violate his Faith, upon any Pretence whatſoever; with Regard either to any Word he had given, any Promiſe made, or any Treaty he had concluded. Theſe Princes had a juſt Idea of the regal Dignity, and rightly judg'd, that, if Probity, and Truth, were abandon'd by the Reſt of Mankind, they ought to find a Sanctuary in the Heart of a King; who, being the Bond, and Centre, as it were, of Society, ſhould alſo be the Protector of Sincerity, and Avenger of all Violations thereof; it being the Foundation whereon all Society depends, and without which it cannot ſubſiſt.

However, ſuch Sentiments as theſe, ſo noble, and worthy of Perſons, born for Government, did not laſt long: A falſe Prudence, or rather, a low Cunning, and miſtaken Policy, ſoon ſucceeded in their Place. Inſtead of Sincerity, Probity, and true Merit, (ſays *Xenophon*) which Princes us'd before to cheriſh, and diſtinguiſh, all the chief Offices of the Court, began to be fill'd with thoſe pretended zealous Servants of Kings, who ſacrific'd every Thing to their Humours, and particular Intereſts; who held it as a Fundamental, that Lying, Perfidiouſneſs, and Perjury, if boldly, and artfully put in Practice, are the ſhorteſt, and ſureſt Means of bringing about their Enterprizes, and Deſigns; who look'd upon a ſcrupulous Adherence to his Word in a Prince, and to the Engagements into which he has enter'd, as an Effect of Puſilanimity, Incapacity, and Want of Underſtanding; and whoſe Opinion, in ſhort, was, that a Man was unqualify'd for Government, if he did not prefer Reaſons, and Conſiderations of State, before the exact Obſervation of Treaties, though concluded in ever ſo ſolemn, and ſacred a Manner. Monſtrous Maxims! of which none but the Devil could be the Author; and which tend to deſtroy all mutual Confidence, and Intercourſe between Mankind!

It was but reaſonable to expect, that the People would follow the Example of their Prince, who was himſelf their Inſtructor in Deceit, and Treachery. Accordingly, *Xenophon* informs us, that they did ſo; and ſoon gave themſelves up to all Manner of Violence, Injuſtice, and Impiety: From whence proceeded that ſtrange Alteration, and Difference, we read of in their Manners; as alſo that Contempt they conceiv'd for their perfidious Sovereigns; it being both the natural Conſequence, and the Puniſhment, of the little Regard ſuch Princes pay to the moſt ſacred, and awful Solemnities of Religion, which they violate without any Scruple. Nevertheleſs, the ſealing, and ratifying Treaties by an Oath, whereby the Deity is brought in, not only as preſent, but, in a Manner, as Guarantee of the Conditions ſtipulated, is a moſt ſacred, and auguſt Ceremony; very proper for the ſubjecting of earthly Princes to the Supream Judge of Heaven, and Earth, who alone is qualify'd to judge them; and for the keeping all human Sovereigns within the Bounds of their Duty, by making them appear before *God*; in Reſpect of which they are as Nothing. Now, if Princes will teach their People not to ſtand in Fear of the Supream Being, how ſhall they be able to ſecure their Reſpect, and Reverence to themſelves? When once that Fear comes to be extinguiſh'd in the Subjects, as well as in the Prince, what will become of Fidelity, and Obedience! And by what Stays, or Pillars, ſhall the Throne be ſupported?

The great *Cyrus* had a juſter Way of thinking, and us'd, with Reaſon, to ſay, that he did not look upon any as good Servants, and faithful Subjects, but ſuch as had a Senſe of Religion, and a Reverence for the Deity: Nor is it at all aſtoniſhing, that the Contempt, which an impious Prince, who has no Regard to the Sanctity of Oaths, ſhews of *God*, and Religion, ſhould ſhake the very Foundations of the firmeſt, and beſt eſtabliſh'd Empires, and ſooner, or later, occaſion their utter Deſtruction. Kings, (ſays *Plutarch*) when any Revolution happens in their Dominions, are apt to complain bitterly of the Unfaithfulneſs, and Diſloyalty of their Subjects: But they do them Wrong; and forget, that it was they themſelves, who gave them the firſt Leſſons of Diſloyalty, by ſhewing no Regard to Juſtice, and Fidelity; which, on all Occaſions, they ſacrific'd, without Scruple, to their own particular Intereſts; and even to their Whims, and Caprice.

The HISTORY *of Ancient* GREECE.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Of the Origin, and firſt Settlement of the ſeveral States of ancient Greece; *A geographical Deſcription of ancient* Greece; *Of the different States into which* Greece *was divided; Of the Colonies of the* Greeks *ſent into* Aſia Minor; *Of their various Dialects; Of the* Spartan *Government, and the Laws eſtabliſh'd there by the celebrated* Lycurgus; *What was commendable in theſe Laws; And what was blameable therein.*

WE ſhall, next, proceed, to the Hiſtory of the *Grecians*, becauſe, that of the *Perſians* will, for the future, be greatly interwoven therewith; and, in ſo doing, we ſhall, firſt, conſider the Origin, and firſt Settlement of the ſeveral States, and Governments of *Greece*; a Country ſo celebrated, and famous, that ſcarce any of the Nations of Antiquity, has furniſh'd Hiſtory with ſo many valuable Monuments, and illuſtrious Actions. In what Light ſoever ſhe is conſider'd, whether for the Glory of her Arms, the Wiſdom of her Laws, or the Study, and Improvement of Arts, and Sciences, all theſe ſhe carry'd to the utmoſt Degree of Perfection; and it may truly be ſaid, that, in all theſe Reſpects, ſhe has, in ſome Meaſure, been the School, from whence the Reſt of Mankind, eſpecially, the *Europeans*, have deriv'd their Arts, and Sciences.

It is ſcarce poſſible, not to be very much affected with the Hiſtory of ſuch a Nation; eſpecially, when we conſider, that it has been tranſmitted to us by Writers of an extraordinary Merit; many of whom diſtinguiſh'd themſelves as much by their Swords, as by their Pens; and were as great Commanders, and able Stateſmen, as excellent Hiſtorians. It muſt be confeſs'd, it is a vaſt Advantage to have ſuch Men for Guides; Men of an exquiſite Judgment, and conſummate Prudence; of a juſt, and perfect Taſte, in every Reſpect; and who relate not only Facts, and Thoughts, and cloath them with proper Expreſſions; but, which is more, who ſubjoin ſuitable Reflexions, to accompany thoſe Facts, which are the moſt uſeful Improvement reſulting from Hiſtory. Theſe are the rich Fountains, whence we ſhall extract all we have to ſay upon this Head; after having previouſly enquir'd into the firſt Origin, and Eſtabliſhments of the *Grecian* States. As this Enquiry, therefore, muſt be dry, and not capable of affording much Entertainment, or Pleaſure, to our Readers, we ſhall be as ſuccinct therein, as poſſible; but, before we enter thereupon, we think it requiſite, to give them a ſhort Plan of the Country, and its ſeveral conſtituent Parts.

Ancient *Greece*, which is now the *South*-Part of *Turkey* in *Europe*, was bounded on the *Eaſt*, by the *Ægean* Sea, now call'd the *Archipelago*; on the *South*, by the *Cretan*, or *Candian* Sea; on the *Weſt*, by the *Ionian* Sea; and on the *North*, by *Illyria*, and *Thrace*. The conſtituent Parts of ancient *Greece*, are *Epirus*, *Peloponneſus*, *Greece*, properly ſo call'd, *Theſſaly*, and *Macedonia*.

Epirus is ſituate to the *Weſt*, and divided from *Theſſaly*, and *Macedonia*, by Mount *Pindus*, and the *Acroceraunian* Mountains. The moſt remarkable Inhabitants thereof were, the *Moloſſians*, whoſe chief City was *Dodona*, famous for the Temple, and Oracle of *Jupiter*: The *Chaonians*, whoſe principal City was *Oricum*: The *Theſprotians*, whoſe Capital was *Buthrotum*, where was the Palace, and Reſidence of *Pyrrhus*: The *Acarnanians*, whoſe Metropolis was *Ambracia*, which gave Name to that Gulph. Near to this ſtood *Actium*, famous for the Victory of *Auguſtus Cæſar* over *Mark Antony*, which decided the Fate of the *Roman* Empire: *Auguſtus* built over-againſt that City, on the other Side of the Gulf, a Town, nam'd *Nicopolis*. There were alſo two little Rivers in *Epirus*, very famous in fabulous Story, *Cocytus*, and *Acheron*.

This Province muſt have been very well peopled in former Times; ſince *Polybius* relates, that *Paulus Æmilius*, after having defeated *Perſeus*, the laſt King of *Macedonia*, deſtroy'd ſeventy Cities in that Country, the greateſt Part of which belong'd to the *Moloſſians*; and that he carry'd away from thence no leſs than a hundred and fifty Thouſand Captives.

Pelo-

Peloponneſus, now call'd the *Morea*, is a *Peninſula*; that is, a Country ſurrounded almoſt entirely by the Sea, and join'd to the Continent only by a Neck of Land, call'd an *Iſthmus*. Accordingly, *Peloponneſus* is join'd to the Reſt of *Greece*, only by the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, which is but ſix Miles broad; though it is well known, ſeveral Princes have, in vain, attempted to cut it through.

The conſtituent Parts of *Peloponneſus* are *Achaia*, properly ſo call'd; whoſe chief Cities are *Corinth*, *Sicyon*, *Patræ*, &c. *Elis*, in which is *Olympia*, otherwiſe call'd *Piſa*, ſeated on the River *Alpheus*, near which the *Olympic* Games us'd to be celebrated; and *Cyllene*, the Country of *Mercury*. *Meſſenia*, in which are the Cities of *Meſſene*, and *Pylos*, in which *Neſtor* was born, alſo *Corona*. *Arcadia*, in which ſtood the Cities of *Tegea*, *Stymphalos*, *Mantinea*, and *Megalopolis*, the native Place of the famous Hiſtorian *Polybius*. *Laconia*, wherein ſtood *Sparta*, or *Lacedæmon*, and *Amyclæ*; as alſo, Mount *Taygetus*; the River *Eurotas*, and Cape *Tenarus*. *Argolis*, in which was the City of *Argos*, call'd alſo *Hippium*, famous for the Temple of *Juno*; *Nemea*, *Mycenæ*, *Nauplia*, *Troezene*, and *Epidaurus*, wherein ſtood the Temple of *Æſculapius*.

We come, next, to *Greece*, properly ſo call'd; in *Latin*, *Græcia propria*; the principal Parts whereof were, *Ætolia*, wherein ſtood the Cities of *Chalcis*, *Calydon*, and *Olenus*. *Doris*, the *Ozolian Locrenſes*, inhabited by the *Ozolæ*; and *Naupactum*, now call'd *Lepanto*, famous for the Defeat of the *Turks*, in 1571. *Phocis*, wherein was *Anticyra*, and *Delphos*, at the Foot of Mount *Parnaſſus*, famous for the Oracles deliver'd there. In this Country alſo ſtood the Mountain *Helicon*. *Bœotia*, which contain'd, *Orchomenos*; *Theſpia*; *Cheronea*, *Plutarch*'s native Country; *Platææ*, famous for the Defeat of *Mardonius*; and *Thebes*; beſides *Aulis*, famous for its Port, from whence the *Grecian* Army ſet ſail for *Troy*; and *Leuctra*, celebrated for the Victory of *Epaminondas*. *Attica*, where were *Megara*; *Eleuſis*; *Decelia*; *Marathon*, where *Miltiades* defeated the *Perſian* Army. *Athens*, whoſe Ports were, *Piræus*, *Munichia*, and *Phalerus*; and whoſe Mountains were, *Hymettus*, and *Cithæron*. *Locris*.

The next Province that demands our Attention, is *Theſſaly*; whoſe moſt remarkable Towns were *Gomphi*; *Pharſalia*, near to which *Julius Cæſar* defeated *Pompey*; *Magneſia*; *Methrone*, at the Siege of which *Philip* loſt his Eye; *Thermopylis*, a narrow Paſſage, famous for the Defeat of *Xerxes*'s numerous Army, by the vigorous Reſiſtance of three hundred *Spartans*; *Phthia*. *Thebes*. *Lariſſa*. *Demetrias*. The delightful Vallies of *Tempe*, near the Banks of the River *Peneus*. *Olympus*, *Pelion*, and *Oſſa*, three Mountains celebrated in fabulous Story, for the Battle of the *Titans* with the Gods.

The laſt Province, we come to, is *Macedon*, of which we ſhall only mention a few principal Towns; as, *Epidamnus*, or *Dyrrachium*, now called *Durazzo*. *Apollonia*; *Pella*, the Capital of the Country, and the native Place of *Philip*, and of his Son, *Alexander* the Great. *Ægea*. *Ædeſſa*. *Pallene*. *Olynthus*, from whence the *Olynthiacs* of *Demoſthenes* took their Name. *Torone*. *Arcanthus*. *Theſſalonica*, now call'd, *Salonichi*. *Stagira*, the Place of *Ariſtotle*'s Birth. *Amphipolis*. *Philippi*, famous for the Victory, gain'd there by *Auguſtus*, and *Anthony*, over *Brutus*, and *Caſſius*. *Scotuſſa*. Mount *Athos*: And the River *Strymon*,

But, beſides theſe five Provinces, there are a great Number of Iſlands, contiguous to *Greece*, that are very famous in Hiſtory. In the *Ionian* Sea, *Corcyra*, with a Town of the ſame Name, now call'd *Corfu*. *Cephalene*, and *Zacynthus*, now *Cephalonia*, and *Zant*. *Ithaca*, the Country of *Ulyſſes*, and *Dulichium*. Near the Promontory *Malea*, over-againſt *Laconia*, is *Cithera*. In the *Saronic* Gulf, are *Ægina*, and *Salamis*, ſo famous for the naval Engagement between *Xerxes*, and the *Grecians*. Between *Greece*, and *Aſia*, lye the *Sporades*: And the *Cyclades*, the moſt noted of which are *Andros*, *Delos*, and *Paros*, anciently famous for fine Marble. Higher up in the *Ægean* Sea is *Eubœa*, now *Negropont*, ſeparated from the main Land, by a ſmall Arm of the Sea, call'd *Euripus*. The moſt remarkable City of this Iſle was *Chalcis*. Going up towards the *North* is *Scyrus*; beyond which, at a conſiderable Diſtance, is *Lemnos*, now call'd *Stalimene*; and ſtill farther, *Samothrace*. To the *Southward* of theſe lies *Lesbos*, whoſe principal City was *Mitylene*; from whence the Iſle has ſince taken the Name of *Metelin*. *Chios*; *Scio*, renown'd for excellent Wine. And laſtly, *Samos*. But, ſome of theſe laſt-mention'd Iſles are reckon'd to belong to *Aſia*.

The Iſland of *Crete*, or *Candia*, is the largeſt of all the Iſles, contiguous to *Greece*. It has, to the *North*, the *Ægean* Sea, or the *Archipelago*; and to the *South*, the *Mediterranean*. Its principal Towns were, *Gortyna*, *Cydon*, *Gnoſſus*; its Mountains, *Dicte*, *Ida*, and *Coryeus*. Its Labyrinth is famous throughout the World.

The *Grecians* had Colonies in moſt of theſe Iſles. They likewiſe had Settlements in *Sicily*, and in Part of *Italy* towards *Calabria*; which Places are, for that Reaſon, call'd *Græcia Magna*.

But their grand Settlement was in *Aſia Minor*; and particularly, in *Æolia*, *Ionia*, and *Doris*. The principal Towns of *Æolis* are *Cumæ*, *Phocæa*, *Elea*. Of *Ionia*, *Smyrna*, *Clazomene*, *Teos*, *Lebedus*, *Colophon*, and *Epheſus*. Of *Doris*, *Halicarnaſſus*, and *Cnidos*.

They had alſo a great Number of Colonies diſpers'd up and down in the different Parts of the World; whereof we ſhall give ſome Account, as Occaſion ſhall require.

The *Grecian* Hiſtory may be divided into four different Ages, render'd remarkable by ſo many memorable Periods; and which, all together, make up the Space of 2154 Years.

The firſt Age reaches from the Foundation of the ſeveral petty Kingdoms of *Greece* (beginning with that of *Sicyon*, which is the moſt ancient) to the Siege of *Troy*; and comprehends about a Thouſand Years; namely, from the Year of the World 1820, to the Year 2820.

The ſecond reaches from the Taking of *Troy* to the Reign of *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*; at which Period, the *Grecian* Hiſtory begins to be blended with that of the *Perſians*, and contains the Space of ſix hundred ſixty three Years, from the Year of the World 2820, to the Year 3483.

The third reaches from the Beginning of the Reign of *Darius*, to the Death of *Alexander* the *Great*,

Great; which is the fineſt Part of the *Grecian* Hiſtory, and takes in the Term of one Hundred and ninety-eight Years, from the Year of the World 3483, to the Year 3681.

The fourth, and laſt Age, reaches from the Death of *Alexander*, at which Time the *Grecians* began to decline, to the Time of their falling entirely under the Dominion of the *Romans*. The Period of the utter Ruin, and Downfal of the *Greeks*, may be dated, partly from the Taking, and Deſtruction of *Corinth*, by the Conſul, *L. Mummius*, in 3858, partly from the Extinction of the Kingdom of the *Seleucides* in *Aſia*, by *Pompey*, in the Year of the World 3939, and of the Kingdom of the *Lagides* in *Egypt*, by *Auguſtus*, in the Year of the World 3974. This laſt Age comprehends, in all, two Hundred and ninety-three Years.

Of theſe four diſtinct Ages, we ſhall, in this Place, only touch upon the two firſt; and that in a very ſuccinct Manner, juſt to give the Reader ſome general Notion of that obſcure Period; becauſe thoſe Times, at leaſt, a great Part of them, have more of Fable in them than of real Hiſtory; and are wrapp'd up in ſuch thick Clouds of Darkneſs, and Obſcurity, as are very hard, if not impoſſible, to pierce through.

In order to arrive at any certain Knowledge concerning the firſt Origin of the *Grecian* Nations, we muſt neceſſarily have Recourſe to the Accounts we have thereof in Holy Writ.

Javan, or *Ion* (for, in *Hebrew*, the ſame Letters, differently pointed, form theſe two different Names) the Son of *Japhet*, and Grandſon of *Noah*, was certainly the Father of all thoſe Nations, that went under the general Denomination of *Greeks*; though he has been look'd upon as the Father of the *Ionians* only, which were but one particular Nation of the *Greeks*. But the *Hebrews*, the *Chaldeans*, *Arabians*, and Others, give no other Appellation to the whole Body of the *Grecian* Nations, than that of *Ionians*. And for this Reaſon, *Alexander*, in the Predictions of *Daniel*, is mention'd under the Name of the King of *Javan*.

Javan had four Sons, *Eliza*, call'd in Scripture *Eliſha*; *Tarſis* call'd there *Tarſhiſh*; *Chittim*, call'd there *Kittim*; and *Dodanim*; ſee *Gen.* x. 4. As *Javan* was the original Father of the *Grecians* in general, no Doubt but his four Sons were the Heads, and Founders of the chief Tribes, and principal Branches of that Nation, which became, in ſucceeding Ages, ſo renown'd for Arts, and Arms.

His eldeſt Son *Eliza* is the ſame, as *Hellas*; and is ſo render'd in the *Chaldee* Tranſlation; and the Word *Hellenes*, which was us'd as the common Appellation of the whole People, in the ſame Manner as the Word *Hellas*, was of the whole Country, has no other Derivation. The City of *Elis*, very ancient in *Peloponneſus*; the *Elizian* Fields; the River *Eliſſus*, or *Iliſſus*, have long retain'd the Marks of their being deriv'd from *Eliza*, and have contributed more to preſerve his Memory, than the Hiſtorians themſelves of that Nation; who were inquiſitive after foreign Affairs, and but little acquainted with their own Original; becauſe, as they had little, or no Knowledge of the true Religion, they did not carry their Enquiries ſo high. Upon which Account, they themſelves deriv'd the Words *Hellenes*, and *Ions*, from another Fountain, as we ſhall ſee in the Sequel; for, we think ourſelves oblig'd to give ſome Account of their Sentiments likewiſe, in entering upon the Diſcuſſion of this Point.

The ſecond Son of *Javan*, *Tarſis*, ſettled alſo, as his Brethren did, in ſome Part of *Greece*; perhaps, in *Achaia*, or the neighbouring Provinces; as *Eliza* did in *Peloponneſus*, now the *Morea*.

It is not to be doubted that *Chittim*, the third Son of *Javan*, was the Father of the *Macedonians*, according to the Authority of the firſt Book of the *Maccabees*; in the Beginning of which it is ſaid, that *Alexander*, the ſon of *Philip*, the *Macedonian*, went out of his Country, which was that of *Cetthim* [or *Chittim*] to make War againſt *Darius*, King of *Perſia*. And, in the 8th Chapter, ſpeaking of the *Romans*, and their Victories over the laſt Kings of *Macedonia*, *Philip*, and *Perſeus*, the two laſt mention'd Princes, are call'd Kings of the *Cetheans*.

And it is very probable, that *Theſſaly*, and *Epirus*, were the Portion of *Dodanim*, the fourth Son of *Javan*. The impious Worſhip of *Jupiter* of *Dodona*, as well as the City *Dodona* itſelf, amount, in a Manner, to Proofs, that ſome Remembrance of *Dodanim* had remain'd with the People, who deriv'd their firſt Eſtabliſhment, and Origin, from this fourth Son of *Javan*.

This is all that can be ſaid, with any Certainty, concerning the true Origin of the *Grecian* Nations. The Holy Scripture, whoſe Deſign is not to ſatisfy our Curioſity, but only to nouriſh, and improve our Piety, after it has favour'd us with theſe little Dawnings of Light, leaves us in utter Darkneſs, concerning the reſt of their Hiſtory; which, therefore, can only be collected from prophane Authors. Of theſe, if we may believe *Pliny*, the *Grecians* were ſo call'd, from the Name of an ancient King, of whom they had but a very uncertain Tradition. *Homer*, in his Poems, calls them *Hellenes*, *Danai*, *Argives*, and *Achaians*: It is obſervable, that the Word *Græcus* is not once us'd in *Virgil*.

The exceeding Ruſticity of the firſt *Grecians* would appear incredible, if we could call in Queſtion the Teſtimony of their own Hiſtorians upon this Article. But a People, ſo vain of their own Origin, as to ſtudy to ſet it off by Fables, we may be ſure, would never think of inventing any to diſparage it. Who would imagine, that the People, to whom the *European* World is indebted for all her Knowledge in Literature, and the Sciences, ſhould be deſcended from mere Savages; who knew no other Law than Force, and were ignorant even of Agriculture? And yet this appears plainly to be the Caſe; from the divine Honours they decreed to *Pelaſgus*; the Perſon who firſt taught them to feed upon Acorns, as a more delicate, and wholeſome Nouriſhment than Herbs. There was ſtill a very wide Difference between this firſt Step of Improvement, and a State of Civility, and Politeneſs. Nor did they, indeed, arrive at the latter, till after many Ages.

The weakeſt were not the laſt, to underſtand the Neceſſity, of living together in Society, in order to defend themſelves againſt Violence, and Oppreſſion. At firſt, they built ſingle Houſes, at a Diſtance from one another; the Number of which inſenſibly increaſing, form'd, in Time, Towns, and Cities,

Cities. But the bare living together in a Society, was not ſufficient to poliſh ſuch a People. *Egypt*, and *Phœnicia* had the Honour of doing this. Both theſe Nations contributed to the Inſtruction, and civilizing of the *Grecians*, by the Colonies they ſent among them. The latter taught them Navigation, Writing, and Commerce; the former let them into the Knowledge of their Laws, and Polity; gave them a Taſte for Arts, and Sciences; and initiated them into their Myſteries; of which they afterwards made ſo fine Improvements.

Greece, in her Infant-State, was expos'd to great Commotions, and frequent Revolutions; becauſe, as the People had no ſettled Correſpondence with each other, and there was no ſuperior Power amongſt them to give Law to the Reſt; Force, and Violence, were the only Tenure, by which moſt of them held their Poſſeſſions: The ſtrongeſt invaded the Lands of their Neighbours, which they thought moſt fertile, and delightful; and diſpoſſeſs'd the lawful Owners, who were oblig'd to ſeek new Settlements elſewhere. As *Attica* was a dry, and barren Country, its Inhabitants had not the ſame Invaſions, and Outrages, to grapple with; and therefore, conſequently, kept themſelves in Poſſeſſion of their ancient Territories: For which Reaſon, they took the Name of *Autochthones*, that is, Men born in the Country where they liv'd; to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Reſt of the Nations, who had, almoſt all, remov'd from Place to Place, according as they were conquer'd, or Conquerors, in their Turns.

Such were, in general, the firſt Beginnings of *Greece*. We muſt now enter into a more particular Detail, and give a brief Account of the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the ſeveral different States, into which the whole Country was divided.

In thoſe early Times, Kingdoms were but inconſiderable, and of very ſmall Extent; the Title of Kingdom being often given to a ſingle Town, or City, with a few Leagues of Ground depending upon it. *Greece* contain'd ſeveral of theſe petty Kingdoms, of which the moſt ancient was that of *Sicyon*; whoſe Beginning is plac'd, by *Euſebius*, thirteen Hundred, and thirteen Years before the firſt *Olympiad*; that is, in the Year of the World 1915, or 2089 before the Birth of *Chriſt*. It is ſuppos'd (for, no Account of theſe fabulous Times is to be depended on) to have laſted a Thouſand Years.

The Kingdom of *Argos*, in *Peloponneſus*, comes next, in Point of Time, to that of *Sicyon*; being ſuppos'd to have begun with a Thouſand, and eighty Years before the firſt *Olympiad*, in the Time of *Abraham*. The firſt King of it was call'd *Inachus*. His Succeſſors were, his Son, *Phoroneus*; *Apis*; and *Argus*, from whom the Country took its Name; And, after ſeveral Others, *Gelanor*, who was dethron'd, and expell'd his Kingdom, by *Danaus*, the *Egyptian*. The Succeſſors of this laſt were, firſt, *Lynceus*, the Son of his Brother *Ægyptus*, who alone, of fifty Brothers, eſcap'd the Cruelty of the *Danaides*; then *Abas*, *Prœtus*, and *Acriſius*.

Of *Danae*, Daughter to the laſt, was born *Perſeus*; who having, when he was grown up, unfortunately kill'd his Grandfather, *Acriſius*; and, not being able to bear the Sight of *Argos*, where he had committed that involuntary Murder, remov'd to *Mycenæ*, and there fix'd the Seat of his Kingdom.

The Seat of the Kingdom was thus tranſlated from *Argos* to *Mycenæ*, by *Perſeus*, who left ſeveral Sons behind him; among Others, *Alcæus*, *Sthenelus*, and *Electryon*. *Alcæus* was the Father of *Amphitryon*; *Sthenelus* of *Euryſtheus*; and *Electryon* of *Alcmene*. *Amphitryon* marry'd *Alcmene*, upon whom *Jupiter* begat *Hercules*. *Euryſtheus*, and *Hercules*, came into the World the ſame Day; but, as the Birth of the former was, by *Juno*'s Management, antecedent to that of the latter, *Hercules* was forc'd to be ſubject to him; and was oblig'd, by his Order, to undertake the twelve Labours, ſo famous in fabulous Story.

The Kings, who reign'd at *Mycenæ*, after *Perſeus*, were, *Electryon*, *Sthenelus*, and *Euryſtheus*. The laſt, after the Death of *Hercules*, declar'd open War againſt his Deſcendants, apprehending they might, ſome Time, or other, attempt to dethrone him; which, as it happen'd, was done by the *Heraclidæ*: For, having kill'd *Euryſtheus* in Battle, they enter'd victorious into *Peloponneſus*, and made themſelves Maſters of that Country. But, as this happen'd before the Time determin'd by Fate, a Plague enſu'd; which, together with the Direction of an Oracle, oblig'd them to quit the Country. Three Years after this, being deceiv'd by the ambiguous Expreſſion of the Oracle, they made a ſecond Attempt, which likewiſe prov'd fruitleſs. This was about twenty Years before the Taking of *Troy*.

Atreus, the Son of *Pelops*, Uncle, by the Mother's Side, to *Euryſtheus*, was the latter's Succeſſor. And thus did the Crown come into the Poſſeſſion of the Deſcendants of *Pelops*; from whom *Peloponneſus*, which before was call'd *Apia*, from *Apis*, one of the Succeſſors of *Inachus*, deriv'd its Name. The bloody Hatred of the two Brothers, *Atreus*, and *Thyeſtes*, is known to all the World.

Pliſthenes, the Son of *Atreus*, ſucceeded his Father in the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*; which he left to his Son *Agamemnon*, who was ſucceeded by his Son *Oreſtes*. The Kingdom of *Mycenæ* was full of enormous, and horrible Crimes, from the Time it came into the Family of the *Pelops*. *Tiſamenes*, and *Penthilus*, Sons of *Oreſtes*, came to the Crown after their Father; and were, at laſt, driven out of *Peloponneſus*, by the *Heraclidæ*, or Deſcendants of *Hercules*.

The Kingdom of *Athens* next claims the Preeminence, in Point of Time; and is ſuppos'd to have been founded by *Cecrops*, who came, originally, from *Egypt*, in the Year of the World 2448. Having ſettled in *Attica*, he divided all the Country ſubject to him, into twelve Diſtricts: He likewiſe eſtabliſh'd the Court, call'd the *Areopagus*; which auguſt Tribunal, in the Reign of his Succeſſor *Cranaus*, decided the famous Conteſt between *Neptune*, and *Mars*. In the Time of *Cecrops*, alſo, happen'd *Deucalion*'s Flood: The Deluge of *Ogyges* in *Attica* was much more ancient, ſince it was 1020 Years before the firſt *Olympiad*; and conſequently, in the Year of the World 2208.

The third King of *Athens* was *Amphyction*; who procur'd a Confederacy between twelve Nations of *Greece*, which aſſembled twice a Year at *Thermopylæ*; there to offer their common Sacrifices, and conſult together upon their Affairs in general as alſo, upon the Affairs of each Nation in particular. This Meeting was call'd the Aſſembly of the *Amphyctions*, from the Name of its Founder,; and was famous in Hiſtory for a long Time.

The next King, we find, of *Athens*, is *Erectheus*, whose Reign is remarkable for the Arrival of *Ceres* in *Attica*, after the Rape of her Daughter *Proserpine*; as also, for the Institution of the Mysteries at *Eleusis*, in her Honour: But the Reign of *Ægæus*, the Son of *Pandion*, is the most illustrious Period for the History of Heroes. In his Time, are plac'd the Expedition of the *Argonauts*; the celebrated Labours of *Hercules*; the War of *Minos*, second King of *Crete*, against the *Athenians*; with the Story of *Theseus*, and *Ariadne*.

Theseus succeeded his Father *Ægæus*. *Cecrops*, indeed, as has been before observ'd, had divided *Attica* into twelve Boroughs, or twelve Districts, separated from each other. But *Theseus* brought the People to understand the Advantages of social Government, and united these twelve Boroughs into one City, or Body politick, where the whole Authority was united together. The last King of *Athens* was *Codrus*, who gloriously devoted himself to Death, for the Safety of his People: Few Princes would carry their Generosity so far now-a-days!

However, though, one should think, so noble an Action in their Sovereign, should have given the *Athenians* a Love for Monarchy, it prov'd quite the Reverse; for, after the Death of *Codrus*, the Title of King was extinguish'd amongst them, but, for what Reason, is not mention'd in History. They had the Gratitude, however, to set *Medon*, the Son of *Codrus*, at the Head of the Common-Wealth, with the Title of *Archon*; that is, President, or Governor. The first *Archontes* were for Life: But, the *Athenians*, growing weary of a Government, which they still thought bore too great a Resemblance to a Monarchy, made their *Archontes* elective every ten Years; and, at last, reduc'd it to be an annual Office.

Next to that of *Athens*, the Kingdom of *Thebes* challenges the Precedency, for Seniority; which was founded by *Cadmus*; who came by Sea from the Coast of *Phœnicia*, that is, from about *Tyre*, and *Sidon*, seiz'd upon that Part of the Country, which was afterwards call'd *Bœotia*, and built there the City of *Thebes*; or, at least, a Citadel, which, from his own Name, he call'd *Cadmæa*, and made it the Seat of his Power, and Dominion. The fatal Misfortune of *Laius*, one of his Successors, and of *Jocasta*, his Wife; of *Oedipus*, their Son, and of *Eteocles*, and *Polynices*, who were born of the incestuous Marriage of *Jocasta* with *Oedipus*; have furnish'd ample Matter for fabulous Stories, and Theatrical Representations.

Proceed we, next, to the Kingdom of *Sparta*, or *Lacedæmon*, which, if not one of the most ancient, was certainly, one of the most famous in all *Greece*; and is suppos'd to be founded by *Lelex*, about 1516 Years before the Birth of *Christ*.

Who were his immediate Successors, is not precisely known, neither is it very material, since the first we find celebrated in History, is *Tyndarus*, the ninth *Spartan* Monarch; who had, by *Leda*, the famous Twins, *Castor*, and *Pollux*; besides *Helena*, and *Clytemnestra*, the perfidious Wife of *Agamemnon*, King of *Mycenæ*. As *Tyndarus* had surviv'd his two Sons, the Twins, he began to think of choosing a Successor, by looking out for a Husband for his Daughter *Helena*. All the Pretenders to this Princess bound themselves by Oath, to abide by, and entirely submit to, the Choice, which the Lady herself should make, who determin'd in Favour of *Menelaus*. But she had not liv'd above three Years with her Husband, before she was carry'd off by *Paris*, Son of *Priam*, King of *Troy*: Which Rape was the Cause of the *Trojan* War. *Greece* did not properly begin to know, or experience her united Strength till the famous Siege of that City; where *Achilles*, *Ajax*, *Nestor*, and *Ulysses*, gave sufficient Warning to *Asia*, that she should, one Time, or other, become subject to their Posterity. The *Greeks* took the Town, after a ten Years Siege; much about the Time, that *Jephtha* govern'd the People of *God*; that is, according to Bishop *Usher*, in the Year of the World 2820, and 1184 Years before *Jesus Christ*.

This Period is famous in History; and should carefully be remember'd; as well as that of the *Olympiads*; one of which is the Revolution of four compleat Years, from one Celebration of the *Olympic* Games to another. We shall, elsewhere, give an Account of the Institution of these Games, which were celebrated every four Years, near the Town of *Pisa*, otherwise call'd *Olympia*. The common *Æra* of the *Olympiads* begins in the Summer of the Year of the World 3288, 776 Years before *Jesus Christ*, from the Games, in which *Coræbus* won the Prize in the Races.

Fourscore Years after the Taking of *Troy*, the *Heraclidæ* re-enter'd *Peloponnesus*, and seiz'd *Lacedæmon*; where two Brothers, *Eurysthenes*, and *Procles*, Sons of *Aristodemus*, began to reign together; and from their Time, the Scepter always continu'd to be jointly sway'd by the Descendants of those two Families. Many Years after this, *Lycurgus* instituted that Body of Laws for the *Spartan* State, which have render'd both him and them so famous in History, we shall speak of them amply hereafter.

Though *Corinth* was one of the richest, and most beautiful Cities in *Greece*, it was not erected into a Kingdom, so soon as the other Cities already mention'd; being, at first, subject to the Princes of *Argos*, and *Mycenæ*; until, at last, *Sisyphus*, the Son of *Æolus*, made himself Master thereof. But his Descendants were dispossess'd of the Throne, by the *Heraclidæ*, about 110 Years after the Siege of *Troy*. After which, the regal Power came to the Descendants of *Bacchis*, under whom the Monarchy was chang'd into an Aristocracy; that is, the Reins of the Government were in the Hands of the Elders, who annually chose from among themselves a chief Magistrate, whom they call'd *Prytanis*. At last, *Cypselus* having gain'd the People, usurp'd the supream Authority, which he transmitted to his Son *Periander*; who was rank'd among the *Grecian* Sages, on Account of the Love he bore to Literature, and the Protection, and Encouragement he gave to the Learned.

But the largest by far; and from the Time of *Philip*, the most famous of all the Kingdoms of *Greece*, was *Macedonia*; whose Monarchs living retir'd in Woods, and Mountains, were hardly look'd upon, for a considerable Time, as Members of the *Grecian* Body. They pretended, that their Kings, the first of whom was nam'd *Caranus*, were descended from *Hercules*. However that be, *Philip*, and his Son *Alexander* the *Great*, rais'd the Glory of that Kingdom to as great a Height, as

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Hercules himself could have done; if that Hero, most of whose Exploits are intermix'd with Fable, had headed their Armies in Person. The Kingdom of *Macedon* was reckon'd to have subsisted 490 Years before the Death of *Alexander*; and lasted 148 more, to the Time that *Perseus*, the last Monarch thereof was defeated, and made Captive by the *Romans*, under *Paulus Æmilius*.

We have already observ'd, that, after the Taking of *Troy*, the *Heraclidæ* recover'd *Peloponnesus*; defeated the *Pelopidæ*; that is, *Tisamenes*, and *Penthilus*, the Sons of *Orestes*; and divided among them the Kingdoms of *Mycenæ*, *Argos*, and *Lacedæmon*. So great a Revolution almost chang'd the Face of the Country, and made Way for several very famous Transmigrations; for the better understanding of which, and having a clearer Idea of the Situation of the *Grecian* Nations, as also of the four Dialects, or differents Idioms of Speech, that prevail'd among them, it will be necessary to trace the History of *Greece* a little farther back.

Deucalion, who reign'd in *Thessaly*, and under whom happen'd the Flood, that bears his Name, had, by *Pyrrha*, his Wife, two Sons, *Helenus*, and *Amphictyon*; which last, having driven *Cranaus* out of *Athens*, reign'd there in his Room. *Helenus*, if we may believe the *Greek* Historians, gave the Name of *Hellenes* to the *Grecks*; and had three Sons, *Æolus*, *Dorus*, and *Xuthus*. *Æolus*, who was the eldest, succeeded his Father; and, besides *Thessaly*, had *Locris*, and *Bœotia* added to his Dominions. Several of his Descendants went into *Peloponnesus*, with *Pelops*, the Son of *Tantalus*, King of *Phrygia*, from whom *Peloponnesus* took its Name, and settled themselves in *Laconia*.

The Country contiguous to *Parnassus*, fell to the Share of *Dorus*; and from him was call'd *Doris*. But *Xuthus*, being compell'd by his Brothers, upon some particular Disgust, to quit his Country, retir'd into *Attica*; where he marry'd the Daughter of *Erechtheus*, King of the *Athenians*, by whom he had two Sons, *Achæus*, and *Ion*; the former of which having committed an involuntary Murder, was oblig'd to retire to *Peloponnesus*, which was then call'd *Egialæa*; but one Part, afterwards, was, from him, call'd *Achaia*: His Descendants settled at *Lacedæmon*.

His Brother *Ion*, having signaliz'd himself by his Victories, was invited, by the *Athenians*, to govern their City, and gave that Country his Name: For, the Inhabitants of *Attica* were likewise call'd *Ionians*. The Number of the Citizens, in Time, increas'd to such a Degree, that the *Athenians* were oblig'd to send a Colony of *Ionians* into *Peloponnesus*; who likewise gave their Name to the Country they possess'd. Thus all the Inhabitants of *Peloponnesus*, though compos'd of different People, were united, under the Names of *Achæans*, and *Ionians*.

In the mean Time, the *Heraclidæ*, fourscore Years after the Taking of *Troy*, resolv'd seriously to recover *Peloponnesus*, which, of Right, belong'd to them. They had three principal Leaders, Sons of *Aristomachus*; namely, *Timenes*, *Cresphontes*, and *Aristodemus*; the last dying, his two Sons, *Eurysthenes*, and *Procles*, succeeded him. The Success of their Expedition was as happy, as the Motive was just, and they recover'd the Possession of their ancient Dominion: *Argos* fell to the Share of *Timenes*, *Messenia* to that of *Cresphontes*, and *Laconia* to the two Sons of *Aristodemus*; *Eurysthenes*, and *Procles*.

About the same Time, such of the *Achæans*, as were descended from *Æolus*, and had hitherto inhabited *Laconia*, being driven from thence by the *Dorians*, who accompany'd the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, after some Wandering, settled in that Part of *Asia minor*, which, from them, took the Name of *Æolis*, where they founded *Smyrna*, and eleven other Cities; but the Town of *Smyrna*, came afterwards into the Hands of the *Ionians*: The *Æolians* became likewise possess'd of several Cities of *Lesbos*.

In the mean While, the *Achæans* of *Mycenæ*, and *Argos*, being compell'd to abandon their Country to the *Heraclidæ*, seiz'd upon that of the *Ionians*, who dwelt then in Part of *Peloponnesus*. The latter fled, at first, to *Athens*, their original Country; from whence they set out, some Time afterwards, under the Conduct of *Nileus*, and *Androcles*, both Sons of *Codrus*, and seiz'd upon that Part of the Coast of *Asia minor*, which lies between *Caria*, and *Lydia*, and from them was nam'd *Ionia*; here they built twelve Cities, of which *Ephesus*, *Clazomenæ*, and *Samos*, were the most famous.

The Accession of so many, who had fled to them for Refuge, having greatly strengthen'd the *Athenians*, the *Heraclidæ* judg'd it highly necessary, to put a Stop to their growing Power, for which Reason, they made War upon them; they were defeated, however, by the *Athenians*, under the Conduct of *Codrus*; who devoted himself, in order to gain his People the Victory. As the *Heraclidæ*, nevertheless, still remain'd Masters of *Megaris*, where they built *Megara*, they planted the *Dorians* there, in the Room of the *Ionians*.

Some of these *Dorians* continued in that Country after the Death of *Codrus*, whilst Others remov'd to *Crete*; but the greatest Number settled in that Part of *Asia minor*, which, from them, was call'd *Doris*, where they built *Halicarnassus*, *Cnidus*, and divers other Cities: They also made themselves Masters of *Rhodes*, *Cos*, *&c.*

It will now be more easy to understand what we have to say concerning the several *Grecian* Dialects, which were four in Number: The *Attic*, *Ionic*, *Doric*, and *Æolic*. They were, in Reality, four different Languages; each of them perfect in its Kind, and us'd by a distinct Nation; but yet all deriv'd from, and grounded upon the same original Tongue. And this Diversity of Languages can no Ways appear wonderful, in a Country, where the Inhabitants consisted of different Nations, who did not depend upon one another, but had each their own particular Territories.

1. The *Attic* Dialect is that, which was us'd in *Athens*, and the Country circumjacent: It has been chiefly us'd by *Thucydides*, *Aristophanes*, *Plato*, *Isocrates*, *Xenophon*, and *Demosthenes*.

2. The *Ionic* Dialect was almost the same with the ancient *Attic*; but, after it had pass'd into several Towns of *Asia minor*, and into the adjacent Islands, which were Colonies of the *Athenians*, and of the People of *Achaia*, it receiv'd a Sort of new Tincture, and did not come up to that perfect Delicacy, to which the *Athenians* afterwards attain'd. *Hippocrates*, and *Herodotus*, wrote in this Dialect.

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3. The *Doric* was firſt in Uſe among the *Spartans*, and the People of *Argos*: It paſs'd afterwards into *Epirus*, *Libya*, *Sicily*, *Rhodes*, and *Crete*. *Archimedes*, and *Theocritus*, both of them *Syracuſans*, and *Pindar*, follow'd this Dialect,

4. The *Æolic* Dialect was, at firſt, us'd by the *Bœotians*, and their Neighbours; and then in *Æolis*, a Country in *Aſia minor*, between *Ionia*, and *Myſia*, which contain'd ten or twelve Cities, that were *Grecian* Colonies. *Sapho*, and *Alcæus*, of whoſe Works we have but little Remains, wrote in this Dialect. We find alſo a Mixture of it in the Writings of *Theocritus*, *Pindar*, *Homer*, and many other of the *Greek* Poets.

Our Readers may have obſerv'd, in the little, which has been ſaid about the ſeveral Settlements of *Greece*, that the primitive Ground of all thoſe different States was Monarchical Government; which was the moſt ancient of all Forms; the moſt univerſally receiv'd, and eſtabliſh'd; the moſt proper to maintain Peace, and Concord; and which, as *Plato* obſerves, is fram'd upon the Model of paternal Authority, and of that gentle, and moderate Dominion, which Fathers exerciſe over their Families.

But, as the State of Things degenerated, by Degrees; through the Injuſtice of Uſurpers, the Severity of lawful Maſters, the Inſurrections of the People, and a Thouſand Accidents beſides, and Revolutions, that happen'd in thoſe States; a different Spirit ſeem'd to arile in the People; which prevailing over all *Greece*, kindled a violent Deſire of Liberty, and brought about a general Change of Government every-where, except in *Macedonia*; ſo that Monarchy gave Way to a Republican Government; which yet was diverſify'd into almoſt as many Forms, as there were different Cities, according to the particular Genius, and peculiar Character, of each People.

However, there ſtill remain'd a Kind of Tincture, or a Leaven of Monarchical Government, which frequently inflam'd the Ambition of private Citizens, and made them deſire to become Maſters of their Country. In almoſt every State of *Greece*, ſome private Perſons aroſe; who, without any Right to the Throne, either by Birth, or the Election of the Citizens, endeavour'd to advance themſelves to it by Cabal, Treachery, and Violence; and who, without any Reſpect for the Laws, or Regard to the publick Good, exercis'd a ſovereign Authority, with a deſpotick Empire, and arbitrary Sway.

In order to ſupport their unjuſt Uſurpations, in the Midſt of Diſtruſts, and Alarms, they thought themſelves oblig'd to prevent imaginary, or to ſuppreſs real Conſpiracies, by the moſt cruel Proſcriptions; and to ſacrifice, to their own Security, all thoſe, whom Merit, Rank, Wealth, Zeal for Liberty, or Love of their Country, render'd obnoxious to a ſuſpicious, and unſettled Government; which found itſelf hated by all, and was ſenſible it deſerv'd to be ſo. It was this cruel, and inhuman Treatment, that render'd theſe Men ſo odious, and brought upon them the Appellation of Tyrants; and which furniſh'd ſuch ample Matter for the Declamations of Orators, and the tragical Repreſentations of the Theatre.

All theſe Cities, and Diſtricts of *Greece*, that ſeem'd ſo intirely different from one another, in their Laws, Cuſtoms, and Intereſts, were, nevertheleſs, form'd, and combin'd into one ſole, intire, and united Body; whoſe Strength increas'd to ſuch a Degree, as to make the formidable Power of the *Perſians* under *Darius*, and *Xerxes*, tremble; and which, even then, perhaps, would have intirely overthrown the *Perſian* Greatneſs, had the *Grecian* States been wiſe enough to have preſerv'd that Union, and Concord, among themſelves, which afterwards render'd them invincible. This is the Scene we are going to lay before our Readers; and which, certainly, deſerves their utmoſt Attention.

They will ſee therein a ſmall Nation, confin'd within a Country, not equal to a Quarter-Part of *France*, grappling with the moſt powerful Empire, then upon the Earth; and we ſhall ſee this Handful of Men, not only making Head againſt the innumerable Armies of the *Perſians*, but diſperſing, routing, and cutting them in Pieces; and ſometimes reducing the *Perſian* Pride ſo low, as to make them ſubmit to Conditions of Peace, as ſhameful to the conquer'd, as they were glorious, and advantagious, for the Conquerors.

Among all the Cities of *Greece*, there were two, that particularly diſtinguiſh'd themſelves; and acquir'd an Authority, and a Kind of Superiority over the Reſt, by the mere Dint of their Merit, and Conduct: Theſe two were *Athens*, and *Lacedæmon*, or *Sparta*. As theſe Cities make a conſiderable Figure, and act an illuſtrious Part in the enſuing Hiſtory, before we enter upon Particulars, we think, we ought, firſt, to give our Readers ſome Idea of the Genius, Character, Manners, and Government, of their reſpective Inhabitants. *Plutarch*, in the Lives of *Lycurgus*, and *Solon*, ſhall be our principal Guide, in what we ſhall advance upon this Subject.

To begin with *Sparta*, There is not, perhaps, any Thing, in prophane Hiſtory, better atteſted; and, at the ſame Time, more incredible, than what relates to the Government of that City, and the Diſcipline eſtabliſh'd therein by *Lycurgus*. This Legiſlator was the Son of *Eunomus*, one of the two Kings, who reign'd together in *Sparta*. It would have been eaſy for *Lycurgus*, to have mounted the Throne, after the Death of his eldeſt Brother, who left no Son behind him: And, in Effect, he was King for ſome Days. But, as ſoon as his Siſter-in-Law was found to be with Child, he declar'd, that the Crown belong'd to her Son, if ſhe had one; and from thenceforth, he kept the Adminiſtration of Affairs, only as his Guardian. In the mean Time, the Widow, who was both a young, and beautiful Woman, ſent him Word under-hand, that, if he would promiſe to marry her, when he was King, ſhe would deſtroy the Fruit of her Womb. So deteſtable a Propoſal ſtruck *Lycurgus* with Horror: However, he conceal'd his Indignation; and amuſing her with various Pretences, ſo manag'd it, that ſhe went out her full Time, and was deliver'd. As ſoon as the Child was born, he proclaim'd him King; and took great Care to have him brought up, and educated, in a proper Manner: This Prince, on Account of the Joy, which the People teſtify'd at his Birth, was nam'd *Charilaus*; that is, *the Joy of the People*.

At that Time, the *Spartan* State was in great Diſorder; the Authority, both of the Kings, and the Laws, being abſolutely deſpis'd, and unregarded.

garded. No Curb was ſtrong enough to reſtrain the Audaciouſneſs of the People, which every Day increaſed more and more.

However, *Lycurgus* was ſo couragious as to form the Deſign of making a thorough Reformation in the Government; and in Order to be the better enabled to make wiſe Regulations, he thought fit to travel into ſeveral Countries, to acquaint himſelf with the different Manners of other Nations, and to conſult the moſt able and experienced Perſons, he could met with, in the Art of Government.

Intent upon this Deſign, he began with the Iſland of *Crete*, whoſe hard and auſtere Laws were, at that Time, very famous; from thence he paſſed into *Aſia*, where a quite oppoſite Form of Government prevailed; and at laſt of all, he went into *Egypt*, which was then the Nurſe and Miſtreſs of Sciences, Wiſdom, and good Counſels.

The long Abſence of *Lycurgus* did but the more inflame the Deſire of his Country-men, for ſo able and upright a Governour; and the Kings themſelves importuned him to return, being ſenſible how much they ſtood in Need of his Authority to keep the People within Bounds, and in ſome Degree of Subjection and Order. On his Arrival again at *Sparta*, he undertook to change the whole Form of their Government; being fully ſatisfied, that, in ſo great a Depravity of Manners, a few particular Laws would produce no great Effect.

But before he put this Deſign in Execution, he went to *Delphos*, to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*; where, after having offered his Sacrifice, he received that famous Anſwer, in which the Prieſteſs called him *A Friend of the Gods, and rather a God than a Man.* And, as for the Favour he deſired, of being able to frame a Set of good Laws for his Country, ſhe told him, the God had heard his Prayers; and that the Common-Wealth he was going to eſtabliſh, would be the moſt excellent Common-Wealth that had ever been, 'till then; as indeed it afterwards proved.

On his Return to *Sparta*, the firſt Thing he did, was to bring over to his Deſigns the leading Men of the City, whom he made acquainted with his Views; and when he was aſſured of their Approbation, and Concurrence, he went into the publick Market Place, accompanied with a Number of armed Men, in Order to aſtoniſh and intimidate thoſe, who might be deſirous to oppoſe his Undertakin; which it is aſtoniſhing, he could ever bring to bear.

In Effect, *Lycurgus* muſt have had a prodigious Authority with the People, to have been able to introduce a Form of Government ſo contrary to their former Manner of Living, and ſo contradictory to the Deſires, and Paſſions, of Mankind in General.

The Whole of this new Form may be reduced to three Regulations; the greateſt and moſt conſiderable of which was, his Inſtitution of the Senate; which, by tempering and ballancing, as *Plato* obſerves, the too abſolute Power of the Kings, by an Authority of equal Weight and Influence with theirs, became the principal Support and Preſervation of that State. For-whereas before, it was ever tottering, and leaning one While towards Tyranny, by the violent Proceedings of the Kings; another While towards Democracy, by the exceſſive Power of the People; the Senate ſerved as a Kind of Counterpoiſe to both, which kept the State in a due *Equilibrium*, and preſerved it in a firm and ſteady Situation: It conſiſted of Thirty Perſons, including the two Kings; or Twenty-eight, excluſive of them; theſe eſpouſed the King's Part, when the People graſped at too much Power; and the Intereſts of the People, when the Kings attempted to extend their Authority to too great a Height.

Notwithſtanding *Lycurgus* had thus tempered the Government, thoſe that came after him thought the Power of the Thirty, that compoſed the Senate, ſtill too ſtrong and abſolute; and therefore as a Check upon them, they deviſed the Authority of the *Ephori*, about a Hundred and Thirty Years after *Lycurgus*.

Theſe Magiſtrates were Five in Number, and remained but one Year in their Office. They were all choſen out of the People; and in that Reſpect pretty much reſembled the Tribunes of the People among the *Romans*. Their Authority extended even to the arreſting and impriſoning the Perſons of their Kings, as it happened in the Caſe of *Pauſanias*. The Inſtitution of the *Ephori* began in the Reign of *Theopompus*; whoſe Wife reproaching him, that he would leave the regal Authority to his Children in a worſe Condition, than when he received it; he anſwered, That, on the contrary, he ſhould leave it in a much better Condition, as it would be more laſting and permanent.

The *Spartan* Government, then, was not purely monarchical; the Nobility had a great Share therein, and the People were not excluded. Each Part of this Body politick, in Proportion as it contributed to the publick Good, found their Advantage therein; ſo that in Spite of the natural Uneaſineſs and Inconſtancy of Mankind, who are always thirſting after Novelty and Change, and have an invincible Diſguſt to Uniformity, *Lacedæmon* perſevered in the exact Obſervation of the Laws of *Lycurgus*.

The ſecond and boldeſt Inſtitution of that great Lawgiver, was the Diviſion of the Lands, which he look'd upon as abſolutely neceſſary for the ſetling of Peace and good Order in the Commonwealth. The major Part of the People were ſo poor, that they had not one Inch of Ground belonging to them; whilſt a ſmall Number of particular Perſons were poſſeſſed of all the Lands and Wealth of the Country: In Order, therefore, to baniſh Inſolence, Envy, Fraud, Luxury, and two other Diſtempers of the State, ſtill greater and more ancient than thoſe, namely, extream Poverty, and exceſſive Wealth; he perſuaded the Citizens to give up all their Lands to the Common-wealth, and to make a new Diviſion of them, that they might all live together in a perfect Equality; and that no Preeminence or Honour ſhould be given but to Virtue and Merit only.

This Scheme, as extraordinary it was, was immediately executed. *Lycurgus* divided the Lands of *Laconia* into Thirty Thouſand Parts, which he diſtributed among the Inhabitants of the Country; and the Territories of *Sparta* into Nine Thouſand Parts, which he diſtributed among an equal Number of Citizens. It is ſaid, that ſome Years after, as *Lycurgus* was returning from a long Journey, and paſſing through the Lands of *Laconia*, in the Time of Harveſt, upon obſerving, as he went along, the perfect Equality of the Corn-ſtacks, he turned towards thoſe that were with him, and ſaid ſmiling;

ing: *Does not* Laconia *look like the Poſſeſſion of ſeveral* Brothers, *who have juſt been making a Diviſion of their Shares and Portions?*

After having divided their Immoveables, he undertook likewiſe to make the ſame equal Diviſion of all their moveable Goods and Chattels; that he might utterly baniſh from among them all Manner of Inequality. But, finding this would go more againſt the Grain, if he went openly about it, he endeavour'd to effect it, by ſapping the very Foundations of Avarice. For, firſt, he cried down all Gold and Silver-Money; and ordained, that no other ſhould be current than Iron-Coin; which he made ſo very heavy, and fixed at ſo low a Rate, that a Cart and two Oxen were neceſſary to carry Home a Sum of ten *Minæ*, (which is not quite twenty Pound *Sterling*) and a whole Chamber to hold it.

The next Thing he did, was to baniſh all uſeleſs and ſuperfluous Arts from *Sparta*. But if he had not done this, moſt of them would have ſunk of themſelves, and diſappear'd, with the Gold and Silver; becauſe the Tradeſmen and Artificers would have found no Vent for their Commodities: And this Iron-Money had no Currency among any other *Grecian* People, who were ſo far from eſteeming it, that it became the Subject of their Banter and Ridicule.

Lycurgus, being deſirous to make yet a fiercer War upon Softneſs and Luxury, and utterly to extirpate the Love of Riches, made a third Regulation; which was that of publick Meals. That he might intirely ſuppreſs all Magnificence, and Extravagance of expenſive Tables, he ordained, that all the Citizens ſhould eat together of the ſame common Victuals, which the Law preſcribed, and expreſly forbad all private Eating at their own Houſes.

By this Settlement of publick and common Meals, and this Frugality and Simplicity in Eating, it may be ſaid, that he made Riches, in ſome Meaſure, change their very Nature; by rendering them neither deſirable, nor in Danger of being ſtolen; and making them incapable of enriching their Poſſeſſors: For, there was no Way left for a Man to uſe, or enjoy this Opulence, or even to make any Shew of it; ſince the Poor and the Rich eat together in the ſame Place; and none were allowed to appear at the publick Eating-Rooms, after having taken Care to ſtuff themſelves privately with other Diet; becauſe every Body preſent took particular Notice of any one that did not eat or drink heartily; and the whole Company was ſure to reproach him with this Delicacy, and Intemperance, for deſpiſing the common Food, and the publick Table.

The Rich were extremely enraged at this Regulation; and it was upon this Occaſion, that in a Tumult of the People, a young Fellow, named *Alexander*, ſtruck out one of the Eyes of *Lycurgus*. However, the People, provok'd at ſuch an Outrage, delivered the youg Man into the Hands of that Lawgiver, who took no other Revenge of him, than by endeavouring to reclaim him from that furious Temper, by great Kindneſs and Gentleneſs; which had ſo good an Effect, that he became afterwards very diſcreet, and a Maſter of his Paſſions.

The Tables conſiſted of about fifteen Perſons each; where none could be admitted, but with the Conſent of the whole Company. Each Perſon furniſhed, every Month, a Buſhel of Flower, eight Meaſures of Wine, five Pound of Cheeſe, two Pound and a half of Figs; and a ſmall Sum of Money, for preparing and cooking the Victuals. Every one, without Exception of Perſons, was oblig'd to be at the common Meal; and, a long Time after the making theſe Regulations, King *Agis*, at his Return from a glorious Expedition, having taken the Liberty to diſpenſe with that Law, in Order to eat with the Queen, his Wife, was both reprimanded, and puniſhed.

The very Children eat at theſe publick Tables; and were carried thither as to a School of Wiſdom and Temperance: They were ſure to hear Wit and grave Diſcourſes upon Government; and to ſee nothing but what tended to their Inſtruction and Improvement. The Converſation was often enlivened with ingenious and ſprightly Railleries, but never intermix'd with any Thing vulgar or ſhocking: And if their Jeſting ſeemed to make any Perſon uneaſy, they never proceeded any farther. Here their Children were likewiſe trained up and accuſtomed to great Secreſy: As ſoon as a young Man came into the Dining-Room, the oldeſt Perſon of the Company uſed to ſay to him, pointing to the Door, *Nothing that is ſpoken here, muſt ever go out there.*

The moſt exquiſite of all their Eatables, was what they called their black Sauce; and the old Men preferred it before all that was ſet upon the Table. *Dionyſius* the Tyrant, when he was at one of theſe Meals, was not of the ſame Sentiment; and what was a Ragoo to them, was to him very inſipid. No Wonder, ſays the Cook; for the Seaſon is wanting. What Seaſoning, replyed the Tyrant? Running, Sweating, Fatigue, Hunger, and Thirſt; theſe are the Ingredients, ſays the Cook, with which we ſeaſon all our Entertainments.

When we ſpeak of the Ordinances of *Lycurgus*, we do not mean written Laws; he thought proper to leave very few of that Kind, being perſuaded, that the moſt powerful and effectual Means of rendering Communities happy, and People virtuous, is a good Example; and the Impreſſion made on the Mind, from the good Manners and Practice of the Citizens: For the Principles thus engraven by Education, remain firm and immoveable, as they are rooted in the Will; which is ever a more ſtrong and durable Tye, than the Yoke of Neceſſity: And the Youth, that have been thus fed, thus educated, become Laws and Legiſlators to themſelves. Theſe are the Reaſons why *Lycurgus*, inſtead of leaving his Ordinances in Writing, endeavoured to imprint, and to have them recommended, and enforced by Practice and Example.

He looked upon the Education of Youth as the greateſt and moſt important Object of a Legiſlator's Care. His grand Principle was, that Children belonged more to the State, than to their Parents; and therefore he would not have them brought up according to their Humours and Fancies, but would have the State entruſted with the general Care of their Education; in Order to have them formed upon conſtant and uniform Principles, which might inſpire them betimes with the Love of their Country, and of Virtue.

As ſoon as a Boy was born, the Elders of each Tribe viſited him; and if they found him well made, ſtrong and vigorous, they ordered him to be

be brought up; and aſſign'd him one of the nine Thouſand Portions of Land for his Inheritance; if, on the contrary, they found him to be deform'd, tender, and weakly, ſo that they could not expect him ever to have a ſtrong, and healthful Conſtitution, they condemn'd him to periſh, and caus'd the Infant to be expos'd.

Children were accuſtom'd, betimes, not to be nice, or difficult, in their Eating; not to be afraid in the Dark, or when they were left alone; not to give themſelves up to Peeviſhneſs, and Ill-Humour, to Crying, and Bawling; to walk bare-foot, that they might be inur'd to Fatigue; to lye hard at Nights; to wear the ſame Cloaths Winter, and Summer, in order to harden them againſt Cold, and Heat.

At the Age of ſeven Years, they were put into the Claſſes, where they were brought up all together, under the ſame Diſcipline. Their Education, properly ſpeaking, was only an Apprenticeſhip to Obedience: The Legiſlator having rightly conſider'd, that the ſureſt Way to have Citizens ſubmiſſive to the Law, and to the Magiſtrates (in which the good Order, and Happineſs of a State, chiefly conſiſts) was to teach Children early, and to accuſtom them, from their tender Years, to be perfectly obedient to their Maſters, and Superiors.

While they were at Table, it was uſual for the Maſters to inſtruct the Boys, by propoſing to them divers Queſtions, upon various Subjects. They would ask, for Inſtance, Who is the honeſteſt Man in the Town? What do you think of ſuch, or ſuch an Action? The Boys were oblig'd to give a quick, and ready Anſwer, which was likewiſe to be accompany'd with a Reaſon, and a Proof, both couch'd in few Words: For, they were accuſtom'd, betimes, to the *Laconic* Stile, that is, to a cloſe, and conciſe Way of ſpeaking, and writing. *Lycurgus* was for having the Money bulky, heavy, and of little Value; and their Language, on the contrary, very pithy, and ſhort; that is, much Senſe, in few Words.

As for Literature, they only learn'd juſt ſo much as was neceſſary. All the Sciences were baniſh'd out of their Country: Their Study only tended to know how to obey, to bear Hardſhip, and Fatigue, and to conquer in Battle. They had for Super-Intendant of their Education, one of the moſt honourable Men of the City, and of the firſt Rank, and Condition; who appointed over every Claſs of Boys, Maſters of the moſt approv'd Wiſdom, and Probity.

There was only one Sort of Theft (and that too was more nominal than real) which the Boys were allow'd, and even order'd to practiſe. They were taught to ſlip, as cunningly, and cleverly, as they could, into the Gardens, and publick Halls, in order to ſteal away Herbs, or Meat; and, if they were caught in the Fact, they were puniſh'd, for their Want of Dexterity. We are told, that one of them, having ſtolen a young Fox, hid it under his Robe, and ſuffer'd the Animal to gnaw his Belly, and tear out his very Bowels, till he fell dead upon the Spot, rather than be diſcover'd. This Kind of Theft, as I have ſaid, was but nominal, and not properly a Robbery; ſince it was authoriz'd by the Law, and the Conſent of the Citizens. The Intent of the Legiſlator in allowing it, was to inſpire the *Spartan* Youth, who were all deſign'd for War, with the greater Boldneſs, Subtilty, and Addreſs; to inure them, betimes, to the Life of a Soldier; to teach them to live upon a little; and to be able to ſhift for themſelves.

The Patience, and Conſtancy of the *Spartan* Youth, moſt conſpicuouſly appear'd in a certain Feſtival, celebrated in Honour of *Diana*, ſurnam'd *Orthia*; where the Children, before the Eyes of their Parents, and in Preſence of the whole City, ſuffer'd themſelves to be whipp'd, till the Blood ran down upon the Altar of this cruel Goddeſs; nay, ſometimes, they expir'd under the Strokes, and all this, without uttering the leaſt Cry, or ſo much as a Groan, or a Sigh: And, even their own Fathers, when they ſaw them cover'd with Blood, and Wounds, and ready to expire, exhorted them to perſevere to the End, with Conſtancy, and Reſolution. *Plutarch* aſſures us, that he had himſelf ſeen many Children loſe their Lives on theſe cruel Occaſions. Hence it is, that *Horace* gives the Epithet of *patient* to the City of *Lacedæmon*, *Patiens Lacedæmon*; and that another Author makes a Man, who had receiv'd three Strokes of a Stick, without complaining, ſay, with a good Deal of Humour: *Tres Plagas Spartana Nobilitate concoxi.*

The moſt uſual Occupation of the *Lacedemonians* was Hunting, and other bodily Exerciſes. They were forbid to exerciſe any mechanic Art. The *Helotæ*, who were a Sort of Slaves, till'd their Land for them, and were accountable to them for a certain Revenue.

Lycurgus would have his Citizens enjoy a great Deal of Leiſure: They had large Common-Halls, where the People us'd to meet to converſe together: And, though their Diſcourſes chiefly turn'd upon grave, and ſerious Topics, yet they ſeaſon'd them with a Mixture of Wit, and facetious Humour, that was both agreeable, and inſtructive. They paſs'd little of their Time alone, being accuſtom'd to live, like Bees, always together, always about their Chiefs, and Leaders. The Love of their Country, and of the publick Good, was their predominant Paſſion: They did not imagine they belong'd to themſelves, but to their Country. *Predaretus*, having miſs'd the Honour, of being choſen one of the three hundred, who had a certain Rank of Diſtinction in the City, went Home extremely pleas'd, and ſatisfy'd, ſaying: *He was overjoy'd, there were three hundred Men in* Sparta, *more honourable, and worthy than himſelf.*

At *Sparta*, every Thing tended to inſpire the Love of Virtue, and the Hatred of Vice: Not only the Actions of the Citizens, but even their Converſations, publick Monuments, and Inſcriptions, did the ſame. It was hard for Men, brought up in the Midſt of ſo many living Precepts, and Examples, not to become virtuous, as far as Heathens were capable of Virtue. It was to preſerve theſe happy Diſpoſitions, that *Lycurgus* did not allow all Sorts of Perſons to travel; leſt they ſhould bring home foreign Manners, and return infected with the licentious Cuſtoms of other Countries; which would neceſſarily create, in a little Time, an Averſion for the Life, and Maxims of *Lacedæmon*. On the other Hand, he would ſuffer no Strangers to remain in the City, who did not come thither upon ſome uſeful, or profitable Errand; or who were led thither by mere Curioſity;

ſity; being afraid, they ſhould bring along with them the Defects and Vices of their own Countries; and being perſuaded, at the ſame Time, that it was more important, and neceſſary, to ſhut the Gates of the Town againſt depravʼd, and corrupt Manners, than againſt infectious Diſtempers. Properly ſpeaking, the very Trade, and Buſineſs of the *Lacedæmonians* was War; every Thing, with them, tended that Way; Arms were their only Exerciſe, and Employment: Their Life much leſs hard, and auſtere in the Camp, than in the City; and they were the only People in the World, to whom the Time of War was a Time of Eaſe, and Refreſhment; becauſe then the Reins of that ſtrict, and ſevere Diſcipline, which prevailʼd at *Sparta*, were a little relaxʼd; and the Men were indulgʼd in a little more Liberty. With them, the firſt, and moſt inviolable Law of War, as *Demaratus* told *Xerxes*, was never to fly, or turn their Backs, whatever Superiority of Numbers the Enemy's Army might conſiſt of; never to quit their Poſt; never to deliver up their Arms; in a Word, either to conquer, or to die on the Spot. This Maxim was ſo important, and eſſential, in their Opinion, that, when the Poet *Archilochus* came to *Sparta*, they obligʼd him, forthwith, to leave their City; becauſe they underſtood, that, in one of his Poems, he had ſaid, *It was better for a Man to throw down his Arms, than to expoſe himſelf to be killʼd.*

Hence it is, that a Mother recommended to her Son, who was going to make a Campaign, that he ſhould return, either with his own Shield, or upon thoſe of his Fellow-Soldiers; and that another, hearing that her Son was killʼd in fighting for his Country, anſwerʼd without any Emotion; *I brought him into the World for no other End.* This Humour prevailʼd ſo generally among the *Lacedemonians*; that, after the famous Battle of *Leuctra*, which was ſo fatal to the *Spartans*, the Parents of thoſe, who dyʼd in the Action, congratulated one another upon it, and went to the Temples, to thank the Gods, that their Children had done their Duty; whereas, the Relations of thoſe, who ſurvivʼd the Defeat, were inconſolable.

If any of the *Spartans* fled in Battle, they were diſhonourʼd, and diſgracʼd for ever: They were not only excluded from all Poſts, and Employments in the State, from all Aſſemblies, and publick Diverſions, but it was reckonʼd ſcandalous, to make any Alliances with them by Marriage; and a Thouſand Affronts, and Inſults, were publickly put upon them with Impunity.

The *Spartans* never went to fight, without firſt imploring the Help of the Gods, by publick Sacrifices, and Prayers; and when that was done, they marchʼd againſt the Enemy with a perfect Confidence, and firm Expectation of Succeſs, as being aſſurʼd of the divine Protection; and, to make Uſe of *Plutarch*'s Expreſſion, *As if God were preſent with, and fought for them.*

When they had broken, and routed their Enemies Forces, they never purſuʼd them any farther, than was neceſſary to make themſelves ſure of the Victory: After which they retirʼd; as thinking it neither glorious, nor worthy of *Greece*, to cut in Pieces, and deſtroy an Enemy, who yielded, and fled. And this provʼd as uſeful, as honourable to the *Spartans*: For, their Enemies knowing, that all, who reſiſted them, were put to the Sword, and that they ſparʼd none but thoſe who fled, generally choſe rather to flie, than to reſiſt obſtinately.

When the firſt Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus* were receivʼd, and confirmʼd by Practice; and the Form of Government, he had eſtabliſhʼd, ſeemʼd ſtrong, and vigorous enough to ſupport itſelf; as *Plato* ſays of *God*, that, after he had finiſhʼd the Creation of the World, he rejoicʼd, when he ſaw it turn about, and perform its firſt Motions with ſo much Juſtneſs, and Harmony; ſo the *Spartan* Legiſlator, pleasʼd with the Goodneſs, and Beauty of his Laws, felt his Joy, and Satisfaction redoubled, when he ſaw them, as it were, enforce themſelves, and operate ſo ſucceſsfully.

But deſiring, as far as human Prudence could effect it, to render them immortal, and unchangeable, he ſignifyʼd to the People, that there was ſtill one Point remaining to be performʼd, the moſt eſſential, and important of all, about which he would go, and conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*; and, in the mean Time, he made them all take an Oath, that, till his Return, they would, inviolably, maintain the Form of Government, which he had eſtabliſhʼd. When he was arrivʼd at *Delphos*, he conſulted the God, to know whether the Laws he made were good, and ſufficient to render the *Lacedemonians* happy, and virtuous; *Apollo* anſwerʼd, that nothing was wanting to his Laws; and that, as long as *Sparta* obſervʼd them, ſhe would be the moſt glorious, and happy City in the World. *Lycurgus* ſent this Anſwer to *Sparta*: And then, thinking he had fulfillʼd his Miniſtry, he voluntary dyʼd at *Delphos*, by abſtaining from all Manner of Suſtenance. His Notion was, that the Death of great Perſons, and Stateſmen, ſhould not be barren, and unprofitable to the State; but a Kind of Supplement to their Miniſtry; and one of their moſt important Actions; which ought to do them as much, or more Honour than all the reſt. He, therefore, thought, that, in dying thus, he ſhould crown, and compleat all the Services, which he had renderʼd to his Fellow-Citizens in his Life-Time; ſince his Death would engage them to a perpetual Obſervation of his Ordinances, which they had ſworn to obſerve inviolably, till his Return.

At the ſame Time that we repreſent the Sentiments of *Lycurgus* upon his own Death, in the Light wherein *Plutarch* has tranſmitted them to us. We are very far from approving them; and we make the ſame Declaration, with Reſpect to ſeveral other Facts of the like Nature, which we ſometimes relate, without making any Reflections upon them, though we think them very unworthy of Approbation. The pretended Heathen Wiſe-Men, both in this Point, and divers others, had but very faint, and imperfect Notions; or, to ſpeak more properly, were left in great Darkneſs, and Error.

They laid down, indeed, this admirable Principle, which we meet with in many of their Writings: That Man, plac'd in the World, as in a certain Poſt, by his General, cannot abandon it, without the expreſs Command of him, upon whom he depends; that is, upon *God* himſelf. At other Times, they look'd upon Man, as a Criminal condemn'd to a melancholy Priſon; from whence, indeed, he might deſire to be releas'd, but

but could not lawfully attempt to be ſo, but by the Courſe of Juſtice, and the Order of the Magiſtrate; and not by breaking his Chains, and forcing the Gates of his Priſon. Theſe Notions are excellent; becauſe they are true: But the Application they made of them was wrong; namely, as they took that for an expreſs Order of the Deity, which was the pure Effect of their own Weakneſs, or Pride; by which they were led to put themſelves to Death, either that they might deliver themſelves from the Pains, and Troubles of this Life, or immortalize their Names; as was the Caſe of *Lycurgus*, *Cato*, and a Number of Others, who, for that Reaſon, were falſly eſteem'd Heroes.

There muſt needs have been (to judge only by the Event) a great Fund of Wiſdom, and Prudence, in the Laws of *Lycurgus*; ſince, as long as they were obſerv'd in *Sparta* (and that they were for above five hundred Years) it was a moſt flouriſhing, and powerful City. It was not ſo much (ſays *Plutarch*, ſpeaking of the Laws of *Sparta*) the Government, and Polity of a City, as the Conduct, and regular Behaviour of a wiſe Man, who paſſes his whole Life in the Exerciſe of Virtue: Or, rather (continues the ſame Author) as the Poets feign, that *Hercules*, only with his Lion's Skin, and his Club, went about clearing the World of Robbers, and Tyrants; ſo *Sparta*, with a *Slip of Parchment*, and an *old Coat*, gave Laws to all *Greece*, which willingly ſubmitted to her Dominion; ſuppreſs'd Tyranny, and unjuſt Authority in Cities; put an End to Wars, as ſhe thought fit, and appeas'd Inſurrections; and all this, generally, without moving a Shield, or a Sword; and only by ſending a ſimple Ambaſſador amongſt them, who no ſooner appear'd, than all the People ſubmitted, and flock'd about him, like ſo many Bees about their Monarch: So much Reſpect did the Juſtice, and good Government of this City, imprint upon the Minds of all their Neighbours. In order to the underſtanding this Part of that Paſſage, which mentions the *Slip of Parchment*, and the *old Coat*, it is neceſſary, our Readers ſhould know, that when the Senate ſent any Inſtructions to their Generals, their Manner of writing was; to wrap a Slip of Parchment round a Stick, ſo as no void Space was left upon it, and write their Orders thereon. By this Means, when the Parchment was taken off the Stick, there was no Poſſibility of any one's reading what was written thereon, unleſs he had a Stick of the ſame Size, and Length, to wrap it round, which no Body had but the General to whom it was directed; and conſequently, if it fell into the Enemy's Hands, it would be of no Uſe to them. As to the old Coat, *Ageſilaus*, and ſeveral of their greateſt Generals, us'd to appear frequently in an old Thread-bare Coat.

We find, at the End of *Lycurgus*'s Life, one ſingle Reflection made by *Plutarch*, which, of itſelf, comprehends a great Encomium upon that Legiſlator. He there ſays, that *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, and all thoſe, who have treated of the framing a political State, or Government, took their Plans from the Republick eſtabliſh'd by *Lycurgus*; with this Difference between him, and them, that they confin'd themſelves wholly to Words, and Theory; but that, *Lycurgus*, without dwelling upon Ideas, and theoretical Syſtems, did really, and effectually, ſettle an inimitable Polity, and form a whole City of Philoſophers.

In order to ſucceed in this Undertaking, and to eſtabliſh the moſt perfect Form of a Common-wealth that could be, he melted down, as it were, and blended together, what he found beſt in every Kind of Government, and moſt conducive to the publick Good; thus tempering one Species with another, and ballancing the Inconveniences, to which each of them, in particular, is ſubject, with the Advantages that reſult from their being united together. *Sparta* had ſomething of the monarchical Form of Government, in the Authority of her Kings: The Council of Thirty, otherwiſe call'd, the Senate, was a true Ariſtocracy; and the Power veſted in the People, of nominating the Senators, and of giving Sanction to the Laws, reſembled a democratical Government. The Creation of the *Ephori*, afterwards, ſerv'd to rectify what was amiſs in thoſe previous Eſtabliſhments, and to ſupply what was wanting. *Plato*, in more Places than one, admires *Lycurgus*'s Wiſdom, in his contriving, and erecting the Senatorial Authority, which was equally advantagious both to the King, and the People; becauſe, by this Means, the Law became the only ſupream Miſtreſs of the Kings; and the Kings never became Tyrants over the Law.

The Deſign form'd by *Lycurgus*, of making an equal Diſtribution of the Lands among the Citizens, and of intirely baniſhing from *Sparta* all Luxury, Avarice, Law-Suits, and Diſſenſions, by aboliſhing the Uſe of Gold, and Silver, would appear to us a Scheme of a Common-wealth, finely contriv'd for Speculation, but utterly impracticable in the Execution, did not Hiſtory aſſure us, that *Sparta* did actually ſubſiſt in that Condition for many Ages.

When we place this Tranſaction among the laudable Parts of *Lycurgus*'s Laws, we don't pretend to exempt it wholly from Blame; for we think it can ſcarce be reconcil'd with that general Law of Nature, which forbids the taking away one Man's Property to give it to another; and yet this is what was really done upon this Occaſion. Therefore, in this Affair of dividing the Lands, we conſider only ſo much of it, as was truly commendable in itſelf, and worthy of Admiration.

Can we poſſibly conceive, that a Man could perſuade the richeſt, and moſt opulent Inhabitants of a City, to reſign all their Revenues, and Eſtates, in order to level, and confound themſelves with the pooreſt of the People; to ſubject themſelves to a new Way of living, both ſevere in itſelf, and very confining; in a Word, to debar themſelves the Uſe of every Thing, wherein the Happineſs, and Comfort of Life, is thought to conſiſt? And yet this is what *Lycurgus* brought to paſs in *Sparta*.

Such an Inſtitution as this would have been leſs wonderful, had it ſubſiſted only during the Life of the Legiſlator; but we know, that it laſted many Ages after his Deceaſe. *Xenophon*, in the Encomium he has left us of *Ageſilaus*, and *Cicero*, obſerves, *Lacedæmon* was the only City in the World, that preſerv'd her Diſcipline, and Laws, for ſo conſiderable a Term of Years unalter'd, and inviolate. *Soli* (ſaid the latter, in ſpeaking of the *Lacedæmonians*) *toto orbe terrarum ſeptingentos*

jam annos amplius unis moribus, & nunquam mutatis Legibus vivunt. We believe though, that in *Cicero*'s Time, the Diſcipline of *Sparta*, as well as her Power, was very much relax'd, and diminiſh'd: But, however, all Hiſtorians agree, that it was maintain'd in all its Vigour, till the Reign of *Ageſilaus*; under whom *Lyſander*, though incapable himſelf of being blinded, or corrupted, with Gold, yet fill'd his Country with Luxury, and the Love of Riches, by bringing into it immenſe Sums of Gold, and Silver, which were the Fruits of his Victories, and overthrowing thereby the Laws of *Lycurgus*.

But the Introduction of Gold, and Silver Money, was not the firſt Wound given by the *Lacedæmonians* to the Inſtitutions of their Legiſlators. It was but the Conſequence of the Violation of another Law, yet more fundamental. Ambition was the Vice, that preceded, and made Way for Avarice. The Deſire of Conqueſts drew on that of Riches; without which they could not propoſe to extend their Dominions. The main Deſign of *Lycurgus*, in the eſtabliſhing his Laws, and eſpecially that, which prohibited the Uſe of Gold, and Silver, was, as *Polybius*, and *Plutarch*, have judiciouſly obſerv'd, to curb, and reſtrain the Ambition of his Citizens; to diſable them from making Conqueſts; and, in a Manner, to force them to confine themſelves within the narrow Bounds of their own Country, without carrying their Views, and Pretenſions any further. Indeed, the Government, which he eſtabliſh'd, was ſufficient to defend the Frontiers of *Sparta*; but was not calculated for the raiſing her to a Dominion over other Cities.

The Deſign, then, of *Lycurgus*, was not to make the *Spartans* aim at being Conquerors. To take away all ſuch Thoughts from his Fellow-Citizens, he expreſsly forbid them, though they inhabited a Country ſurrounded with the Sea, to meddle in maritime Affairs; to have any Fleets; or ever to fight upon the Sea. They were religious Obſervers of this Prohibition for many Ages; and even till the Defeat of *Xerxes*: But, upon that Occaſion, they began to think of making themſelves Maſters of the Sea, that they might be able to keep that formidable Enemy at the greater Diſtance. But, having ſoon perceiv'd, that theſe maritime, remote Commands, corrupted the Manners of their Generals, they laid that Project aſide, without any Difficulty, as we ſhall obſerve, when we come to ſpeak of King *Pauſanias*.

When *Lycurgus* arm'd his Fellow-Citizens with Shields and Lances, it was not to enable them to commit Wrong, and Outrages, with Impunity; but only to defend themſelves againſt the Invaſions, and Injuries of others. He made them, indeed, a Nation of Warriors, and Soldiers; but it was only, that, under the Shadow of their Arms, they might live in Liberty, Moderation, Juſtice, Union, and Peace; by being content with their own Territories, without uſurping thoſe of others; and by being perſuaded, that no City, or State, no more than a ſingle Perſon, can ever hope for ſolid, and laſting Happineſs, but in, and through Virtue. Men of a deprav'd Taſte (ſays *Plutarch* farther on the ſame Subject) who think nothing ſo deſirable, as Riches, and a large Extent of Dominion, may give Preference to thoſe vaſt Empires, that have ſubdu'd, and enſlav'd the World by Violence: But *Lycurgus* was convinc'd, that a City had Occaſion for nothing of that Kind, in order to be happy. His Policy, which has juſtly been the Admiration of all Ages, had no farther Views, than to eſtabliſh Equity, Moderation, Liberty, and Peace; and was an Enemy to all Injuſtice, Violence, Ambition, and the Paſſion of domineering, and extending the Bounds of the *Spartan* Commonwealth.

Such Reflections as theſe, which *Plutarch* agreeably interſperſes in his Lives, and in which their greateſt, and moſt eſſential Beauty conſiſts, are of infinite Uſe towards the giving us true Notions of Things; and making us underſtand, wherein conſiſts the ſolid, and true Glory of a State, that is really happy; as alſo to correct thoſe falſe Ideas we are apt to form of the vain Greatneſs of thoſe extended Empires, which have ſwallow'd up Kingdoms; and of thoſe celebrated Conquerors, who owe all their Fame, and Grandeur, to Violence, and Uſurpation.

The long Duration of the Laws eſtabliſh'd by *Lycurgus*, is, certainly, a wonderful Thing: But the Means he made Uſe of to ſucceed therein, are no leſs worthy of Admiration. The principal of theſe was the extraordinary Care he took to have the *Spartan* Youth brought up in an exact, and ſevere Diſcipline: For (as *Plutarch* obſerves) the religious Obligation of an Oath, which he exacted from the Citizens, would have been a feeble Tye, had he not, by Education, infus'd his Laws, as it were, into the Minds, and Manners of the Children, and made them ſuck in, almoſt with their Mothers Milk, an Affection for his Inſtitutions. This was the Reaſon, why his principal Ordinances ſubſiſted above five hundred Years, having ſunk into the very Temper, and Hearts of the People; like a ſtrong, and good Dye, that penetrates to the Bottom. *Cicero* makes the ſame Remark; and aſcribes the Courage, and Virtue of the *Spartans*, not ſo much to their own natural Diſpoſition, as to their excellent Education: *Cujus civitatis ſpectata ac nobilitata Virtus, non ſolum Natura corroborata, verum etiam Diſciplina putatur.* All this ſhews of what Importance it is to a State, to take Care, that their Youth be brought up, in a Manner, proper to inſpire them with a Love to the Laws of their Country.

The great Maxim of *Lycurgus*, which *Ariſtotle* repeats in expreſs Terms, was, that, as Children belong to the State, their Education ought to be directed by the State; and the Views, and Intereſts of the State only conſider'd therein. 'Twas for this Reaſon, he deſir'd they ſhould be educated all in common; and not left to the Humour, and Caprice of their Parents; who, generally, through a ſoft, and blind Indulgence, and a miſtaken Tenderneſs; enervate, at once, both the Bodies, and Minds of their Children. At *Sparta*, from their tendereſt Years, they were inur'd to Labour, and Fatigue, by the Exerciſes of Hunting, and Racing; and accuſtom'd betimes to endure Hunger, and Thirſt, Heat, and Cold; and, what it's difficult to make Mothers believe, all theſe hard, and laborious Exerciſes, tended to procure them Health, and make their Conſtitutions the more vigorous, and robuſt, able to bear the Hardſhips, and Fatigues of War; which was what were all deſign'd from their Cradles.

But

But the moſt excellent Point in the *Spartan* Education, was, that it taught young People ſo perfectly well to obey. 'Tis from hence the Poet *Simonides* gives that City the remarkable, and loſty Epithet, of the *Tamer of Men*; which denotes, that they alone knew how to ſubdue the Paſſions of Men, and to render them pliant, and ſubmiſſive to the Reins, and Curbs of the Laws, in the ſame Manner as Horſes are taught, to obey the Spur, and the Bridle, by being broken, and manag'd, while they are young. For this Reaſon, *Ageſilaus* adviſ'd *Xenophon* to ſend his Children to *Sparta*, that they might learn there the nobleſt, and greateſt of all Sciences; namely, how to command, and how to obey.

One of the Leſſons oftenеſt, and moſt ſtrongly inculcated into the *Lacedemonian* Youth, was, to bear a great Reverence, and Reſpect to old Men, and to give them Proofs of it upon all Occaſions, by ſaluting them, by making Way for them, and giving them Precedence in the Streets; by riſing up, to ſhew them Honour in all Companies, and publick Aſſemblies; but, above all, by receiving their Advice, and even their Reproofs, with Docility, and Submiſſion: By theſe Characterick, a *Lacedemonian* was known wherever he came: If he had behav'd otherwiſe, it would have been look'd upon as a Reproach to himſelf, and a Diſhonour to his Country. An old Man of *Athens* going into the Theatre once to ſee a Play, none of his own Countrymen offer'd him a Seat: But, when he came near the Place, where the *Spartan* Ambaſſadors, and the Gentlemen of their Retinue were ſitting, they all roſe up, out of Reverence to his Age, and ſeated him in the Midſt of them; Upon which, the whole Audience giving a great Shout, in Applauſe of ſo laudable an Action, the old Man ſaid aloud, very juſtly; *The* Athenians *know what is praiſe-worthy, but the* Spartans *practiſe it*. *Lyſander*, therefore, had Reaſon to ſay, that old Age had no-where ſo honourable a Dwelling-Place as in *Sparta*, and that it was an agreeable Thing to grow old in that City.

As excellent, however, as the Laws of *Lycurgus* were, they were far from perfect, and had ſeveral Defects; in order to diſcern which, we need only compare them with thoſe of *Moſes*, which we know were dictated by more than human Wiſdom. But our Deſign, in this Place, is not to enter into an exact Examination of the Particulors, wherein the Laws and Inſtitutions of *Lycurgus* are faulty: We ſhall content ourſelves with making ſome ſlight Reflections only, which, probably, may have already occurr'd to our Readers, in the bare Peruſal of thoſe Ordinances, among which there are ſome, that they will be juſtly offended with, on the firſt Peruſal.

To begin, for Inſtance, with that Ordinance relating to the Choice they made of their Children, as which of them were to be brought up, and which expos'd to periſh; who would not be ſhock'd at the unjuſt, and inhuman Cuſtom of pronouncing Sentence of Death upon all ſuch Infants, as had the Misfortune to be born with a Conſtitution, that appear'd too weak to go through the Fatigues and Exerciſes, to which the Common-Wealth deſtin'd all her Subjects? Is it then impoſſible, and without Example, that Children, who are tender, and weak in their Infancy, ſhould ever alter, as they grow up; and become, in Time, of a robuſt, and vigorous Complexion? Or, ſuppoſe it were ſo; can a Man no Way ſerve his Country, but by the Strength of his Body? Is there no Account to be made of his Wiſdom, Prudence, Counſel, Generoſity, Courage, Magnanimity; and, in a Word, of all the Qualities, that depend upon the Mind, and the intellectual Faculties! *Omnino illud honeſtum, quod ex animo excelſo magnificoque quærimus, animi efficitur, non Corporis Viribus.* Did *Lycurgus* himſelf render leſs Service, or do leſs Honour to *Sparta*, by eſtabliſhing his Laws, than the greateſt Generals did by their Victories? *Ageſilaus* was of ſo ſmall a Stature, and ſo mean a Figure in his Perſon, that, at the firſt Sight of him, the *Egyptians* could not help laughing: And yet, as little as he was, he made the great King of *Perſia* tremble in the Midſt of his Palace.

But, what is yet ſtronger than all we have ſaid, has any other Perſon a Right, or Power, over the Lives of Men, ſave he, from whom they receiv'd them; even *God* himſelf? And, does not a Legiſlator viſibly uſurp the Authority of *God*, whenever he arrogates to himſelf ſuch a Power, without his Commiſſion? That Precept of the Decalogue, which was only a Renovation of the Law of Nature, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, entirely condemns all thoſe among the Ancients, who imagin'd they had a Power of Life, and Death, over their Slaves; and even over their own Children.

The great Defect in *Lycurgus*'s Laws (as *Plato*, and *Ariſtotle* have obſerv'd) is, that they only tended to form a warlike, and martial People. All that Legiſlator's Thoughts ſeem'd wholly bent upon the Means of ſtrengthening the Bodies of the People, without any Concern for the cultivating of their Minds: Why ſhould he baniſh from his Common-Wealth all Arts, and Sciences? Since, beſides many other Advantages, they have this agreeable Effect, that they ſweeten, and ſoften our Manners, poliſh our Underſtandings, improve the Heart, and render our Behaviour civil, courteous, gentle, and obliging; ſuch, in a Word, as qualifies us for Company, and Society, and makes the ordinary Commerce of Life agreeable? Hence it came to paſs, that there was ſomething of a Roughneſs, and Auſterity in the Temper, and Behaviour of the *Spartans*, and many Times, even ſomething of Ferocity; a Failing, that proceeded chiefly from their Education, and that render'd them unacceptable to all their Allies.

It was an excellent Practice in *Sparta*, to accuſtom their Youth, betimes, to ſuffer Heat, and Cold, Hunger, and Thirſt; and by ſeveral ſevere, and laborious Exerciſes, to bring the Body into Subjection to Reaſon; whoſe faithful, and diligent Miniſter it ought to be, in the Execution of all Orders, and Injunctions; which it can never do, if it be not able to undergo all Sorts of Hardſhips, and Fatigues. But, was it rational in them to carry their Severities as far, as the inhuman Treatment, whereof we have been ſpeaking? And, was it not Brutiſhneſs, and Barbarity in the Fathers, and Mothers, to ſee the Blood trickling from the Wounds of their Children; nay, and even to ſee them expiring under the Laſhes, without Concern?

Some People admire the Courage of the *Spartan* Mothers, who could hear the News of the Death

Death of their Children ſlain in Battle, not only without Tears, but even with a Kind of Joy, and Satisfaction. In our Opinion, it would have ſhown much better, if Nature had exerted herſelf a little more on ſuch Occaſions; nor ought the Love of one's Country utterly to extinguiſh the Sentiments of maternal Tenderneſs. A *French* General, who was told, in the Heat of Battle, that his Son was ſlain, ſeems, by his Anſwer, to have thought more juſtly: *Let us think, at preſent* (ſaid he) *how to conquer the Enemy, To-morrow I will mourn for the Loſs of my Son.*

Nor is much more to be ſaid, in our Opinion, in Excuſe for that Law of *Lycurgus*, which enjoin'd the ſpending ſo much of their Time in Idleneſs, and Inaction; and the following no other Buſineſs than that of War. He left all the Arts, and Trades, entirely to the Slaves, and Strangers, who liv'd amongſt them; and put nothing into the Hands of the Citizens, but the Lance, and the Shie'd. Not to mention the Danger there was in ſuffering the Number of Slaves, that were neceſſary for tilling the Land, to increaſe to ſuch a Degree, as to become much more than that of their Maſters, which was often an Occaſion of Seditions, and Riots among them; how many Diſorders muſt Men neceſſarily fall into, who have ſo much Leiſure upon their Hands, and have no daily Occupation, or regulated Labour?

This is an Inconvenience, ſtill but too common among our Nobility; and which is the natural Effect of their wrong Education. Except in the Time of War, and even then, moſt of our Gentry ſpend their Lives in a moſt uſeleſs, and unprofitable Manner. They look upon Agriculture, and Arts, and Commerce, as beneath them; and what would derogate from their Gentility. They ſeldom know how to handle any Thing, but their Swords; and it is much to be queſtion'd, of late Years, whether moſt of our Fidling, and Opera *Virtuoſi* know how to uſe them, or would dare to draw them. As for the Sciences, they take but a very ſmall Tincture of them, juſt ſo much as they cannot well be without; and many of them have not the leaſt Knowledge of them in the World, nor any Manner of Taſte for Books, or Reading. We are not to wonder then, if Gaming, and Hunting, Eating, and Drinking, mutual Viſits, and frivolous Diſcourſe, and even more pernicious Amuſements, make up their whole Occupation. What a Life is this for Men, who have any Genius, or Underſtanding!

Lycurgus would be utterly inexcuſable, if he gave Occaſion, as he is accus'd of having done, for all the Rigour, and Cruelty, exercis'd towards the *Helotæ* in his Republick. Theſe *Helotæ* were the Slaves, employ'd by the *Spartans* to till the Ground. It was their Cuſtom, not only to make theſe poor Creatures drunk, and expoſe them before their Children, in order to give them an Abhorrence for ſo ſhameful, and odious a Vice, but alſo to treat them with the utmoſt Barbarity; as thinking themſelves at Liberty to deſtroy them, by any Violence, or Cruelty whatſoever, under Pretence of their being always ready to rebel.

Upon a certain Occaſion, related by *Thucydides*, two Thouſand of theſe Slaves diſappear'd at once; without any Body's knowing what was become of them. *Plutarch* pretends, this barbarous Cuſtom was not practis'd till after the Time of *Lycurgus*; and that he had no Hand in it.

But that wherein *Lycurgus* appears to be moſt culpable, and which beſt ſhews, the prodigious enormities and groſs Darkneſs the *Pagans* were plunged in, is the little Regard he ſhew'd for Modeſty and Decency, in what concerned Education of Girls, and the Marriages of young Women; which was, without Doubt, the Source of thoſe Diſorders, that prevail'd in *Sparta*, as *Ariſtotle* has wiſely obſerved. When we compare theſe indecent and licentious Inſtitutions of the wiſeſt Legiſlator, that ever profane Antiquity could boaſt of, with the Sanctity and Purity of the Evangelical Precepts, what a noble Idea does it give us of the Dignity and Excellence of the *Chriſtian* Religion?

CHAP. II.

Of the Government of Athens; *The Laws of* Solon; *The Hiſtory of the* Athenian *State to the Time of the War between the* Perſians, *and* Greeks; *Of the moſt celebrated Sages, Philoſophers, and Poets, amongſt the* Grecians.

TO come next to the *Athenians*, we have already obſerv'd, thoſe famous People were govern'd, at firſt, by Kings; but then theſe their Monarchs had little more than the Name of Sovereigns; for their whole Power, being confin'd to the Command of the Armies, vaniſh'd in Time of Peace. Every Man was Maſter in his own Houſe, where he lived in an abſolute State of Independence. *Codrus*, the laſt King of *Athens*, having devoted himſelf to die for the publick Good, his Sons, *Medon* and *Nileus* quarrel'd about the Succeſſion. The *Athenians* took this Occaſion to aboliſh the regal Power, though it did not much incommode them; and declar'd, that *Jupiter* alone was King of *Athens*; at the very ſame Time, that the *Jews* were weary of their *Theocracy*; that is, of having the true *God* for their King; and would abſolutely have a Man to reign over them.

Plutarch obſerves, that *Homer*, when he enumerates the Ships of the confederate *Grecians*, gives the Name of People to none, but the *Athenians*; from

from whence it may justly be inferred, that the *Athenians* even then had a great Inclination to a democratical Government, and that the chief Authority at that Time resided in the People.

In the Place of their Kings they substituted a kind of Governors for Life, under the Title of *Archontes*. But this perpetual Magistracy appear'd still in the Eyes of this free People, as too lively an Image of regal Power, the very Shadow of which they were desirous of abolishing; for which Reason, they first reduced that Office to the Term of ten Years, and then to that of one: And this they did with the View of resuming the Authority the more frequently into their own Hands, which they never transferred to their Magistrates, but with Regret.

Such a limited Power as this was not sufficient to restrain those turbulent Spirits, who were grown excessively jealous of their Liberty, and Independency; very apt to be offended at any Thing that seem'd to break in upon their Equality; and always ready to take Umbrage at every Thing that had the least Appearance of Dominion or Superiority. From hence arose continual Factions and Quarrels; there was no Agreement or Concord among them, either about Religion, or Government. *Athens*, therefore, continued a long Time incapable of enlarging her Power; it being very happy for her, that she could preserve herself from Ruin, in the Midst of those long and frequent Dissensions, which she had to combat.

In Time, Misfortunes make People see their Errors, and reform them; accordingly the *Athenians* learned, at length, that true Liberty consists in a Dependance upon Justice and Reason; which happy Subjection cou'd not be establish'd, by any but a Legislator; wherefore they pitch'd upon *Draco*, a Man of acknowledg'd Wisdom and Integrity, for that Employment; before his Time, it does not appear, that the *Grecians* had any written Laws. The first of that kind, then, were of his publishing; the Rigour of which anticipating, as it were, the Stoical Doctrine, was so great, that it punish'd the smallest Offence, as well as the most enormous Crimes, equally with Death; and the Reason he gave for this Severity was, *That the least Offence deserved Death, and for the greatest he could inflict nothing worse.*

These Laws of *Draco*, says *Demades*, written, not with Ink, but with Blood, had the same Fate, as usually attends all violent Things. Sentiments of Humanity in the Judges; Compassion for the Accused, whom they were wont to look upon rather as unfortunate, than criminal, and the Apprehensions the Accusers and Witnesses were under, of rendering themselves odious to the People; all these Motives concurred to produce a Remissness in the Execution of the Laws; which, by that Means, in Process of Time, became, as it were, abrogated through Disuse: And thus, an excessive Rigour paved the Way for Impunity.

However, the Danger of relapsing into their former Disorders, made the *Athenians* have Recourse to fresh Precautions; for they were willing to slacken the Curb, and Restraint of Fear, but not to break it. In order, then, to find out some Mitigation, which might make Amends for what they took away from the Letter of the Law, they cast their Eyes upon one of the wisest, and most virtuous Persons of that Age, we mean *Solon*; whose singular Qualities, and especially his great Meekness, had acquired him the Affection and Veneration of the whole City.

His main Application had been to the Study of Philosophy; and especially to that Part of it, which we call Polity, and which teaches the Art of Government. His extraordinary Merit gave him one of the first Ranks among the seven Sages or Wisemen of *Greece*, who render'd the Age we are speaking of so illustrious.

These Sages often pay'd Visits one to another; and once in Particular, whilst *Solon* was at *Miletos* visiting *Thales*, another of those Sages, he happen'd to tell him, that he wonder'd why he had never desir'd to have either Wife or Children. *Thales* made him no Answer just then; but a few Days after contrived, that a Stranger should come into their Company, and pretend he was newly arriv'd at *Athens*, from whence he had set out about ten Days before. *Solon*, hearing the Stranger say this, asked him, if there was no News at *Athens*, when he came away? The Stranger, who had been taught his Lesson, replied, that he had heard of nothing, but the Death of a young Gentleman, whom all the Town accompanied to the Grave; because, as they said, he was the Son of the worthiest Man in the City, who was then absent. Alas! cried *Solon*, interrupting the Man in his Story; how much is the poor Father of the Youth to be pitied! But, pray, what is the Gentleman's Name? I heard of his Name, replied the Stranger, but I have forgot it. I only remember, that People talk'd much of his Wisdom and Justice. Every Answer afforded new Matter of Trouble and Terror to this inquisitive Father, who was very justly alarm'd. Was it not, said he at length, the Son of *Solon?* The very same, replied the Stranger. *Solon* at these Words rent his Cloaths, and beat his Breast; and, expressing his Sorrow by Tears and Groans, gave himself up to the most sensible Affliction. *Thales*, seeing this, took him by the Hand, and said to him, with a Smile, "Comfort your self, my Friend; all, that has been "told you, is a mere Fiction. Now you see the "Reason why I never married: 'Tis because I don't "care to expose my self to such Trials and Afflic-"tions."

However, *Plutarch*, very justly, has given us a large Refutation, of this false Reasoning of *Thales*; which tended to deprive Mankind, of the most natural, and reasonable Endearments in Life; instead of which, the Heart of Man will not fail to substitute others of an unjust and unlawful Nature, which will expose him to no less Pains and Inconveniencies. The Remedy, says this Historian, against the Grief, that may arrive from the Loss of Gods, of Friends, or of Children, is not to throw away our Estates, and reduce our selves to Poverty; to make an absolute Renunciation of all Friendship; or, to confine our selves to a State of Celibacy; but, upon all such Accidents and Misfortunes, to make a right Use of our Reason.

To return to the *Athenians*, after having, for some Time, enjoy'd this Tranquillity and Peace, which had been procured them by the Prudence, and Courage of *Solon*, who was as great a Warriour as he was a Statesman, they relapsed into their former Dissensions, about the Government of the Commonwealth, and were divided into as many Parties, as there were different Sorts of Inhabi-

tants in *Attica*. For thoſe, that lived upon the Mountains, were fond of a popular Government; thoſe in the Low-lands, were for an Oligarchy; and thoſe, that dwelt on the Sea-coaſts, were for having a mixt Government, compounded of thoſe two Forms blended together; and theſe hindered the other two oppoſite Parties from getting the Advantage over one another. Beſides theſe, there was a fourth Party, which conſiſted only of the Poor, who were grievouſly harraſs'd and oppreſs'd by the Rich, on Account of their Debts, which they were not able to diſcharge. This unhappy Party was determined to chooſe themſelves a Chief, who ſhould deliver them from the inhuman Severity of their Creditors, and make an entire Change in the Form of their Government, by making a new Diviſion of the Lands.

In this extreme Danger all the wiſe *Athenians* caſt their Eyes upon *Solon*, who was obnoxious to neither Party; becauſe he had never ſided either with the Injuſtice of the Rich, or the Rebellion of the Poor; and they ſollicited him very much to take the Matter in Hand, and to endeavour to put an End to theſe Differences and Diſorders. He was very unwilling to take upon him ſo dangerous a Commiſſion; however, he was at laſt choſen *Archon*, and was conſtituted ſupreme Arbiter and Legiſlator, with the unanimous Conſent of both Parties; the Rich liking him, as he was rich; and the Poor, becauſe he was honeſt.

He now had it in his Power to make himſelf King; ſeveral of the Citizens adviſed him to it; and even the wiſeſt among them, not thinking it was in the Power of human Reaſon to bring about a favourable Change, conſiſtent with the Laws, were not unwilling the ſupreme Power ſhould be veſted in one Man, who was ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for his Prudence and Juſtice. But, notwithſtanding all the Remonſtrances that were made to him, and all the Solicitations and Reproaches of his Friends, who treated his Refuſal of the Diadem, as an Effect of his Cowardice and Want of Spirit, he was ſtill firm and unchangeable in his Purpoſe, and would hearken to no other Scheme, than that of ſettling ſuch a Form of Government, in his Country, as ſhould be founded upon the Baſis of a juſt and reaſonable Liberty. Not venturing, therefore, to meddle with certain Diſorders and Evils, which he looked upon as incurable, he undertook to bring about no other Alterations or Changes, than ſuch, as he thought he could perſuade the Citizens to comply with, by Argument and Reaſon; or bring them into, by the Weight of his Authority; wiſely mixing, as he himſelf ſaid, Authority and Power with Reaſon and Juſtice. Wherefore, when one afterwards asked him, if the Laws, which he had made for the *Athenians*, were the beſt: Yes, ſaid he, *the beſt they were capable of receiving*.

The Soul of popular Eſtates is Equality; but, for fear of diſguſting the Rich, *Solon* durſt not propoſe an Equality of Lands and Wealth; whereby *Attica*, as well as *Laconia*, would have reſembled a paternal Inheritance, divided among a Number of Brethren. However, he went ſo far as to put an End to the Slavery and Oppreſſion of thoſe poor Citizens, whoſe exceſſive Debts and accumulated Arrears had forced them to ſell their Perſons and Liberty, and reduce themſelves to a State of Servitude and Bondage. An expreſs Law was made, which declar'd all Debtors diſcharged and acquitted of all their Debts.

This Affair drew *Solon* into a troubleſome Scrape, which gave him a great Deal of Vexation and Concern. When he firſt determined to cancel the Debts, he foreſaw, that ſuch an Edict, which had ſomething in it contrary to Juſtice, would be extremely offenſive. For which Reaſon he endeavour'd in ſome Meaſure to rectify the Tenour of it, by introducing it with a ſpecious Preamble, which ſet forth a great many very plauſible Pretexts, and gave ſome Colour of Equity and Reaſon to a Law, which in Reality had neither. But, in order hereto, he firſt diſcloſed his Deſign to ſome particular Friends, whom he uſed to conſult in all his Affairs, and concerted with them the Form, and the Terms, in which this Edict ſhould be expreſſed.

Unfortunately, before it was publiſhed, theſe his Friends, who were more ſelf-intereſted than faithful, ſecretly borrowed great Sums of Money of their rich Acquaintance; which they laid out in purchaſing Lands, as knowing they would not be affected by the Edict. When this appear'd, the general Indignation, that was raiſed by ſuch a baſe and flagrant Knavery, fell upon *Solon*; tho' in Reality he had no Hand in it: But it is not enough for a Man in Place to be diſintereſted and upright himſelf; all, that ſurround and approach him, ought to be ſo too; Wife, Relations, Friends, Secretaries and Servants. The Faults of others are charged to his Account: All the Wrongs, all the Rapines, that are committed, either through his Negligence or Connivance, are juſtly imputed to him; becauſe it is his Buſineſs, and one of the principal Deſigns of his being put into ſuch a Truſt, to prevent thoſe Corruptions and Abuſes.

This Ordinance, at firſt, pleaſed neither of the two Parties; it diſguſted the Rich, becauſe it aboliſhed the Debts; and diſſatisfied the Poor, becauſe it did not ordain a new Diviſion of the Lands, as they had expected, and as *Lycurgus* had actually effected at *Sparta*. But *Solon*'s Credit at *Athens*, fell very ſhort of that Credit and Power which *Lycurgus* had acquired in *Sparta*; for he had no other Authority over the *Athenians*, than what the Reputation of his Wiſdom, and the Confidence the People had in his Integrity, had procured him. However, in a little Time afterwards, this Ordinance was generally approved of, and the ſame Powers, as before, were continued to *Solon*.

He next repealed all the Laws, that had been made by *Draco*, except thoſe againſt Murder. The Reaſon of his doing this, was the exceſſive Rigour of thoſe Laws, which inflicted Death equally upon all Sorts of Offenders; ſo that they who were convicted of Sloth and Idleneſs, or they that only had ſtolen a few Herbs, or a little Fruit, out of a Garden, were as ſeverely puniſhed, as thoſe that were guilty of Murder or Sacrilege.

Then he proceeded to the Regulation of Offices, Employments, and Magiſtracies, all which he left in the Hands of the Rich; for which Reaſon, he diſtributed all the rich Citizens into three Claſſes; ranging them according to the Differences of their Incomes and Revenues, and according to the Value and Eſtimation of each particular Man's Eſtate. Thoſe, that were found to have five hundred Meaſures *per Annum*, in Corn and Liquids, were placed in the firſt Rank; thoſe, that had three

three hundred, were placed in the ſecond; and thoſe, that had but two hundred made up the third.

All the reſt of the Citizens, whoſe Income fell ſhort of two hundred Meaſures, were comprized in a fourth and laſt Claſs, and were never admitted into any Employments. But, in order to make them ſome Amends for this Excluſion from Offices, he left them a Right to vote, in the Aſſemblies and Conventions of the People; which at firſt ſeem'd to be a Matter of little Benefit to them, but in Time became extremely advantageous, and made them Maſters of all the Affairs of the City: For moſt of the Law-ſuits and Differences return'd to the People, to whom an Appeal lay, from all the Judgments of the Magiſtrates: And, in the Aſſemblies of the People, likewiſe, were determined the greateſt and moſt important Affairs of the State, relating to Peace or War.

The *Areopagus*, ſo called from the Place where their Aſſemblies were held, had been a long Time eſtabliſhed. *Solon* ratified and augmented its Authority, leaving to that Tribunal, as the ſupreme Court of Judicature, a general Inſpection and Super-intendancy over all Affairs, as alſo the Care of cauſing the Laws (of which they were the Guardians) to be obſerved and put in Execution. Before his Time, the moſt honeſt and upright Men were made the Judges of the *Areopagus*. *Solon* was the firſt who thought it convenient, that none ſhould be honoured with that Dignity, ſave ſuch as had paſs'd through the Office of *Archon*. Nothing was ſo auguſt, as this Senate; and its Reputation, for Judgment and Integrity, became ſo very great, that the *Romans* ſometimes referred Cauſes, which were too intricate for their own Deciſion, to the Determination of this Tribunal.

Nothing was regarded, or attended to here, but Truth only; and to the End that no external Objects might divert the Attention of the Judges, their Aſſemblies were always held at Night, or in the Dark; and the Orators were not allow'd to make uſe of any Exordium, Digreſſion, or Peroration.

At the ſame Time *Solon*, to prevent, as much as poſſible, the Abuſe which the People might make of the great Authority he left in them, created a ſecond Council, conſiſting of four hundred Men, a hundred out of every Tribe; and ordered all Cauſes and Affairs to be brought before this Council, and to be maturely examined by them, before they were propoſed to the General Aſſembly of the People; to the Judgment of which the Sentiments of the other were to ſubmit, and to which alone belong'd the Right of giving a final Sentence and Deciſion. 'Twas upon this Subject *Anacharſis* (whom the Reputation of the Sages of *Greece* had drawn out of the Middle of *Scythia*) ſaid one Day to *Solon*, "I wonder you "ſhould empower the Wiſe-men only to delibe-"rate and debate upon Buſineſs, and leave the "Determination and Deciſion wholly to Fools."

Upon another Occaſion, when *Solon* was converſing with him upon ſome other Regulations he had in his Mind, *Anacharſis*, aſtoniſhed that he could expect to ſucceed in his Deſigns of curbing and reſtraining the Avarice and Injuſtice of the Citizens by written Laws, anſwer'd him in this Manner: "Give me leave to tell you, that your "Writings are juſt like Spiders-Webs: The Weak "and the poor People may be caught, and in-"tangled in them; but the rich, and power-"ful, will break through them, and deſpiſe "them."

Solon, who was an able, and prudent Man, was very ſenſible of the Inconveniencies, that attend a Democracy, or popular Government. But, having throughly ſtudy'd, and being perfectly well acquainted with the Character, and Diſpoſition of the *Athenians*, he knew it would be a vain Attempt, to take away the ſovereign Power from the People; and that, if they parted with it at one Time, they would ſoon reſume it at another, by Force, and Violence. He, therefore, contented himſelf with curbing, and checking their Power, by the Authority of the *Areopagus*, and the Council of four hundred; judging, that the State, being upheld, and ſecur'd, by theſe two powerful Bodies, as by two good Anchors, would not be liable to be ſo toſs'd, and diſturb'd, as it had been; and, that the People would be kept in greater Order, and Tranquility.

We ſhall only mention ſome of the Laws which *Solon* made, by which, our Readers may be able to form a Judgment of the Reſt. In the firſt Place, every particular Perſon was authoriz'd to eſpouſe the Quarrel of any one, who was injur'd, and inſulted; ſo that the firſt Comer might proſecute the Offender, and bring him to Juſtice, for the Outrage he had committed. The Deſign of this wiſe Legiſlator, by this Ordinance, was to accuſtom his Citizens to have a Fellow-Feeling of one another's Sufferings, and Misfortunes, as they were all Members of one, and the ſame Body.

By another Law, thoſe Perſons, who, in publick Differences, and Diſſenſions, did not declare themſelves of one Party, or other, but waited to ſee how Things would go, before they determin'd, were declar'd infamous, condemn'd to perpetual Baniſhment, and to have all their Eſtates confiſcated.

Solon had learn'd, from long Experience, and deep Reflexion, that the Rich, the Powerful, and even the Wiſe, and the Virtuous, are, uſually, the moſt backward, to expoſe themſelves to the Inconveniences, which publick Diſſenſions, and Troubles, produce in Society; and that their Zeal for the publick Good does not render them ſo vigilant, and active in the Defence of it, as the Paſſions of the Factious render them induſtrious to deſtroy it; that the honeſt Party, being thus abandon'd by thoſe, who are capable of giving moſt Weight, Authority, and Strength to it, by their Union, and Concurrence, becomes unable to grapple with the audacious, and violent Enterprizes of a few daring Innovators. To prevent this Misfortune, which may be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences to a State. *Solon* judg'd it proper to force the Well-affected, by the Fear of greater Inconveniencies to themſelves, to declare for the honeſt Party, at the very Beginning of Diſturbances; and to animate the Spirits, and Courage of the beſt Citizens, by engaging with them in the common Danger. By this Method of accuſtoming the Minds of the People, to look upon that Man, almoſt as an Enemy, and a Traytor, who ſhould appear indifferent to, and unconcern'd at, the Misfortunes of the Publick, he provided the State with a quick, and ſure Remedy,

medy, againſt the ſudden Enterprizes of wicked, and profligate Citizens.

At the ſame Time, he aboliſh'd the giving of Portions in Marriage with young Women, unleſs they were Only Daughters; and order'd, that the Bride ſhould carry no other Fortune to her Husband, than three Suits of Cloaths, and ſome few Houſhold-Goods of little Value: For, he would not have Matrimony become a Traffick, and a meer Commerce of Intereſt; but deſir'd, that it ſhould be regarded, as an honourable Fellowſhip, and Society; in order to raiſe Subjects to the State, to make the marry'd Pair live agreeably, and harmoniouſly together; and to give continual Teſtimonies of mutual Love, and Tenderneſs, to each other.

Before the Time of *Solon*, the *Athenians* were not allow'd to make their Wills: the Wealth of the Deceas'd always devolv'd upon his Children, and Family. The Law of *Solon* allow'd every one, who was Childleſs, to diſpoſe of his whole Eſtate, as he thought fit; preferring, by that Means, Friendſhip to Kindred; and Choice to Neceſſity, and Conſtraint; and rendering every Man truly Maſter of his own Fortune, by leaving him at Liberty to beſtow it where he pleas'd. This Law, however, did not authorize, indifferently, all Sorts of Donations: It juſtify'd, and approv'd of none, but thoſe that were made freely, and without any Compulſion; without having the Mind diſtemper'd, and intoxicated with Philtres, or Charms; or perverted, and ſeduc'd, by the Allurements, and Careſſes of a Woman: For, this wiſe Law-Giver was juſtly perſuaded, that there is no Difference to be made between being ſeduc'd, and being forc'd; looking upon Artifice, and Violence; Pleaſure, and Pain, in the ſame Light; when they are made Uſe of, as Means to impoſe upon the Reaſon of Men, and to influence their Underſtandings.

Another Regulation he made, was to leſſen the Rewards of the Victors, at the *Iſthmian*, and *Olympic* Games; and to fix them at a certain Value, *viz.* a hundred *Drachmata*, which make about forty Shillings, for the firſt Sort; and five hundred *Drachmata*, that is, about ten Pouds, for the ſecond. He thought it ſhameful, that Boxers, and Wreſtlers, a Sort of People, not only uſeleſs, but often dangerous to the State, ſhould have any conſiderable Rewards allotted them, which ought, rather, to be reſerv'd for the Families of thoſe Perſons, who dy'd in the Service of their Country; it being very juſt, and reaſonable, that the State ſhould ſupport, and provide for ſuch Orphans, who, probably, might come, in Time, to follow the good Examples of their Fathers.

In order to encourage Arts, Trades, and Manufactories, the Senate of *Areopagus* were charg'd with the Care of enquiring into the Ways, and Means, which every Man made Uſe of to get his Livelihood; and of chaſtiſing, and puniſhing all thoſe, who led an idle Life. Beſides, the foremention'd View, of bringing Arts, and Trades, into a flouriſhing Condition, this Regulation was founded upon two other Reaſons yet more important.

1. This wiſe Law Giver conſider'd, that ſuch Perſons, as have no Fortune, and make Uſe of no Methods of Induſtry to get their Livelihood, are ready to employ all Manner of unjuſt, and unlawful Means of getting Money; and that the Neceſſity of ſubſiſting ſome Way, or other, diſpoſes them for all Sorts of Miſdemeanors, Rapines, Knaveries, and Frauds: From hence there ſprings up a School of Vice in the Boſom of the Common-Wealth; and ſuch a Leaven is created therein, as does not fail to ſpread its Infection, and, by Degrees, corrupt the Manners of the Publick.

In the ſecond Place, the moſt able Stateſmen have always look'd upon theſe indigent, and idle Fellows, as a Troop of dangerous, reſtleſs, and turbulent Spirits, thirſting after Innovation, and Change; always prepar'd for Seditions, and Innovations; and particularly intereſted in Revolutions of the State, by which alone, they can hope to change their own Situation, and Fortune.

It was for all theſe Reaſons, that, in the Law before-mention'd, *Solon* declar'd, that a Son ſhould not be oblig'd to ſupport his Father in Old-Age, or Neceſſity, if the latter had not taken Care to have him brought up to ſome Trade, or Occupation: And all Children, that were ſpurious, and illegitimate, were exempted from the ſame Duty: For, 'tis evident, ſays *Solon*, that whoever contemns the Dignity, and Sanctity of Matrimony, to that Degree, has never had in his View, the lawful End we ought to propoſe to ourſelves in getting Children, but only meant to ſatisfy his own Luſt, and Paſſion. Having then ſatisfy'd his own Deſires, and had the End he propos'd to himſelf, he has no proper Right over the Perſons he begot; upon whoſe Lives, as well as Births, he has entail'd an indelible Infamy, and Reproach.

It was prohibited to ſpeak any Ill of the Dead; becauſe Religion directs us to account the Dead as ſacred: Juſtice requires us to ſpare thoſe who are no more; and good Policy ſhould hinder Hatreds from becoming immortal. It was alſo forbidden to affront, or give ill Language to any Body in the Temples, in Courts of Judicature, in publick Aſſemblies, and in the Theatres, during the Time of Repreſentation: For, to be no-where able to govern our Paſſions, and Reſentments, argues too untractable, and licentious a Diſpoſition; as to bridle them, at Times, and upon all Occaſions, is a Virtue, beyond the mere Force of human Nature; and a Perfection, which was reſerv'd for the Goſpel-Times.

Cicero obſerves, that this wiſe Legiſlator of *Athens*, whoſe Laws were ſtill in Force there, even in his Time, had provided no Law againſt Parricide; and, being ask'd the Reaſon why he had not? He anſwer'd, *That, to make Laws againſt, and ordain Puniſhments for a Crime, that had never been known, or heard of, was the Way to introduce it, rather than to prevent it.* We omit ſeveral of his Laws concerning Marriage, and Adultery, in which there are remarkable, and manifeſt Contradictions; and a great Mixture of Light, and Darkneſs; Knowledge, and Error; which we generally find among the very wiſeſt of the Heathens, who had no ſettled Principle, or Rule, to go by.

After *Solon* had publiſh'd his Laws, and had engag'd the People, by publick Oath, to obſerve them religiouſly, at leaſt, for the Term of a Hundred Years, he thought proper to remove from *Athens*; in order to give them Time to take Root, and to gather Strength, by Cuſtom; as alſo,

alſo, to rid himſelf of the Trouble, and Importunity of thoſe, who came to conſult him about the Senſe, and Meaning of his Laws, and to avoid the Complaints, and *Odium* of Others: For, as he ſaid himſelf, *In great Undertakings, it is hard (if not impoſſible) to pleaſe all Parties.* He was abſent ten Years, in which Interval of Time we are to place his Travels into *Egypt*; into *Lydia*, to viſit King *Cræſus*; and into ſeveral other Countries.

At his Return, he found the City all in Confuſion, and Tumult; the three old Factions were reviv'd, and had form'd three different Parties. *Lycurgus* was at the Head of the People that inhabited the low Lands; *Megacles*, the Son of *Alcmæon*, was the Leader of thoſe, who dwelt upon the Sea-Coaſt; and *Piſiſtratus* had declar'd for the Mountainiers; to whom were join'd the Handicraftſmen, and Labourers, who liv'd by their Induſtry; and whoſe chief Spleen was againſt the Rich: Of theſe three Leaders the two laſt were the moſt powerful, and conſiderable.

Megacles was the Son of that *Alcmæon*, whom *Cræſus* had graetly enrich'd for a particular Service he had done him. He had likewiſe marry'd a Lady, who had brought him an immenſe Portion: Her Name was *Agariſta*, the Daughter of *Cliſthenes*, Tyrant of *Sicyon*.

This *Cliſthenes* was, at that Time, the richeſt, and moſt opulent Prince in *Greece*: He was deſirous to chooſe a worthy Son-in-Law, and that he might know his Temper, Manners, and Character, from his own Experience, he invited all the young Noblemen of *Greece*, to ſpend a Year with him at his Houſe: For, this was an ancient Cuſtom in that Country. Several of them accepted the Invitation, and there came from different Parts, to the Number of Thirteen. There was nothing, every Day, but Races, Games, Tournaments, magnificent Entertainments, and Converſations upon all Sorts of Queſtions, and Subjects. One of the Gentlemen, who had before carry'd it, beyond all his Competitors, loſt the Princeſs, becauſe he had made Uſe of ſome indecent Geſtures, and Poſtures, in his Dancing, with which her Father was extreamly offended: Wherefore, *Cliſthenes*, at the End of the Year, declar'd for *Magacles*, and ſent the Reſt of the Noblemen away loaden with Civilities, and Preſents: This was the *Megacles*, of whom we are ſpeaking.

Piſiſtratus was a well-bred Man, of a gentle, and inſinuating Behaviour, ready to ſuccour, and aſſiſt the Poor; wiſe, and moderate towards his Enemies; the moſt artful, and acomcpliſhed Diſſembler; and one, who had all the Appearances of Virtue, even beyond the moſt virtuous; who ſeem'd to be the moſt zealous Stickler for Equality, among the Citizens; and who abſolutely declar'd againſt all Innovations, and Change. It was not very hard for him to impoſe upon the People, with all this Artifice, and Ability. But *Solon* quickly ſaw through his Diſguiſe, and perceiv'd the Drift of all his ſeeming Virtue, and fair Pretences: However, he thought fit to keep Meaſures with him, in the Beginning; hoping, perhaps, by gentle Methods, to bring him back to his Duty.

It was at this Time, *Theſpis* began to change the *Grecian* Tragedy: We ſay, change; becauſe it had been invented long before. This Novelty drew all the World to it. *Solon* went among the Reſt, for the Sake of hearing *Theſpis*; who acted himſelf, according to the Cuſtom of the ancient Poets. When the Play was ended, he call'd to *Theſpis*, and ask'd him, *Why he was not aſhamed to utter ſuch Lies before ſo many People? Theſpis* made Anſwer, *That there was no Harm in Lies of that Sort, and in poetical Fictions, which were only made for Diverſion. No*; (reply'd *Solon*) ſtriking hard with his Stick upon the Ground: *But, if we ſuffer, and approve of Lying for our Diverſion, it will quickly find its Way into our ſerious Contracts, and into all our Buſineſs, and Affairs.*

In the mean Time, *Piſiſtratus* ſtill puſh'd on his Point; and, in order to accompliſh it, made Uſe of a Stratagem, that ſucceeded, as well as he could expect. He gave himſelf ſeveral Wounds; and, in that Condition, with his Body all over bloody, made himſelf be carry'd in a Chariot into the Market-Place; where he rais'd, and inflam'd the Populace, by giving them to underſtand, that his Enemies had treated him at that Rate; and that he was the Victim of his Zeal for the publick Good.

An Aſſembly of the People was immediately conven'd: And there it was reſolv'd, in Spite of all the Remonſtrances *Solon* could make againſt it, that fifty Guards ſhould be allow'd *Piſiſtratus* for the Security of his Perſon. He ſoon augmented the Number, to as many as he thought fit; and, by their Means, made himſelf Maſter of the Citadel. All his Enemies betook themſelves to Flight, and the whole Body of the Citizens were in a great Conſternation, and Diſorder, except *Solon*; who loudly reproach'd the *Athenians* with their Cowardice, and Folly; and the Tyrant with his Treachery. And when he was ask'd, what it was, that gave him ſo much Firmneſs, and Reſolution? *My Old-Age*, ſaid he. He was, in Truth, very old; and did not ſeem to riſque much, being pretty near the Period of his Days: Though it often happens, however, that Men grow fonder of Life, in Proportion as they have the leſs Reaſon, and the leſs Right, to deſire it ſhould be prolong'd.

But *Piſiſtratus*, after he had ſubdu'd all, thought his Conqueſt incompleat, till he had gain'd *Solon*; and, as he was well acquainted with the Means, that are proper to engage an old Man, he treated him accordingly; omitting nothing, that could tend to ſoften, and win upon him; and ſhew'd him all poſſible Marks of Friendſhip, and Eſteem; doing him all Manner of Honour, having him often about his Perſon, and profeſſing a great Veneration for his Laws; which, in Truth, he both obſerv'd himſelf, and caus'd to be obſerv'd by Others. Hereupon, *Solon*, ſeeing it was impoſſible, either to bring *Piſiſtratus*, by fair Means, to quit his Uſurpation, or to depoſe him by Force; thought it a Piece of Prudence, not to exaſperate the Tyrant, by rejecting the Advances he made him; and hop'd, at the ſame Time, that, by entering into his Confidence, and Counſels, he might, at leaſt, be capable of directing a Power, which he could not aboliſh; and of mitigating the Miſchief, and Calamity, that he had not been able to prevent.

Solon did not ſurvive the Liberty of his Country two Years compleat; for, *Piſiſtratus* made

himself Master of *Athens*, under the *Archon Comias*, the first Year of the fifty-first *Olympiad*; and *Solon* dy'd the Year following, under the *Archon Hegestratus*, who succeeded *Comias*.

Some Time after, the two Parties, headed by *Lycurgus*, and *Megacles*, uniting, drove *Pisistratus* out of *Athens*; however, he was soon recall'd by *Megacles*, who gave him his Daughter in Marriage. But, a Difference, that arose, upon Occasion of this Match, having embroil'd them afresh, the *Alcmæonidæ* had the Worst of it, and were oblig'd to retire: *Pisistratus* was twice depos'd, and twice re-ascended the Throne. His Artifices rais'd him to it, and his Moderation maintain'd him therein; and, undoubtedly, his Eloquence, which, even in *Tully*'s Judgment, was very great, render'd him very acceptable to the *Athenians*, who were already too sensibly affected with the Charms of fine Language, since they made them forget the Care of their Liberty.

An exact Submission to the Laws, distinguish'd *Pisistratus* from most other Usurpers; and the Mildness of his Government was such, as might make many a lawful Sovereign blush. For which Reason, the Character of *Pisistratus* has been thought worthy to be set in Opposition to that of other Tyrants; and *Cicero*, doubting what Use *Cæsar* would make of his *Pharsalian* Victory, wrote to his dear Friend *Atticus*: *Incertum est* Phalarimne, *an* Pisistratum, *sit imitaturus*. It is uncertain, whether he will follow the Example of *Phalaris*, or *Pisistratus*.

This Tyrant, indeed, if we can properly call him so, always shew'd himself very popular, and moderate; and commanded his Temper so, as patiently to bear Reproaches, and Insults, when he had it in his Power to revenge them with a Word. His Gardens, and Orchards, were open to all the Citizens; in which he was afterwards imitated by *Cimon*; and it is said, was the first, who open'd a publick Library in *Athens*, which after his Time, was much augmented; and, at last, carry'd into *Persia*, by *Xerxes*, when he took the City: But *Seleucus Nicanor*, a long Time afterwards, restor'd it to *Athens*. *Cicero* thinks also, it was *Pisistratus*, who first made the *Athenians* acquainted with the Poems of *Homer*; who dispos'd the Books into the Order we now find them; whereas, before, they were confus'd, and not digested into Order; and who first caus'd them to be publickly read at their Feasts, call'd, *Panathenæa*: *Plato* ascribes this Honour to his Son *Hipparchus*. At last, after a long Reign, *Pisistratus* dy'd in Tranquility, and transmitted to his Sons the sovereign Power, which he had usurp'd thirty Years before; seventeen of which he had reign'd in Peace, and Quietness.

His Sons were, *Hippias*, and *Hipparchus*. *Thucydides* adds a Third, which he calls *Thessalus*. They seem'd to have inherited, from their Father, an Affection for Learning, and learned Men. *Plato*, who attributes to *Hipparchus*, what we have said concerning the Poems of *Homer*, adds, that he invited to *Athens* the Poet *Anacreon*, who was of *Teos*, a City of *Ionia*; and, that he sent a Vessel of fifty Oars, on Purpose for him. He likewise entertain'd at his House, *Simonides*, another famous Poet, of the Isle of *Ceos*, one of the *Cyclades*, in the *Ægean* Sea, to whom he gave a large Pension, and made very rich Presents. The Design of these Princes, in inviting Men of Letters to *Athens*, was (says *Plato*) to soften, and cultivate the Minds of the Citizens; and to infuse into them a Relish, and Love for Virtue, by giving them a Taste for Learning, and the Sciences. Their Care extended, even to the instructing of the Peasants, and Country-People, by erecting, not only in the Streets of the City, but in all the Roads, and High-Ways, Statues of Stone, call'd *Mercuries*, with grave Sentences carv'd upon them; and thus did these silent Monitors give instructive Lessons to all Passengers. *Plato* seems to suppose, that *Hipparchus* had a joint Authority, or, that the two Brothers reign'd together. But *Thucydides* proves, that *Hippias*, as the eldest of the Sons, succeeded his Father in the Government. Be that as it will, their Reign, in the Whole, after the Death of *Pisistratus*, did not last above eighteen Years; and what put an End to their Dominion, was as follows:

Harmodius, and *Aristogiton*, both Citizens of *Athens*, were link'd together in a close Friendship. *Hipparchus*, angry with the first, for a personal Affront he pretended to have receiv'd from him, sought to revenge himself upon his Sister, by putting a publick Affront upon her; which he did, by obliging her shamefully to retire from a solemn Procession, in which she was to carry a sacred Basket; alledging, that she was not in a fit Condition to assist at such a Ceremony. Her Brother, and his Friend, being both stung to the quick by so gross, and outragious an Affront, took, from that Moment, a Resolution to attack the Tyrants: And, to do it the more effectually, they waited for the Opportunity of a Festival, which they judg'd would be very favourable for their Purpose; this Feast was that of the *Panathenæa*, where the Ceremony requir'd, that all the Tradesmen, and Artificers, should be in Arms. For the greater Security, they only admitted a very small Nnmber of the Citizens into their Secret; reckoning, that, upon the first Motion, all the Rest would join them; and, on the Day appointed, they went betimes into the Market-Place, arm'd with their Poniards. *Hippias* came out of the Palace, and went to the *Ceramicum*, which was a Place without the City, where the Company of Guards then were; and there he gave the necessary Orders for the Ceremony. The two Friends follow'd him thither, and coming near him, they saw one of the Conspirators talking very familiarly with him; which made them apprehend they were betray'd. However, they could have executed their Design, that Moment, upon *Hippias*; but they were willing to begin their Vengeance upon the Author of the Affront, which had provok'd them: Therefore, they return'd into the City, where, meeting with *Hipparchus*, they kill'd him; but, being immediately apprehended, they themselves were slain, and *Hippias* found Means to dissipate this Storm.

After this Affair, he kept no Measures, and reign'd truly like a Tyrant, putting to Death a vast Number of Citizens. To guard himself, for the future, against such another Enterprize, and to secure a safe Retreat for himself, in Case of any Accident, he endeavour'd to strengthen himself, by a foreign Support, and Alliance; and, to that End, gave his Daughter in Marriage to the Son of the Tyrant of *Lampsacus*.

In

In the mean Time, the *Alcmæonidæ*, who from the Beginning of the Revolution had been baniſh'd from *Athens* by *Piſiſtratus*, and who ſaw their Hopes fruſtrated by the bad Succeſs of the laſt Conſpiracy, did not, however, loſe Courage, but turned their Views another Way. As they were very rich and powerful, they procured themſelves to be choſen and appointed by the *Amphictyones*, that is, the Heads of the grand or general Council of *Greece*, for the undertaking and compleating the Building of the Temple of *Delphos*, for the Sum of three hundred Talents, that is, about Fifty thouſand Pounds. As they were generous in their Tempers, and beſides had their Reaſons for being ſo on this Occaſion, they added to this Sum a great deal of their own Money; and made the whole Frontiſpiece of the Temple all of *Parian* Marble, at their own particular Expence; whereas, by the Contract made with the *Amphictyones*, it was only to have been of common Stone.

This Liberality of the *Alcmæonidæ* was not altogether a free Bounty; neither was their Magnificence towards the God of *Delphos*, a pure Effect of Religion, as we have already hinted; Policy was their chief Motive: They hoped, by this Means, to gain a great Credit and Influence in the Temple; which happen'd according to their Expectation. The Money, which they had plentifully poured into the Hands of the Prieſteſs, render'd them abſolute Maſters of the Oracle, and of the pretended God, who preſided over it; ſo that, for the Future, becoming their Echo, he did no more than faithfully repeat the Words they dictated to him, and gratefully lend them the Aſſiſtance of his Voice and Authority.

As often then as any *Spartan* came to conſult the Prieſteſs, whether upon his own Account, or upon that of the State, no Promiſe was ever made him of the God's Aſſiſtance, but upon Condition, that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould deliver *Athens* from the Yoke of its Tyranny. This Order was ſo often repeated to them by the Oracle, that they reſolved, at laſt, to make War againſt the *Piſiſtratides*, though they were linked in the ſtrongeſt Engagements of Friendſhip and Hoſpitality with them; herein preferring the Will of God, ſays *Herodotus*, to all human Conſiderations.

The firſt Attempt of this Kind miſcarried; and the Troops they ſent againſt the Tyrant, were repulſed with Loſs: Notwithſtanding which, a little Time after, they made a ſecond Attempt, which ſeemed to promiſe no better an Iſſue than the firſt; becauſe the *Lacedæmonians*, ſeeing the Siege they had laid before *Athens* likely to hold out a great While, were moſt of them retired; and had only a ſmall Number of Troops left, to carry it on. But the Tyrant's Children, who had been clandeſtinely convey'd out of the City, in Order to be put into a ſafe Place, being taken by the Enemy, the Father, to redeem them, was obliged to come to an Accommodation with the *Athenians*; by which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould depart out of *Attica*, in five Days Time. He did actually retire, accordingly, within the Time limited; and ſettled at *Sigæum*, a Town in *Phrygia*, ſeated at the Mouth of the River *Scamander*. *Pliny* obſerves, that the Tyrants were driven out of *Athens*, the ſame Year the Kings were expelled *Rome*.

Extraordinary Honours were paid to the Memory of *Harmodius*, and *Ariſtogiton*: Their Names were infinitely reſpected at *Athens*, in all ſucceeding Ages; and almoſt held in equal Reverence with thoſe of the Gods. Statues were forthwith erected to them, in the Market-place, which was an Honour, that never had been render'd to any Man before. The very Sight of theſe Statues, expoſed to the View of all the Citizens, kept up their Hatred and Deteſtation of Tyranny, and daily renewed their Sentiments of Gratitude to thoſe generous Defenders of their Liberty, who had not ſcrupled to purchaſe it with their Lives, and to ſeal it with their Blood. Hereupon, *Alexander the Great*, who knew how dear the Memory of theſe Men were to the *Athenians*, and how far they carried their Zeal in this Reſpect, thought he did them a ſenſible Pleaſure, in ſending them the Statues of thoſe two great Men, which he found in *Perſia*, after the Defeat of *Darius*; and which *Xerxes* before had tranſported thither, from *Athens*.

But the *Athenians*, at the Time of their Deliverance from Tyranny, did not confine their Gratitude ſolely to the Authors of their Liberty; they extended it even to a Woman, who had ſignalized her Courage on that Occaſion. This was a Courteſan, named *Læna*, who, by the Charms of her Beauty, and Skill in playing on the Harp, had particularly captivated *Harmodius*, and *Ariſtogiton*. After their Death, the Tyrant, who knew they had concealed nothing from this Woman, cauſed her to be put to the Torture, order to make her declare the Names of the other Conſpirators. But ſhe bore all the Cruelty of the Torture with an invincible Conſtancy, and expired in the Midſt of the Torments; glorioufly ſhewing the World, that her Sex is more couragious, and more capable of keeping a Secret, than ſome Men imagine. The *Athenians* would not ſuffer the Memory of ſo glorious an Action to be loſt: And, to prevent the Luſtre of it from being ſullied by the Conſideration of her Character as a Courteſan, they endeavoured conceal that Circumſtance, by repreſenting her in a Statue, which they erected to her Honour, under the Figure of a Lioneſs, without a Tongue; her Name, in the *Greek*, ſignifying a Lioneſs.

Beſides this, *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Ariſtides*, relates a Thing, which does great Honour to the *Athenians*, and which ſhews to what a Pitch they carrid their Gratitude to their Deliverer; and their Reſpect for his Memory. They had heard, that the Grand-daughter of *Ariſtogiton* was at *Lemnos*, where ſhe lived in very mean and poor Circumſtances, no-body being willing to marry her, by Reaſon of her extreme Indigence and Poverty. The People of *Athens* therefore, ſent for her; and marrying her to one of the moſt rich and conſiderable Men of their City, gave her, as her Portion, an Eſtate in the Town of *Potamos*.

The *Athenians*, in recovering their Liberty, ſeemed alſo to have recovered their Courage. Under the Reigns of their Tyrants, they had been indolent, and unactive, as knowing they did not labour for themſelves, but for the Uſurpers; but after their Deliverance from Tyranny, they exerted themſelves with a different Vigour and Activity; becauſe, then, they laboured for themſelves.

They did not, however, immediately enjoy a perfect Tranquillity. Two of their Citizens, *Cliſthenes*, one of the *Alcmæonidæ*, and *Iſagoras*, who were Men of the greateſt Credit and Power in the City, by contending with each other for Superiority,

ty, created two conſiderable Factions. The former, who had gained the People on his Side, made an Alteration in the Form of their Eſtabliſhment; and inſtead of four Tribes, whereof they conſiſted before, divided that Body into ten Tribes, to which he gave the Names of the ten Sons of *Ion*, whom the *Greek* Hiſtorians make the Father and firſt Founder of the Nation: Whereupon *Iſagoras*, ſeeing himſelf inferior in Credit to his Rival, had Recourſe to the *Lacedemonians*; and *Cleomenes*, one of the two Kings of *Sparta*, obliged *Cliſthenes* to depart from *Athens*, with Seven Hundred Families of his Adherents. But they ſhortly returned, and were reſtored to all their Eſtates and Fortunes, to the no ſmall Mortification of their Adverſaries.

In the mean While, the *Lacedemonians*, ſtung with Spight and Jealouſy againſt *Athens*, becauſe ſhe took upon her to act independent of their Authority; and repenting likewiſe, that they had delivered her from her Tyrants, upon the Credit of an Oracle, of which they had ſince diſcovered the Impoſture, began to think of reſtoring *Hippias*, one of the Sons of *Piſiſtratus*, to the *Athenian* Throne; and to that End ſent for him, from *Sigæum*, where he had retired. They then communicated their Deſign to the Deputies of their *Allies*, by whoſe Aſſiſtance and Concurrence they propoſed to accompliſh their Enterprize.

The Deputy of *Corinth* ſpoke firſt on this Occaſion, and expreſſed great Aſtoniſhment, that the *Lacedemonians*, who were themſelves avow'd Enemies to Tyranny, and profeſs'd the greateſt Abhorrence of all arbitrary Government, ſhould deſire to eſtabliſh it elſewhere; and deſcribing at the ſame Time, in a lively Manner, all the cruel and horrid Effects of a tyrannical Dominion, as his own Country *Corinth* had but very lately felt by woeful Experience. The Reſt of the Deputies applauding his Diſcourſe, and being of his Opinion, the intended Enterprize dropt to the Ground; and had no other Effect, but to diſcover the baſe Jealouſy of the *Lacedemonians*, and to cover them with Shame and Confuſion, in finding it generally diſapproved, and abhorred.

Hippias being thus defeated of his Hopes, retir'd into *Aſia*, to *Artaphernes*, Governour of *Sardis* for the King of *Perſia*; whom he endeavoured by all Manner of Means, to engage in a War againſt *Athens*, by repreſenting to him, that the taking of ſo rich and powerful a City would render him Maſter of all *Greece*. Hereupon, *Artaphernes* required of the *Athenians*, that they would reſtore *Hippias* to the Throne; to which they made no other Anſwer, but by a downright and abſolute Refuſal: This was the original Ground and Occaſion of the Wars between the *Perſians* and the *Greeks*; whereof we ſhall treat hereafter: But, firſt, let us give a ſhort Account of thoſe eminent Poets, Sages, and Philoſophers, whoſe Works rendered *Greece* ſo famous; and to whoſe Writing all After-Ages have been indebted for the greateſt Part of their Learning, which was derived from thence.

Amongſt theſe, *Homer* certainly claims juſtly the firſt Place, not only as he is the moſt celebrated and illuſtrious of all the Poets; but as he is the moſt ancient, and was as great a Philoſopher as he was a Poet: And yet, of this great Man, we have the leaſt Knowledge, both with Reſpect to the Place where he was born, and the Time wherein he lived. Of the ſeven Cities that contended for the Honour of having given him Birth, *Smyrna* ſeems to have the beſt Title to that glorious Claim. Be that as it will, this juſt Obſervation has been made of this their Contention, that *though they ſtrove to claim him when dead, they ſuffered him to beg his Bread through them, when living.* However, *Herodotus* tells us, that *Homer* wrote four hundred Years before his Time; that is, three hundred and forty Years after the taking of *Troy*: For *Herodotus* flouriſhed ſeven hundred and forty Years after that Expedition.

Some Authors have pretended, that he was called *Homer*, becauſe he was born blind. But *Velleius Paterculus* juſtly rejects this Story with Contempt. "If any Man, ſays he, believes, that *Homer* was born blind, he muſt be ſo himſelf; and "even deprived of all his Senſes." Indeed, according to the Obſervation of *Cicero*, *Homer*'s Works are rather Pictures, than Poems; ſo perfectly does he paint to the Life, and ſet the Images of every Thing, he undertakes to deſcribe, before the Eyes of the Reader: And he ſeems to have made it his Buſineſs to bring all the moſt delightful and agreeable Objects, that Nature affords, into his Writings, and to make them paſs, as it were, in Review before his Readers.

What is moſt aſtoniſhing in this Poet, is, that having applied himſelf the firſt, at leaſt of thoſe that are known, to that Kind of Poetry, which is the moſt ſublime and difficult of all, he ſhould yet ſoar ſo high, and with ſuch a Rapidity, at the firſt Flight, as it were, and carry it at once to the utmoſt Pitch of Perfection; which we never ſee any one attain to in other Arts, but by ſlow Degrees, and after a long Series of Years. This Sort of Poetry is the epick Poem, ſo called from the *Greek* Word *Epos*; becauſe it is ſome Action that is related by the Poet. The Subject of this Poem muſt be great, inſtructive, ſerious; containing only one principal Event, to which all the reſt muſt refer, and be ſubordinate; and this principal Action muſt have paſs'd in a certain Space of Time, which muſt not exceed a Year at moſt.

Homer has compoſed two Poems of this Kind, namely, the *Iliad* and the *Odyſſey*: The Subject of the firſt, is the Anger of *Achilles*, ſo pernicious to the *Greeks*, when they beſieg'd *Ilion*, or *Troy*; and that of the ſecond, is the Voyages and Adventures of *Ulyſſes*, after the taking of that City: And it is remarkable, that no Nation in the World, however learned and ingenious, has ever produced any Poems of equal Merit, and Excellence; and that whoever have attempted any Works of that Kind, have taken their Plan and Ideas from *Homer*, drawn all their Rules out of his Compoſitions, made him their Model and Pattern; and have only ſo far ſucceeded, as they have followed and imitated that great Leader. The Truth is, *Homer* was an Original Genius, and fit for others to be formed upon: *Fons ingeniorum Homerus.* His Works are a perfect Fund of all Sorts of Learning, and Arts.

All the greateſt Men, and the moſt exalted Genius's, that have appeared for theſe two thouſand and five or ſix hundred Years, in *Greece*, *Italy*, and elſewhere; thoſe, whoſe Writings we are forced ſtill to admire; thoſe, who are ſtill our Maſters, and who teach us to think, to reaſon, to ſpeak and to write; all theſe, ſays Madam *Dacier*, acknowledge *Homer* to be the greateſt of Poets, and look upon his Poems, as the Model for all ſucceeding

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Poets to form their Taſte and Judgment upon. After all this, can there be any Man ſo conceited of his own Talents, be they never ſo great, as reaſonably to preſume, that his Opinion ſhould prevail, againſt ſuch an univerſal Concurrence in Judgment of Perſons of the moſt diſtinguiſhed Abilities and Characters?

So many Teſtimonies, ſo ancient, ſo conſtant, and ſo univerſal, very fully juſtify the favourable Judgment given by *Alexander* the *Great*, of the Works of *Homer*; which he look'd upon as the moſt excellent and valuable Production of human Wit; *pretioſiſſimum humani animi opus.*

Quintilian, after having made a magnificent Encomium upon *Homer*, gives us a juſt Idea of his Character, and Manner of Writing, in theſe few Words: *Hunc nemo in magnis ſublimitate, in parvis proprietate ſuperavit. Idem lætus ac preſſus, jucundus & gravis, tum copia tum brevitate mirabilis.*

Heſiod, for Antiquity, is generally placed next to *Homer*; and the moſt common Opinion of him is, that he was co-temporary with that great Poet. 'Tis ſaid, he was born at *Cuma*, a Town in *Æolis*, but that he was brought up at *Aſcra*, a little Town in *Bœotia*, which has ſince paſs'd for his native Country. Thus *Virgil* calls him the old Man of *Aſcra*. We know little or nothing of this Poet, but by the few Poems remaining of his, all in Hexameter Verſe; which are, 1ſt, *The Works and the Days*; 2dly, *The Theogony*, or the Genealogy of the Gods; 3dly, *The Shield of Hercules*: Though there is ſome Doubt, whether this laſt was written by *Heſiod* or not.

1. In the firſt of theſe Poems, entitled, *The Works and the Days*, *Heſiod* treats of Agriculture, which requires, beſides a great deal of Labour, a prudent Obſervation of Times, Seaſons, and Days. This Poem is full of excellent Sentences and Maxims for the Conduct of Life. He begins it with a ſhort, but lively Deſcription, of two Sorts of Diſputes; the one fatal to Mankind, the Source of Quarrels, Diſcords, and Wars; and the other infinitely uſeful, and beneficial to Men, as it ſharpens their Wits, excites a noble and generous Emulation among them, and prepares the Way for the Invention and Improvement of Arts and Sciences. He then makes an admirable Deſcription of the four different Ages of the World; the golden, ſilver, brazen, and iron Age. The Perſons, who lived in the golden Age, are thoſe, whom *Jupiter*, after their Death, turn'd into ſo many Genii, or, Guardian Spirits, and then appointed them as Inſpectors over Mankind; giving them a Commiſſion to go up and down the Earth, inviſible to the Sight of Men, and to obſerve all their good and evil Actions, and render an Account thereof.

This Poem ſerved *Virgil*, as a Pattern, when he compoſed his *Georgicks*, as he himſelf acknowledges in this Verſe.

Aſcræumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

The Choice made by theſe two illuſtrious Poets, of this Subject, to exerciſe their poetical Talents upon, ſhews, in what Honour the Ancients held Agriculture, and the feeding of Cattle, the two natural and innocent Sources of Wealth and Plenty. 'Tis a very unhappy Thing, that in After-ages, Men fell off from this Taſte, which is ſo agreeable to Nature, and ſo well adapted to the Preſervation of Innocence and good Manners. Avarice and Luxury have entirely ſtifled this primitive Inclination. *Nimirum alii ſubiere ritus, circaque alia mentes hominum detinentur, & avaritiæ tantùm artes coluntur*, ſays *Pliny*.

2. *The Theogony* of *Heſiod*, and the Poems of *Homer*, may be look'd upon as the ſureſt and moſt authentick Archives, and Monuments, of the Theology of the Ancients, and of the Opinion they had of their Gods. For we are not to believe, that theſe Poets were the Inventors of thoſe Fables, which we read in their Writings. They only gather'd together, and tranſmitted to Poſterity, the Traces of the Religion, which they found eſtabliſhed, and which prevailed in their Time and Country.

3. *The Shield of* Hercules, is a ſeparate Fragment of a Poem, wherein it is pretended, *Heſiod* celebrated the moſt illuſtrious Heroines of Antiquity: And it bears that Title, becauſe it contains, among other Things, a long Deſcription of the Shield of *Hercules*, concerning whom the ſame Poem relates a particular Adventure.

The Poetry of *Heſiod*, in thoſe Places that are ſuſceptible of Ornament, is very elegant and delightful, but not ſo ſublime and Lofty as that of *Homer*. Accordingly *Quintilian* juſtly reckons him only the Chief of the ſecond rate Poets. *Datur ei palma in illo medio dicendi genere.*

Next theſe we ſhall place *Archilochus*, the Inventor of the *Iambick* Verſe, who was born in *Paros*, and lived in the Time of *Candaules*, King of *Lydia*. He has this Advantage in common with *Homer*, according to *Velleius Paterculus*; that he carried at once that kind of Poetry, which he invented, to its greateſt Perfection. The Feet, which gave their Name to theſe Verſes, and which at firſt were the only Sort uſed, are compoſed of one ſhort, and one long Syllable. The *Iambick* Verſe, ſuch as it was invented by *Archilocus*, ſeems very proper for a vehement and energick Style: Accordingly we ſee, that *Horace*, ſpeaking of this Poet, ſays, that 'twas his Anger, or rather his Rage, that arm'd him with his *Iambicks*, for the exerciſing and exerting of his Vengeance.

Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.

Quintilian ſays, he had an uncommon Force of Expreſſion; was full of bold Thoughts, and of thoſe Strokes that are ſhort, but keen and piercing; in a Word, that his Style was ſtrong and nervous: But his Verſes were extremely biting and licentious; witneſs thoſe he wrote againſt *Lycambes*, his Father-in-Law, which drove him into Deſpair. For this twofold Reaſon, his Poetry, how excellent ſoever it was reckon'd in other Reſpects, was baniſhed out of *Sparta*; as being more likely to corrupt the Hearts and Manners of young People, than to be uſeful towards the cultivating of their Underſtanding. We have remaining of this Poet only ſome very ſhort Fragments. Such a Niceneſs in a *Heathen* People, about the Quality of the Books, which they thought young People ſhould be permitted to read, is highly worthy our Notice; and will one Day, be an Article of Condemnation againſt many *Chriſtians*, who are very remiſs in that Point.

Next to him we ſhall place *Hipponax*, who was of *Epheſus*, becauſe he ſignalized his Wit, ſome Years after *Archilochus*, in the ſame kind of Poetry; and with the ſame Force and Vehemence. It is thought he invented the *Scazon* Verſe, in which the *Spondee* is put inſtead of the *Iambick*, in the ſixth Foot of the Verſe that bears that Name.

Steſichorus next demands our Attention; who was of *Himera*, a Town in *Sicily*, and excell'd in *Lyrick* Poetry: As did alſo the other Poets we ſhall mention preſently. *Lyrick* Poetry, is that, whoſe Verſes, digeſted into Odes and Stanzas, were ſung to the Lyre, or to other ſuch-like Inſtruments, *Steſichorus* flouriſh'd betwixt the thirty-ſeventh and forty-ſeventh *Olympiad*. *Pauſanias*, after many other Fables, relates, how *Steſichorus*, having been puniſh'd with Loſs of Sight, for his biting ſatirical Verſes againſt *Helena*, did not recover it, till he had retracted his Invectives, by writing another Ode contrary to the firſt: Which latter kind of Ode is ſince call'd *Palinodia*. But *Quintilian* ſays, that he ſung of Wars and illuſtrious Heroes, and that he ſupported upon the Lyre, all the Dignity and Majeſty of *Epic* Poetry.

Of *Alcman*, another of the *Lyrick* Poets, we know little, but that he was of *Lacedæmon*; or, as ſome will have it, of *Sardis* in *Lydia*; and lived much about the ſame Time, as *Steſichorus*. Some make him the firſt Author of amorous Verſes; though this agrees not with the Character of a Poet of *Lacedæmon*.

The Memory of *Alcæus* has been better preſerved, and with good Reaſon, as he was one of the moſt eminent of the *Lyrick* Poets. His native Town was *Mitylene* in *Lesbos*; and 'tis from him, that the *Alcaick* Verſe derived its Name. He was a profeſs'd Enemy to the Tyrants of *Lesbos*; and particularly to *Pittacus*; againſt whom he perpetually inveighed in his Verſes. It is ſaid of him, that being once in a Battle, he was ſeized with ſuch a panick Fright, that he threw down his Arms, and ran away; and *Horace* has thought fit to give us the ſame Account of himſelf: Poets don't value themſelves ſo much upon Proweſs, as upon Wit. *Quintilian* ſays, that the Style of *Alcæus* was cloſe, magnificent, and accurate; and, to compleat his Character, adds, that he very much reſembled *Homer*.

Sappho next demands our Attention, as ſhe was of the ſame Place, and lived at the ſame Time with *Alcæus*. The *Sapphick* Verſe took its Name from her. She compoſed a pretty conſiderable Number of Poems, of which there are but two remaining; which are ſufficient to ſatisfy us, that the Praiſes, aſcrib'd to her in all Ages, for the Beauty, Tenderneſs, Numbers, Harmony, and infinite Graces of her Poetry, are not without Foundation. As a further Proof of her Merit, ſhe was call'd the Tenth Muſe; and the People of *Mitylene* engraved her Image upon their Money. It were to be wiſhed, that the Purity of her Manners had correſponded with the Beauty of her Genius; and that ſhe had not diſhonour'd her Sex by her Vices and Irregularities.

The laſt we ſhall mention, though for his Merit he requires one of the firſt Places, is *Anacreon*; who was of *Teos*, a City of *Ionia*, and lived in the ſeventy ſecond *Olympiad*. He ſpent great Part of his Time at the Court of *Polycrates*, that happy Tyrant of *Samos*; and not only ſhared in all his Pleaſures, but was of his Council too. *Plato* tells us, that *Hipparchus*, one of the Sons of *Piſiſtratus*, ſent a Veſſel of fifty Oars to *Anacreon*, and writ him a moſt obliging Letter, intreating him to come to *Athens*; where his excellent Works would be eſteem'd, and reliſh'd as they deſerved. It is ſaid, the only Study of this Poet was Joy and Pleaſure: And thoſe Remains we have of his Poetry, do pretty well atteſt it. We ſee plainly in all his Verſes, that his Hand writes what his Heart feels and dictates. There is ſuch an Elegance and Delicacy in his Poems, as are not to be expreſs'd: Nothing could be more valuable, had they been written upon a better Subject.

Next to the Poets, we ſhall place the Seven Sages, called, by Way of Eminence, the SEVEN WISE-MEN of *Greece*, who are too famous in Antiquity to be omitted in this Hiſtory. There Lives are written by *Diogenes Laertius*: Of theſe, if *Cicero* is to be believed, *Thales* was the moſt illuſtrious. It was he, that laid the firſt Foundations of Philoſophy in *Greece*, and founded the Sect, call'd the *Ionick* Sect; becauſe he, who was the Founder of it, was born at *Miletos* in *Ionia*. He held Water to be the firſt Principle of all Things; and that *God* was that intelligent Being, by which all Things were formed of Water. The firſt of theſe Opinions he had taken from the *Egyptians*; who, ſeeing the *Nile* to be the Cauſe of the Fertility of all their Lands, might eaſily imagine from thence, that Water was the firſt Principle from whence all other Things ſprung.

He was alſo the firſt of the *Greeks*, that ſtudied Aſtronomy; wherein he made ſo great a Progreſs, that he exactly foretold the Time, of the Eclipſe of the Sun, that happen'd in the Reign of *Aſtyages*, King of *Media*, whereof Mention has been made already. He fix'd the Term and Duration of the Solar Year among the *Grecians*. By comparing the Bigneſs of the Sun's Body with that of the Moon, he thought he had diſcover'd, that the Body of the Moon was in Solidity but the 720th Part of the Sun's Body; and conſequently, that the ſolid Body of the Sun was ſeven hundred Times bigger than the ſolid Body of the Moon. This Computation, however, is very far from being exact; ſince the Sun's Solidity exceeds, not only ſeven hundred, but many Millions of Times, the Moon's Bigneſs or Solidity. But we know, that in all theſe Matters, and particularly in that of which we are now ſpeaking, the firſt Obſervations and Diſcoveries were very imperfect, and erroneous.

When *Thales* travell'd into *Egypt*, he found an eaſy and certain Way to take the exact Height of the Pyramids, by obſerving the Time, when the Shadow of our Body, is equal in Length to the Height of the Body itſelf: And to ſhew, that Philoſophers were not ſo deſtitute, of that Sort of Talents and Capacity, which is proper for Buſineſs, as ſome People imagin'd; and that they would be as ſucceſsful as others, in growing rich, if they had a Mind to apply themſelves that Way, he bought the Fruit of all the Olive-trees, in the Territory of *Miletos*, before they were in Bloſſoms. The profound Knowledge he had of Nature had probably enabled him to foreſee that the Year would be extremely fertile: It proved ſo in Effect; and he made a conſiderable Profit of his Bargain.

He

He uſed to thank the Gods for three Things; that he was born a *reaſonable Creature*, and not a *Beaſt*; a *Man*, and not a *Woman*; a *Greek*, and not a *Barbarian*. Upon his Mother's preſſing him to marry, when he was young, he told her, it was then *too ſoon*; and after ſeveral Years were elapſed, he told her, it was then *too late*.

As he was one Day walking, and very attentively contemplating the Stars, he chanced to fall into a Ditch. *Ha!* ſays a good old Woman to him, that was by, *how will you perceive what paſſes in the Heavens, and what is ſo infinitely above your Head, if you cannot ſee what is juſt at your Feet, and before you?* He was born the firſt Year of the thirty-fifth, and died the firſt Year of the fifty-eighth *Olympiad*; conſequently, he lived to be above ninety Years of Age.

We have already given an ample Account of the Life of *Solon*, wherefore we ſhall proceed to *Chilo*, who was a *Lacedæmonian*, and of whom we have very few Things recorded. *Æſop* asking him on Day, what *Jupiter* employ'd himſelf upon: *Upon humbling thoſe*, ſays he, *that exalt themſelves; and exalting thoſe, that abaſe themſelves.* He died of Joy at *Piſa*, upon ſeeing his Son win the Prize at Boxing, in the *Olympick* Games. He ſaid, when he was dying, that he was not conſcious to himſelf of having committed any Fault during the whole Courſe of his Life (a Sentiment well becoming the Pride and Blindneſs of a *Heathen* Philoſopher;) unleſs it was once, by having made uſe of a little Diſſimulation and Evaſion, in giving Judgment in Favour of a Friend: In which Action he did not know, whether he had done well or ill. He died about the fifty-ſecond *Olympiad*.

Pittacus, another of theſe Sages, was of *Mitylene*, a City of *Lesbos*; and joining with the Brothers of *Alcæus*, the famous *Lyrick* Poet, and with *Alcæus* himſelf, who was the Head of the exil'd Party, he drove the Tyrants out of that Iſland, who had uſurped the Government.

The Inhabitants of *Mitylene* being at War with the *Athenians*, gave the Command of the Army to *Pittacus*; who, to ſpare the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, offer'd to fight in a ſingle Combat with *Phrynon*, the Enemy's General: The Challenge was accepted, *Pittacus* was victorious, and kill'd his Adverſary; and the *Mitylenians*, through Gratitude, with one common Conſent, conferred the Soveraignty of the City upon him; which he accepted, and behaved himſelf with ſo much Moderation and Wiſdom, that he was ever reſpected and beloved by his Subjects.

In the mean Time *Alcæus*, who was a declared Enemy to all Tyrants, did not ſpare *Pittacus* in his Verſes, notwithſtanding the Mildneſs of his Government and Temper; but inveigh'd ſeverely againſt him. The Poet fell afterwards into the Hands of *Pittacus*, who was ſo far from ſeeking Revenge, that he gave him his Liberty; and ſhew'd by that Act of Clemency and Generoſity, that he had only the Name of a Tyrant.

After having govern'd ten Years, with a great deal of Equity and Wiſdom, he voluntarily reſigned his Authority, and retired. He uſed to ſay, that the Proof of a good Government was, to engage the Subjects, not to be afraid *of* their Prince, but to be afraid *for* him. It was a Maxim with him, that no Man ſhould ever give himſelf the Liberty of ſpeaking ill of a Friend, or even of an Enemy. He died in the fifty-ſecond *Olympiad*.

Of *Bias*, the next of theſe Sages, we know but very little, only that by a Stratagem he obliged *Alyattus*, King of *Lydia*, to raiſe the Siege of *Priene*, which was his native Place. This City was hard preſs'd with Famine; upon which he cauſed two Mules to be fattened, and contrived a Way to have them paſs into the Enemy's Camp. The good Condition they were in, aſtoniſhed the King; who thereupon ſent Deputies into the City, upon Pretence of offering Terms of Peace; but in Reality to obſerve the State of the Town and the People. *Bias* gueſſing their Errand, ordered the Granaries to be fill'd with great Heaps of Sand, and thoſe Heaps to be covered over with Corn. When the Deputies returned, and made Report to the King, of the great Plenty of Proviſion they had ſeen in the City, he heſitated no longer, but concluded a Treaty, and raiſed the Siege. One of the Maxims *Bias* particularly taught and recommended, was, to do all the Good we can, and to direct it all to the Glory of the Gods. An admirable Maxim in a *Heathen!* It were well it it were more practiſed by *Chriſtians*.

We know as little of *Cleobulus* as of the former, only that he was born at *Lindos*, a Town in the Iſle of *Rhodes*; or, as ſome will have it, in *Caria*: And, that he invited *Solon* to come and live with him; when *Piſiſtratus* had uſurped the ſoveraign Dominion of *Athens*, as has been already related.

What is moſt ſurprizing, *Periander* was numbered among the Wiſe-men, though he was a Tyrant of *Corinth*; and when he had firſt made himſelf Maſter of that City, wrote to *Thraſybulus*, Tyrant of *Miletos*, to know what Meaſures he ſhould take, with his new acquired Subjects. The latter, without any other Anſwer, led the Meſſenger into a Field of Wheat, where, in walking along, he beat down with his Cane all the Ears of Corn, that were higher than the reſt. *Periander* perfectly well underſtood the Meaning of this enigmatical Anſwer, which was a tacit Intimation to him, that, in order to ſecure his own Life, he ſhould cut off the moſt eminent of the *Corinthian* Citizens. But, if we may believe *Plutarch*, *Periander* did not reliſh ſuch cruel Advice.

He wrote circular Letters to all the Wiſe-Men, inviting them to ſpend ſome Time with him at *Corinth*, as they had done, the Year before, at *Sardis*, with *Cræſus*. Princes, in thoſe Days, thought they were much honour'd, when they could have ſuch Gueſts, as theſe, at their Palaces. *Plutarch* gives us a Deſcription of an Entertainment, which *Periander* gave theſe illuſtrious Gueſts; and obſerves, at the ſame Time, that the decent Simplicity thereof, adapted to the Taſte, and Humour of the Perſons entertain'd, did him much more Honour, than the greateſt Magnificence could have done. The Subject of their Diſcourſe, at Table, was ſometimes grave, and ſerious; and ſometimes pleaſant, and gay. One of the Wiſe-Men propos'd this Queſtion to the Company: Which is the moſt perfect popular Government? That (anſwer'd *Solon*) where an Injury done to any one particular Citizen, is reſented by the whole Body: That (ſays *Bias*) where the Law has no Superior: That (ſays *Thales*) where the Inhabitants are neither too rich, nor too poor: That (ſays *Anacharſis*) where Virtue is honour'd,

and

and Vice deteſted: (Says *Pittacus*) Where Dignities are always conferr'd upon the Virtuous, and never upon the Wicked: (Says *Cleobulus*) Where the Citizens fear Blame, more than Puniſhment: (Says *Chilo*) Where the Laws are more reverenc'd, and attended to, than the Orators. From all theſe Opinions, *Periander* concluded, that the moſt perfect popular Government would be that, which came neareſt to Ariſtocracy, where the ſovereign Authority is lodg'd in the Hands of a few Men of Honour, and Virtue.

Whilſt theſe Wiſe-Men were aſſembled together, at *Periander*'s, a Courier arriv'd from *Amaſis*, King of *Egypt*, with a Letter for *Bias*, with whom that King kept a cloſe Correſpondence. The Purport of this Letter was, to conſult him, how he ſhould anſwer a Propoſal made him by the King of *Ethiopia*, of his drinking up the Sea; in which Caſe, the *Ethiopian* King promis'd to reſign to him a certain Number of Cities in his Dominions: But, if he did not do it, then he, *Amaſis*, was to give up the ſameNumber of Cities, to the King of *Ethiopia*. It was uſual, in thoſe Days, for Princes to propound ſuch enigmatical, and puzzling Queſtions to one another. *Bias* anſwer'd him forthwith, and advis'd him to accept the Offer, on Condition, that the King of *Ethiopia* would ſtop all the Rivers that flow into the Sea: For, the Buſineſs was only to drink up the Sea, and not the Rivers. We find another Anſwer of the ſame Nature aſcrib'd to *Æſop*.

We muſt not here forget to take Notice, that theſe Wiſe-Men, of whom we have been ſpeaking, were all Lovers of Poetry, and did themſelves make Verſes; ſome of them a conſiderable Number, upon Subjects of Morality, and Policy; which are, certainly, Topicks not unworthy of the Muſes. *Solon*, however, is reproach'd, for having written ſome licentious Verſes; which may ſerve to teach us, what a Judgment we ought to form, of thoſe pretended Wiſe-Men of the Pagan World.

In the Room of ſome of the Wiſe-Men here mention'd, ſome People have ſubſtituted Others; as, *Anacharſis*, *Myſo*, *Epimenides*, and *Pherecydes*. The firſt of theſe is the moſt known in Story.

Long before *Solon*'s Time, the *Scythian Nomades* were in great Reputation, for their Simplicity, Frugality, Temperance, and Juſtice; accordingly, *Homer* calls them a very juſt Nation: *Anacharſis* was one of theſe *Scythians*, and of the royal family. A certain *Athenian*, once in Company with *Anacharſis*, reproach'd him with his Country: To which *Anacharſis* retorted very juſtly; *My Country, you think, is no great Honour to me; and you, Sir, in my Opinion, are no great Honour to your Country.* His good Senſe, profound Knowledge, and great Experience, made him paſs for one of the ſeven Wiſe-Men. He wrote a Treatiſe, in Verſe, upon the military Art, and compos'd another Tract of the Laws of *Scythia*. He us'd frequently to viſit *Solon*; and it was in a Converſation with him, that he compar'd Laws to Cobwebs; which only entangle little Flies, whilſt Waſps, and Hornets break through them.

Being inur'd to the auſtere, and poor Life of the *Scythians*, he made very little Account of Riches. *Cræſus* invited him to come, and ſee him; and, without Doubt, hinted to him, that he was able to mend his Fortune. *I have no Occaſion for your Gold* (ſaid the *Scythian* in his Anſwer) *I came into* Greece, *only to inrich my Mind, and improve my Underſtanding; I ſhall be very well ſatisfy'd, if I return into my own Country, not with an Addition to my Wealth, but with an Increaſe of Knowledge, and Virtue.* However, *Anacharſis* accepted the Invitation, and went to that Prince's Court.

We have already obſerv'd, that *Æſop* was much ſurpriz'd, and diſſatisfy'd, at the cold, and indifferent Manner, in which *Solon* view'd the Magnificence of the Palace, and the vaſt Treaſures of *Cræſus*; becauſe it was the Maſter, and not the Houſe, that the Philoſopher wiſh'd he had Reaſon to admire. *Certainly* (ſaid *Anacharſis* to *Æſop* on that Occaſion) *you have forgot your own Fable of the* Fox *and* Panther. *The latter, to make herſelf be taken Notice of, could only ſhew her fine Skin, beautifully mark'd, and ſpotted with different Colours: The Fox's Skin, on the contrary, was very plain; but contained within it a Treaſure of Subtleties, and Stratagems of infinite Value. This very Image* (continu'd the *Scythian*) *lets me into your Character. You are affected with a ſplendid Outſide, whilſt you pay little, or no Regard to what is truly the Man; that is, to that which is in him; and conſequently, is properly his own.*

We join *Æſop* to the *Grecian* Wiſe-Men; not only, becauſe he was often amongſt them, but becauſe he taught true Wiſdom in a more ingenious, and inſtructive Manner, than they who teach it by Rules, and Definitions. He was, by Birth, a *Phrygian*; and, as to the Faculties of his Mind, no Body was more kindly dealt with by Nature; but, with Regard to his Body, he was hunch-back'd, crooked, deform'd, and withal, of a very uncomely Countenance; nay, he had ſcarce the Figure of a Man; and, for a very conſiderable Time, was almoſt entirely depriv'd of the Uſe of his Tongue. As to his Condition of Life, he was a Slave; and the Merchant, who had bought him, found it very difficult to get him off his Hands; ſo extreamly were People ſhock'd, at his unſightly Figure, and Deformity.

The firſt Maſter he had, ſent him to labour in the Field; whether it was, that he thought him incapable of any better Employment, or only to remove ſo diſagreeable an Object out of his Sight. He was, afterwards, ſold to a Philoſopher, nam'd *Xanthus*; and we ſhould never have done, ſhould we enumerate all the Strokes of Wit, the ſprightly Repartees, and the arch, and humorous Paſſages in his Diſcourſe, and Behaviour, to this Maſter.

One Day, the Philoſopher, having a Mind to treat ſome of his Friends, order'd *Æſop* to provide the beſt Things he could find in the Market, for their Entertainment. *Æſop* made a large Proviſion of Tongues, which he deſir'd the Cook to ſerve up with different Sauces. When Dinner came, the firſt, and ſecond Courſe, the laſt Service, and all the intermediate Diſhes, were Tongues. *Did I not give thee Orders* (ſays *Xanthus* in a violent Paſſion) *to buy the beſt Victuals the Market afforded? And have I not obey'd your Orders?* (ſays *Æſop*) *Is there any Thing better than Tongues? Is not the Tongue the Bond of civil Society, the Key of Sciences, and the Organ of Truth, and Reaſon? By Means of the Tongue, Cities are built, and*

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Government eſtabliſh'd, and adminiſtred: With that Men inſtruct, perſuade, and preſide in Aſſemblies: It is the Inſtrument, by which we acquit ourſelves of the chief of all our Duties; namely, the praiſing, and making our Addreſs to the Gods. Well then (replies *Xanthus*, thinking to catch him) *go to Market again To-Morrow, and buy me the worſt Food you can find. This ſame Company will dine with me, and I have a Mind to give them another Sort of Entertainment.* Hereupon, *Æſop*, the next Day, provided nothing but the very ſame Diſhes; and, in his Vindication, told his Maſter, that the Tongue was the worſt Thing in the World. *It is* (ſays he) *the Inſtrument of all Strife, and Contention; the Fomenter of Law-Suits, and the Source of Diviſions, and Wars: It is the Organ of Error, of Lies, of Calumny, and Blaſphemy:* And, certainly, he ſpoke nothing but the Truth.

However, *Æſop*, with all his Wit, had much ado to obtain his Liberty: And one of the firſt Uſes he made of it was, to go to *Cræſus*, who, on Account of his great Reputation, and Fame, had been long deſirous to ſee him. The ſtrange Deformity of *Æſop*'s Perſon ſhock'd the King, at firſt, and much abated the good Opinion he had conceiv'd of him. But the Beauty of his Mind ſoon diſcover'd itſelf through the coarſe Veil that cover'd it; and *Cræſus* found, as *Æſop* ſaid, on another Occaſion, *That we ought not to conſider the Form of the Veſſel, but the Liquor that is within.*

At this Time it was, that *Æſop* compos'd his Fables; an Invention, which does not ſeem to be of any great Importance, or extraordinary Merit; but, yet has been much eſteem'd, and made Uſe of by the greateſt Philoſophers, and ableſt Politicians. *Plato* tells us, that *Socrates*, a little before he dy'd, turn'd ſome of *Æſop*'s Fables into Verſe: And *Plato* himſelf earneſtly recommends it to Nurſes, to inſtruct their Children in them betimes, in order to form their Manners, and to inſpire them early with the Love of Wiſdom: And there can't be a more effectual Method.

In Effect, Fables could never have been ſo univerſally adapted by all Nations, as they have, if there was not a vaſt Fund of uſeful Truths contain'd in them; and agreeably conceal'd under that plain, and negligent Diſguiſe, which is their peculiar Character. The Creator, certainly deſigning the Proſpect of Nature for the Inſtruction of Mankind, did endue the Brute-Part of it with various Inſtincts, Inclinations, and Properties, to ſerve as ſo many Pictures, in Miniature, to Man of the ſeveral Duties incumbent upon him; and to point out to him the good, or evil Qualities, he ought to acquire, or avoid.

Thus has he given us, for Inſtance, a lively Image of Meekneſs, and Innocence in the Lamb; of Fidelity, and Friendſhip in the Dog; and, on the contrary, of Violence, Rapaciouſneſs, and Cruelty in the Wolf, the Lion, and the Tyger; and ſo on, of the other Species of Animals: And all this he has deſign'd, not only as an Inſtruction, but as a ſecret Reproof to Man, if he ſhould be indifferent about thoſe Qualities in himſelf, which he cannot forbear eſteeming, or deteſting, even in the Brutes themſelves.

This is a dumb Language, which all Nations underſtand: It is a Sentiment engraven in Nature; which every Man carries about him. But *Æſop* was the firſt of all the prophane Writers, who laid Hold of, and unfolded it; made happy Application thereof; and drew Man's Attention to this Sort of genuine, and natural Inſtruction; which is within the Reach of all Capacities, and equally adapted to Perſons of all Ages, and Conditions. He was the firſt, that, in order to give Body, and Subſtance to Virtues, Vices, Duties, and Maxims of human, and civil Society, by an ingenious Artifice, and innocent Fiction, invented the Method of cloathing them with graceful, and familiar Images, borrow'd from Nature; by giving Language to Brute-Beaſts, and aſcribing Senſe, and Reaſon to Plants, and Trees, and all Sorts of inanimate Creatures.

The Fables of *Æſop* are deſtitute of all Ornament; but are full of good Senſe; and adapted to the Capacity of Children, for whom they were more particularly compos'd. Thoſe of *Phædrus* are in a Style ſomewhat more elevated, and diffus'd; but, at the ſame Time, with ſuch a Simplicity, and Elegance, as very much reſembles the *Attic* Spirit, and Style, in the plain Way of writing; which was the moſt genuine, and delicate Sort of Compoſition, in Uſe among the *Grecians*. And the ingenious *Monſieur de la Fontaine*, who was very ſenſible, that the *French* Tongue is not ſuſceptible of the ſame elegant Simplicity, has enliven'd his Fables with ſuch a ſprightly, and original Turn of Expreſſion, as is peculiar to himſelf, and which no other Perſon has yet been able to imitate.

The HISTORY *of the Ancient* PERSIANS, *and* GRECIANS.

CHAP. III.

Obſervations, by Way of Introduction, to the Hiſtory of the Perſians, *and* Greeks; *What Uſe is to be made of this Hiſtory; Abridgment of the Hiſtory of the* Lacedæmonians, *to the Reign of* Darius, *the Son of* Hyſtaſpes; *Their War with the* Meſſenians; *The noble Conteſt between* Ariſtomenes, *and* Cleonnis, *who ſhould have the Prize of Glory; Some Account of* Tyrtæus, *the famous* Lacedæmonian *General; and Poet.*

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING now finiſh'd our Account of the *Grecian* Sages, and Poets, we ſhall, as we promis'd, proceed to the Hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and *Grecians*, as their Tranſactions are interwoven with each other; however, we ſhall prefix thereunto ſome preliminary Obſervations, by Way of Introduction; to which we ſhall ſubjoin an Abridgment of the *Lacedæmonian* Hiſtory, till the Reign of *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*; where our joint Hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and *Grecians*, will begin.

In the foregoing Sheets, we have ſeen States, but inconſiderable, in the Beginning; we mean, *Media*, and *Perſia*, properly ſo call'd, ſpread themſelves far, and near; under the Conduct of the great *Cyrus*; like an over-bearing Torrent, or a devouring Fire; and ſubdue innumerable Provinces, and Kingdoms. Here we ſhall ſee that vaſt Empire ſtirring up the ſeveral Nations under its Dominion, the *Perſians*, the *Medes*, *Phœnicians*, *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Indians*, and many others; and pouring out all the Forces of *Aſia*, and the *Eaſt*, upon a little Country, of very ſmall Extent, and deſtitute of all foreign Aſſiſtance; we mean *Greece*.

When, on the one Hand, we behold ſo many Nations united together, ſuch Preparations of War made for ſeveral Years, with ſo much Diligence; innumerable Armies by Sea, and Land; and ſuch Fleets, as the Sea could hardly contain: And, on the other Hand, two weak Cities, *Athens*, and *Lacedæmon*, abandon'd by all their *Allies*, and left almoſt entirely to themſelves: Have we not all the Reaſon to believe, that theſe two little Cities are going to be utterly deſtroy'd, and ſwallow'd up, by ſo formidable an Enemy; and that there will not be ſo much as any Footſteps of them remaining? And yet we ſhall find, that theſe two Cities prov'd victorious; and, by their invincible Courage, and the ſeveral Battles they gain'd, both by Sea, and Land, made the *Perſians* lay aſide all Thoughts, of ever turning any more their Arms, againſt any of the *Grecian* Powers.

This Hiſtory of the War between the *Perſians*, and the *Greeks*, will illuſtrate the Truth of this Maxim; that it is not the Number, but the Valour of the Troops, and the Conduct of the Generals, on which depends the Succeſs of military Expeditions. Here our Readers will admire the ſurprizing Courage, and Intrepidity of thoſe great Men, who manag'd the *Grecian* Affairs; who, when all the World combin'd againſt them, remain'd unſhaken, and were not diſconcerted by any Calamities, or Misfortunes; who undertook, with an Handful of Men, to make Head againſt Armies innumerable; who, notwithſtanding ſuch a prodigious Inequality of Forces, durſt hope for Succeſs; who even compell'd Victory to range herſelf on the Side of Merit, and Virtue; and taught all ſucceeding Generations, what infinite Reſources, and Expedients are to be found in Prudence, Valour, and Experience; in a Zeal for Liberty, and our Country; in the Love of our Duty; and in thoſe glorious Sentiments, wherewith noble, and generous Souls are always inſpir'd.

This War of the *Perſians* againſt the *Grecians*, will be follow'd by the Account of another amongſt the *Greeks* themſelves; but of a very different Kind from the former. In this latter, there will ſcarce be any Actions, but what, in Appear-

ance,

ance, are of little Conſequence; and, ſeemingly, unfit for the Gratification of our Curioſity, which is always thirſting after great Events: Here we ſhall meet with little elſe than private Quarrels between certain Cities, or ſome ſmall Commonwealths; ſome inconſiderable Sieges; (excepting that of *Syracuſe*, one of the moſt important recorded in ancient Hiſtory) though ſeveral of theſe Sieges laſted a conſiderable Time; ſome Battles between Armies, where the Numbers were ſmall, and but little Blood ſhed.

What is it then, that has render'd theſe Wars ſo celebrated in Hiſtory? *Salluſt* informs us, as follows; *The Actions of the* Athenians, *undoubtedly, were ſufficiently great* (ſays he) *and yet I believe, they were ſomewhat leſs than Fame is for having us conceive of them. But, becauſe* Athens *had noble Writers, the Acts of that Republick are celebrated throughout the whole World, as the moſt glorious: And the Gallantry of thoſe Heroes, who perform'd them, has had the Luck to be thought as tranſcendent, as the Eloquence of ſuch Wits as deſcribed them: Salluſt*, though jealous enough of the Glory, the *Romans* had acquir'd, by a Series of diſtinguiſh'd Actions, wherewith their Hiſtory is full; yet does Juſtice, in this Paſſage, to the *Grecians*; by acknowledging, that their Exploits were truly great, and illuſtrious; though ſomewhat inferior, in his Opinion, to their Fame.

What is then this foreign, and borrow'd Luſtre, which the *Athenian* Actions have deriv'd from the Eloquence of their Hiſtorians? It is, that the whole Univerſe agrees in looking upon them, as the greateſt, and moſt glorious, that were ever perform'd. *Per Terrarum Orbem Athenienſium facta pro maximis celebrantur.* All Nations ſeduc'd, and inchanted, as it were, with the Beauties of the *Greek* Authors, think, the Exploits of that Peopls ſuperior to any Thing, that was ever done by any other Nation. This, according to *Salluſt*, is the Service the *Greek* Authors have done the *Athenians*, by their excellent Manner of deſcribing their Actions; and very unhappy it is for us, that our Hiſtory, for Want of the like Aſſiſtance, has left a Thouſand bright Actions, and fine Sayings, unrecorded; which would have been ſet off with great Luſtre, and Advantage, by the ancient Writers; and would have done great Honour to our Country.

But, however this be, it muſt be confeſs'd, that we are not always to judge of the Value of an Action, or of the Merit of the Perſons concern'd in it, by the Importance of the Event. It is rather, in ſuch little Sieges, and Engagements, as we find recorded in the Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War, that the Conduct, and Abilities of a General, are truly conſpicuous.

Accordingly, it is obſerv'd, that it was chiefly at the Head of ſmall Armies, and in Countries of little Extent, that our greateſt Commanders of the laſt Age diſtinguiſh'd their Capacity; and behav'd with a Conduct, not inferior to the moſt celebrated Captains of Antiquity. In ſuch Actions, Chance has no Share, and does not cover any Overſights, that are committed. Every Thing is conducted, and carry'd on, by the Prudence of the General. He is truly the Soul of the Army, which neither acts, nor moves, but by his Direction. He ſees every Thing, and is preſent everywhere: Nothing eſcapes his Vigilance, and Attention: Orders are ſeaſonably given, and ſeaſonably executed: Wiles, Stratagems, falſe Marches, real, or feign'd Attacks, Incampments, Decampments; in a Word, every Thing depends upon him, and him only.

For this Reaſon, reading the *Greek* Hiſtorians; ſuch as, *Thucydides*, *Xenophon*, and *Polybius*, is of infinite Service to young Officers; becauſe thoſe Hiſtorians, who were alſo excellent Commanders, enter into all the Particulars of the military Art, and lead their Readers, as it were, by the Hand, through all the Sieges, and Battles they deſcribe; ſhewing them, by the Example of the greateſt Generals in Antiquity, and by a Kind of anticipated Experience, in what Manner War is to be carry'd on.

Nor is it only for military Exploits, that the *Grecian* Hiſtory affords us ſuch excellent Models. We ſhall there find celebrated Legiſlators, able Politicians; Magiſtrates born for Government; Men, who have excell'd in all Arts, and Sciences; Philoſophers, who carry'd their Enquiries, as far as was poſſible, in thoſe early Times; and who have left us ſuch Maxims of Morality, as many *Chriſtians* ought to bluſh at.

It is true, theſe very Philoſophers, notwithſtanding their Penetration in ſome Points, were entirely blind, and ignorant, as to others; even to the Degree of conteſting ſome of the moſt evident Principles of the Law of Nature; and very often they ſuffer'd their Practice to bely their Doctrine, and themſelves to fall into the moſt groſs Debaucheries. The divine Providence permitted it ſo to be, and thought fit to give them up to a reprobate Mind, in order to puniſh their Pride; and to teach us, by their Example, of what Enormities, even the wiſeſt, and moſt knowing Men, are capable, when they are left to their own Weakneſs, and natural Depravity; and from what an Abyſs, the Mercy of our Divine Mediator has deliver'd us.

But, though they fell into ſome Errors, both with Reſpect to the Underſtanding, and the Mind, which we are oblig'd to deteſt; yet that does not hinder their Books from containing many excellent Maxims, which, according to St. *Auſtin*, we are entitled to claim, as a Benefit appertaining to us, in the ſame Manner as the *Iſraelites*, when they came out of *Egypt*, enriched themſelves with the Spoils thereof: For this has been the Practice of all the Saints: *Ipſi Gentiles ſiquid divinum & rectum in doctrinis ſuis habere potuerunt, non improbaverunt ſancti noſtri.*

We may ſay the ſame of the virtuous Actions of the *Heathens*, whereof we ſhall find a great Abundance in the *Grecian* Hiſtory. We are told by St. *Auſtin*, that according to the Rule of Juſtice, *ſecundum juſtitiæ regulam*, we ought to be ſo far from blaming and condemning thoſe Actions, that we are obliged in Reaſon to commend and extol them. Not that thoſe Actions were good and praiſe-worthy in every Reſpect; St. *Auſtin* was very far from entertaining ſuch an Opinion. He looked upon them only as good in their Nature, and with Reſpect to the Duty of the Agents: But as to the End, for which they were done, that Father thought them very blameable, becauſe they were not directed to the Glory of *God*.

But notwithſtanding this, according to the ſame Father, it may be very ſerviceable to *Chriſtians*, both

both for their Inſtruction and the Regulation of their Manners, to have the virtuous Actions of the *Heathens* laid before them in their full Light, provided they ſet not too high a Value upon them: For what the ſame Father ſays of the Virtues of the ancient *Romans*, may ſurely be applied to thoſe of the *Grecians*. He employs a whole Chapter, and that a pretty long one, in pointing out the moſt illuſtrious Actions and ſignal Virtues of that People: As, their Love of the Commonwealth; their devoted Attachment to their Country; their Conſtancy in ſuffering the moſt cruel Torments, and even Death itſelf; their noble and generous Diſintereſtedneſs; their eſteeming and chuſing Poverty; their profound Reverence for Religion and the Gods: And he makes ſeveral Reflections upon this Subject, which very well deſerve our Notice.

Firſt, he ſuppoſes that it was in order to recompence the *Romans* for all theſe Virtues, which yet were only ſo in Name and Appearance, that the Divine Providence gave them the Empire of the Univerſe; a Recompence very ſuitable to their Deſerts, and with which they were weak enough to be contented. For the ſame Reaſon, he ſuppoſes *God* thought fit to let their Name be ſo glorious, and ſo much eſteemed by all Nations, and in all Ages; that ſo many great and illuſtrious Actions ſhould not paſs entirely unrewarded.

He obſerves likewiſe, that ſuch Virtues, notwithſtanding their being falſe, are of publick Advantage to Mankind; and that they contribute towards the ſecret Deſigns of *God*, in puniſhing, or rewarding his Creatures. The Love of Glory, which is a Vice, yet ſerves to ſuppreſs many other Vices, of a more hurtful and miſchievous Nature; ſuch as Injuſtice, Violence, and Cruelty. And can it be queſtioned, whether a Magiſtrate, a Governor of a Province, or a Sovereign, that are gentle, patient, juſt, chaſte, and beneficent, though merely upon human Motives of Intereſt or Vainglory, are not infinitely more ſerviceable to the Commonwealth, than they would be, if they were deſtitute of thoſe external Appearances, and Shadows of Virtue; and, that Men of ſuch Diſpoſitions may be reckoned among the moſt valuable Preſents of Heaven?

We may the better judge of this Matter, if we do but compare ſuch Magiſtrates and Princes with thoſe of a contrary Character, who, laying aſide all Honour and Probity, deſpiſing Reputation, and trampling upon the moſt ſacred Laws, acknowledge no other Law, than that of their brutiſh Paſſions: Who are, in a Word, ſuch as God in his Wrath ſends to a Nation, he has a Mind to puniſh, and which he thinks worthy of ſuch Maſters. *Et talibus quidem dominandi poteſtas non datur niſi ſummi dei providentiâ, quando res humanas judicat talibus dominis dignas.*

The laſt Reflection this Father makes is, what Uſe we ought to make, of the Praiſes beſtow'd on virtuous *Heathens*. It ſhews what Advantage a prudent Reader ſhould reap from the Recital of the gallant Exploits and virtuous Actions of the *Grecians*, which will be the principal Subject of the following Sheets. When we ſee them ſacrificing their Eſtates and Fortunes to the Relief of their Fellow-citizens, their Lives to the Preſervation of the State, and even their Fame and Glory to the publick Good; when we ſee them practiſing the moſt difficult Virtues, and that on Motives entirely human, in order to acquire a tranſient Reputation, what Reproaches ought we to make to our ſelves, and how much ought we to be aſhamed, if, profeſſing a Religion, that recommends itſelf to us, by the Promiſes of an eternal Recompence, and has ſuch powerful Motives to enforce our Love and Gratitude, we want the Courage and Reſolution to practiſe the ſame Virtues? And if we are ſo happy as to fulfil our Engagements, and Duty, how can we be proud of it, when we conſider how much greater Things were done on a Motive of mere Vain-glory, by Men, who knew not *God*, and who confined all their Deſires to the Good of this preſent Life?

This then, according to St. *Auſtin*, is the principal Uſe, that is to be made of the Study and Reading of prophane Hiſtory: Nor did the Divine Providence ſuffer the *Greeks* and *Romans* to become ſo famous and illuſtrious, but in order to give the greater Weight to thoſe Examples of Virtue, wherewith their Hiſtory abounds; that by our reading them with Serioufneſs and Attention, we ſhould learn, from the Love they bore to an earthly Country, and to a Glory of ſo ſhort a Duration, what Longing we ought to have for an heavenly Country, where an Eternity of Happineſs is to be our Reward, if we live accordingly.

If the Virtues of the *Perſians*, recorded in Hiſtory, may ſerve us for Patterns in the Conduct of our Lives; ſo may their Vices and Failings, be no leſs proper to ſerve for our Caution and Inſtruction; and the ſtrict Regard, which an Hiſtorian is obliged to pay to Truth, will not allow him to diſſemble the latter, through Fear of eclipſing the Luſtre of the former.

Nor does what is here advanced, contradict the Rule laid down by *Plutarch*, on the ſame Subject, in his *Preface* to the Life of *Cimon*. He would have the illuſtrious Actions of great Men repreſented in their full Light; but as to the Faults, which may ſometimes eſcape them, through Paſſion or Surprize, or into which they may be drawn by the Neceſſity of Affairs, looking upon them rather as a certain Degree of Perfection, which is wanting to their Virtue, than as Vices or Crimes, that proceed from any Corruption of the Heart, he would have the Hiſtorian, out of Compaſſion to the Weakneſs of human Nature, which produceth nothing entirely perfect, content himſelf with touching them very lightly: In the ſame Manner as an able Painter, when he has a fine Face to draw, in which he finds ſome little Blemiſh, or Defect, does neither entirely ſuppreſs it, nor think himſelf obliged to repreſent it with a ſtrict Exactneſs; becauſe the one would ſpoil the Beauty of the Picture, and the other would deſtroy the Likeneſs.

The very Compariſon *Plutarch* uſes, ſhews, that he ſpeaks only of ſlight and excuſable Slips. But as to Actions of Injuſtice, Violence, and Brutality, they ought not to be concealed, or diſguiſed on any Account; nor can we ſuppoſe, that the ſame Privilege ſhould be allow'd in Hiſtory, as is in Painting; which invented the Profile, to repreſent the Side-face of a Prince, who had loſt an Eye, and by that Means ingeniouſly concealed ſo diſagreeable a Deformity. Hiſtory, the moſt eſſential Law whereof is Sincerity, will by no Means admit of ſuch Indulgences; which indeed would

would deprive it of its greateſt Advantage, and Uſefulneſs.

Shame, Reproach, Infamy, Hatred, and the Execrations of the Publick, which are the inſeparable Attendants on criminal and brutiſh Actions, are no leſs proper to excite an Horrour for Vice; than the Glory, which perpetually waits upon good Actions, is proper to inſpire us with the Love of Virtue. And theſe, according to *Tacitus*, are the two Ends, which every Hiſtorian ought to propoſe to himſelf; by making a judicious Choice of what is moſt extraordinary both in Good and Evil; in order to have that publick Homage paid to Virtue, which is juſtly due to it; and to create the greater Abhorrence for Vice, on Account of that eternal Infamy, that ought always to attend it as its Puniſhment.

Our ancient Hiſtory does but furniſh too many Examples of the latter Sort. If we conſider the *Perſians*, it will appear, by what is ſaid of their Kings, that thoſe Princes, who have all the Power in their own Hands, are often given up to all Manner of Vices; that nothing is more difficult than for a Man to reſiſt the Deluſions of his own Greatneſs, and the Flatteries of thoſe that ſurround him; that the Power of gratifying all one's Deſires, and of doing Evil with Impunity, is a dangerous Situation; that the beſt Diſpoſitions can hardly withſtand ſuch a Temptation; that, even after having preſerved themſelves, in the Beginning, they are inſenſibly corrupted by Softneſs and Effeminacy; by Pride, and their Averſion to ſincere Advice; and that it rarely happens, they are wiſe enough to conſider, that, when they find themſelves exalted above all Laws and Reſtraints, they ſtand then moſt in need of Moderation and Wiſdom, both in regard to themſelves and others; and that, in ſuch a Situation, they ought to be doubly upon their Guard, and doubly arm'd; in order to ſet Bounds, by their Reaſon, to a Power, that has no other Limits here below.

Again, if we turn our Eyes upon the *Grecians*, the *Peloponneſian* War will ſhew, the miſerable Effects of their inteſtine Diviſions, and the fatal Exceſſes, into which they were led, by their Thirſt of Dominion: It will ſhew, Scenes of Injuſtice, Ingratitude, and Perfidy, with the open Violation of Treaties; or mean Artifices, and unworthy Tricks, to elude their Execution. There we ſhall ſee how ſcandalouſly the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, ſtoop'd and cring'd to the *Barbarians*, in order to beg ſome Subſidies from them: How ſhamefully the great Deliverers of *Greece*, renounced the Glory of their paſt Labours and Exploits, by fawning upon, and making their Court to ſome haughty and inſolent *Satrapæ*; and by running, one after another, and priding themſelves therein, to implore the Protection of the common Enemy, whom they had ſo often conquered; and how they employed the Succours they obtained from them, in oppreſſing their ancient Allies; and extending their own Territories, by unjuſt and violent Incroachments.

On both Sides, and ſometimes in the ſame Perſon, we ſhall find a ſurprizing Mixture of Good, and Evil; Virtue, and Vice; glorious Actions, and mean Sentiments; and ſometimes, perhaps, we ſhall be ready to ask ourſelves, whether theſe can be the ſame Perſons, and the ſame People, of whom ſuch different Things are related; and whether it be poſſible, that ſuch a bright and ſhining Light, and ſuch thick Clouds of Smoke and Darkneſs, can proceed from the ſame Matter. We relate Things, as we find them in ancient Authors; and the Pictures, wherewith we preſent our Readers, are from thoſe original Monuments, which Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us; and, we might likewiſe add, from human Nature itſelf. But, in our Opinion, even this Medley of Good and Evil, though very odd in itſelf, may be of great Advantage to us; and ſerve as a Preſervative againſt a Danger, both very common and very natural.

For if we ſhould find, either in any Nation, or particular Perſons, a Probity and a Nobleneſs of Sentiments always uniform, and free from all Blemiſh and Weakneſs, we ſhould be tempted to believe, that *Heatheniſm* is capable of producing genuine and perfect Virtue; though our Religion teaches us, that thoſe Virtues, we moſt admire among the *Heathens*, are really no more than the Shadow and Appearance of them. But when we ſee the Defects and Imperfections, the Vices and Crimes, and thoſe ſometimes of the blackeſt Dye, that are intermixed with, and often very cloſely follow, their moſt virtuous Actions; we are taught thereby to moderate our Eſteem and Admiration of them; and, at the ſame Time, that we commend what appears noble, worthy, and great, among the *Pagans*, not prodigally to pay to the Phantom of Virtue, that entire and unreſerved Homage, which is only due to Virtue itſelf. Proceed we now to our Abridgment of the *Lacedæmonian* Hiſtory.

We have already obſerved, that eighty Years after the Reduction of *Troy*, the *Heraclidæ* return'd to *Peloponneſus*, and made themſelves Maſters of *Sparta*, or *Lacedæmon*; where *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, two Brothers, and Sons of *Ariſtodemus*, reigned jointly together. Such a divided Power promiſed no great Tranquillity; accordingly, during their whole Lives (*Herodotus* obſerves) theſe two Brothers were at Variance; and that almoſt all their Deſcendants, from them, inherited the ſame mutual Hatred and Antipathy: ſo true is it, that the ſovereign Power will admit of no Partnerſhip; and that two Kings will always be too many for one Kingdom! However, after the Death of theſe two, the Deſcendants of both ſtill continued to ſway the Scepter jointly: And, what is very remarkable, theſe two Branches ſubſiſted, for near nine hundred Years, from the Return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponneſus*, to the Death of *Cleomenes*; and ſupplied *Sparta* with Kings without Interruption, and that generally in a regular Succeſſion, from Father to Son, eſpecially in the elder Branch of that Family.

When the *Lacedæmonians* firſt began to ſettle in *Peloponneſus*, they met with great Oppoſition from the Inhabitants of the Country; whom they were obliged to ſubdue, one after another, by Force of Arms, or receive into their Alliance, on eaſy and equitable Terms, as the paying them a ſmall Tribute. Among the reſt, *Strabo* ſpeaks of a City, called *Helos*, not far from *Sparta*, which, after having ſubmitted to the Yoke, as others had, revolted openly, and refuſed to pay the Tribute. Hereupon *Agis*, the Son of *Euriſthenes*, who being newly ſettled in the Throne, was ſenſible of the dangerous Tendency of this firſt Revolt, immediately marched with an Army againſt them;

and together with *Soüs* his Coleague, laid Siege to the City; which, after a pretty long Reſiſtance, was forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion. Having thus ſubdued them, *Agis* thought it proper to make ſuch an Example of them, as ſhould intimidate all their Neighbours, and deter them from the like Attempts, and yet not alienate their Minds by too cruel a Treatment. For this Reaſon he put none to Death; he ſpared the Lives of all the Inhabitants; but, at the ſame Time, took away all their Liberty, and reduced them to a State of Slavery. From thenceforward they were employ'd in all mean and ſervile Offices, and treated with extreme Rigour: Theſe were the People who were called *Helotæ*.

The Number of them exceedingly encreaſed in Proceſs of Time; the *Lacedæmonians* giving undoubtedly the ſame Name to all the People they reduced to ſame Condition of Servitude. As they themſelves were averſe to Labour, and entirely addicted to War, they left the Care of tilling, and managing their Lands, to theſe Slaves; aſſigning every one of them a certain Portion of Ground, of which they were obliged to carry the Product, every Year to their reſpective Maſters; who endeavoured, by all ſorts of ill Uſage, to make their Yoke more grievous and inſupportable. This was certainly very bad Policy, and could only tend to breed a vaſt Number of dangerous Enemies in the very Heart of the State, who were always ready to take Arms and revolt on every Occaſion. The *Romans* acted more prudently in this Reſpect; for they incorporated the conquered Nations into their State; granted them the Privilege of Denizons, and thereby converted them, from Enemies, into Brethren and Fellow-citizens.

Eurytion, or *Eurypon*, as he is named by others, ſucceeded *Soüs*. In order to gain the Good-will of his People, and render his Government acceptable to them, he thought fit to recede, in ſome Points, from the abſolute Power exerciſed by the Kings his Predeceſſors: This rendered his Name ſo dear to his Subjects, that all his Succeſſors were, from him, called *Eurytionides*. But this Relaxation produced a horrible Confuſion, and an unbounded Licentiouſneſs, which cauſed, for a long Time, infinite Miſchiefs: The People became ſo inſolent, that nothing could reſtrain them. If the Succeſſors of *Eurytion* attempted to recover their Authority by Force, they became odious; and if, through Complaiſance or Weakneſs, they choſe to diſſemble, their Lenity ſerved only to render them contemptible: So that every Thing ran to a general Diſorder, and the Laws were no longer regarded. Theſe Confuſions haſten'd the Death of *Eunomus*, the Father of *Lycurgus*, who was kill'd in an Inſurrection. *Polydectes*, his eldeſt Son, and Succeſſor, dying ſoon after, without Children, every Body expected *Lycurgus* would have been King. And indeed he was ſo in Effect, as long as the Pregnancy of his Brother's Wife was uncertain; but as ſoon as that was manifeſt, he declared, that the Kingdom belonged to her Child, in caſe it proved a Son: And from that Moment, he retained the Adminiſtration of Affairs, as Guardian to his unborn Nephew, under the Title of *Prodicos*; which was the Name given by the *Lacedæmonians* to the Guardians of their Kings. When the Child was born, *Lycurgus* took him in his Arms, and cried out to the Company then preſent, *Behold, my Lords of* Sparta, *this new-born Son is your King:* And, at the ſame Time, he put the Infant into the Seat of the King, and named him *Charilaus*, becauſe of the Joy the People teſtified at his Birth.

Some Time after, in the Reign of *Theopompus*, a War broke out between the *Argians* and the *Lacedæmonians*; on Account of a little Country, called *Thyrea*, that lay upon the Confines of the two Nations, and to which each of them pretended a Right. When the two Armies were ready to engage, it was agreed on both Sides, in order to ſpare Effuſion of Blood, that the Quarrel ſhould be decided by three hundred of the braveſt Men choſen out of the two Armies, and that the Land in Queſtion, ſhould become the Property of the conquering Party; and to give the Combatants more Room to engage, the two Armies retired at ſome Diſtance.

Then thoſe generous Champions, who had all the Courage of two mighty Armies, boldly advanced towards each other, and fought with ſo much Reſolution and Fury, that the whole Number, except three Men, two on the Side of the *Argians*, and one on the Side of the *Lacedæmonians*, lay dead upon the Spot: And it was the Night only that parted them. The two *Argians*, looking upon themſelves as the Conquerors, made what Haſte they could to *Argos*, with the News: The ſingle *Lacedæmonian*, *Othryades* by Name, inſtead of retiring, ſtript the dead Bodies of the *Argians*, and carrying their Arms into the *Lacedæmonian* Camp, continued in his Poſt. Next Day the two Armies returned to the Field of Battle: Both Sides laid equal Claim to the Victory; the *Argians*, becauſe they had more of their Champions left, than the Enemy; the *Lacedæmonians*, becauſe the two *Argians*, that remained alive, had fled; whereas their ſingle Soldier had remained Maſter of the Field of Battle, and had carried off the Spoils of the Enemy: In ſhort, they could not determine the Diſpute, without coming to another Engagement. Here Fortune declared in Favour of the *Lacedæmonians*, and the little Territory of *Thyrea* was the Prize of their Victory. But *Othryades*, not able to bear the Thoughts of ſurviving his brave Companions, or of enduring the Sight of *Sparta* after their Death, killed himſelf on the ſame Field of Battle, where they had fought; reſolving to ſhare the ſame common Fate, and to lie in the ſame common Grave, with his Fellow-Champions.

After this, the *Lacedæmonians* were no leſs than thrice engaged in long, fierce, and bloody Wars, with their Neighbours, the *Meſſenians*; whoſe Country lay weſtward of, and not far from *Sparta*. It alſo was of conſiderable Strength, and governed by its own Kings.

The firſt *Meſſenian* War laſted full twenty Years, and broke out the ſecond Year of the ninth *Olympiad*. The *Lacedæmonians* pretended to have received ſeveral conſiderable Injuries from the *Meſſenians*, and among others, that they had ravith'd their Daughters, when they went, according to Cuſtom, to a Temple, that ſtood on the Borders of the two Nations; as alſo, that they had murdered *Telecles*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*; which was one of the Conſequences of their ravithing the *Spartan* Virgins: But, moſt probably, the Deſire of extending their Dominion, and of ſeizing a

Territory

Territory which lay ſo convenient for them, might be the true Cauſe of the War. But be that as it will, the War broke out in the Reign of *Polydorus*, and *Theopompus*, Kings of *Sparta*; at the Time when the Office of the *Archontes*, at *Athens*, was ſtill decennial.

Euphaes, the thirteenth Deſcendant from *Hercules*, was then King of *Meſſenia*: He gave the Command of his Army to *Cleonnis*. The *Lacedæmonians* opened the Campaign with the Siege of *Amphea*, a ſmall, inconſiderable City; which however, they thought, would be very proper to make an Arſenal: The Town was taken by Storm, and all the Inhabitants put to the Sword. But this firſt Blow ſerved only to animate the *Meſſenians*, by ſhewing them what they were to expect from the Enemy, if they did not defend themſelves couragiouſly. The *Lacedæmonians*, on their Part, bound themſelves by an Oath, not to lay down their Arms, or return to *Sparta*, till they had made themſelves Maſters of all the Cities, and Lands belonging to the *Meſſenians*; ſuch an Aſſurance had they of the Succeſs of their Arms, and of their invincible Courage. Two Battles were fought, wherein the Loſs was pretty equal on both Sides: But, after the ſecond, the *Meſſenians* ſuffer'd extremely through the Want of Proviſions; which occaſioned a great Deſertion in their Troops, and at laſt brought the Plague among them.

Hereupon they conſulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, which directed them, in order to appeaſe the Wrath of the Gods, to offer up a Virgin of the Royal Blood in Sacrifice. *Ariſtomenes*, who was of the Race of the *Epytides*, offered his own Daughter; after which, the *Meſſenians* conſidering, that if they left Garriſons in all their Towns, they ſhould extremely weaken their Army, reſolved to abandon all their Towns, except *Ithoma*, a little Place ſeated on the Top of a Hill of the ſame Name, about which they incamped and fortified themſelves. In this Situation were ſeven Years ſpent, during which nothing paſſed but litte Skirmiſhes on both Sides; the *Lacedæmonians* not daring, in all that Time, to force the Enemy to a Battle.

Indeed they almoſt deſpaired of being able to reduce them; nor was there any Thing, but the Obligation of the Oath, wherewith they had engaged themſelves, that made them continue ſo burdenſome a War. What gave them the greateſt Uneaſineſs, was, their Apprehenſion, leſt their Abſence and Diſtance from their Wives, for ſo many Years, and which might ſtill continue many more, ſhould deſtroy their Families at home, and leave *Sparta* deſtitute of Citizens. To prevent this Misfortune, they ſent home ſuch of their Soldiers, as were come to the Army, ſince the forementioned Oath had been taken, and made no Scruple of proſtituting their Wives to their Embraces. The Children, that ſprung from theſe unlawful Copulations, were called *Partheniatæ*; a Name given them to denote the Infamy of their Birth. As ſoon as they were grown up, not being able to endure ſuch an opprobrious Diſtinction, they baniſhed themſelves from *Sparta* with one Conſent; and, under the Conduct of *Phalanthus*, went to *Italy*, and ſettled at *Tarentum*; after driving out the antient Inhabitants.

At laſt, in the eighth Year of the War, which was the thirteenth of the Reign of *Euphaes*, a fierce and bloody Battle was fought near *Ithoma*; wherein *Euphaes* broke through the Battalions of *Theopompus* with too much Heat and Precipitation for a King; and in ſo doing received a Multitude of Wounds, ſeveral of which were mortal. He fell, and ſeemed to give up the Ghoſt: Whereupon wonderful Efforts were made on both Sides; by the one, to carry off the King; by the other, to ſave him. In this Conteſt *Cleonnis* killed eight *Spartans*, who were dragging him along, and ſpoiled them of their Arms, which he committed to the Cuſtody of ſome of his Soldiers. He himſelf received ſeveral Wounds, all in the Forepart of his Body, which was a certain Proof, that he had never turned his Back upon his Enemies. *Ariſtomenes* likewiſe, in fighting on the ſame Occaſion, and for the ſame End, killed five *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Spoils he likewiſe carried off, without receiving any Wound. In ſhort, the King was ſaved and carried off by the *Meſſenians*; and, all mangled and bloody as he was, he expreſſed great Joy, that they had not been worſted. After the Battle was over, *Ariſtomenes* met *Cleonnis*, who, by Reaſon of his Wounds, could neither walk by himſelf, nor with the Aſſiſtance of thoſe that lent him their Hands; took him upon his Shoulders, without quitting his Arms, and carried him to the Camp.

As ſoon as they had applied the firſt Dreſſing to the Wounds of the King of *Meſſenia*, and of his Officers, there aroſe a new Conteſt among the *Meſſenians*, that was diſputed with as much Heat as the former, but was of a very different kind, and yet the Conſequence of the other. The Affair in Queſtion was, the adjudging the Prize of Glory to him, that had moſt ſignalized his Bravery in the late Engagement. For it was, even then, an an antient Cuſtom among them, publickly to proclaim, after the Battle, the Name of the Man, that had ſhewed the greateſt Courage. Nothing could be more proper to animate the Officers and Soldiers, to inſpire them with Reſolution and Intrepidity, and to ſtifle the natural Apprehenſion of Death and Danger. Two illuſtrious Champions entered the Liſts on this Occaſion, namely, *Cleonnis*, and *Ariſtomenes*.

The King, notwithſtanding his weak Condition, being attended with the principal Officers of his Army, preſided in the Council, where this important Diſpute was to be decided. Each Competitor pleaded his own Cauſe: *Cleonnis* began, and founded his Pretenſions upon the great Number of Enemies he had ſlain, and upon the Multitude of Wounds he had received in the Action, which were ſo many undoubted Teſtimonies of the Courage, wherewith he had faced both Death and Danger: Whereas, according to him, the Condition, in which *Ariſtomenes* came out of the Engagement, without Hurt, and without Wound, ſeemed to ſhew, that he had been very careful of his own Perſon; or at moſt, could only prove, that he had been more fortunate than he, but not more brave, or couragious: And as to his having carried him on his Shouldiers into the Camp, that Action indeed might ſerve to prove the Strength of his Body, but nothing more: And the Thing in Diſpute at this Time, ſays he, is not Strength, but Bravery.

The only Thing *Ariſtomenes* was reproached for, was, that he was not wounded; therefore he ſtuck only

only to that Point, and anſwered in the following Manner: "I am, ſays he, called fortunate, be-
" cauſe I have eſcaped from the Battle without
" Wounds: If that were owing to my Cowardiſe,
" I ſhould deſerve another Epithet than that of
" Fortunate; and, inſtead of being admitted to
" diſpute the Prize, I ought to undergo the Ri-
" gour of the Laws, that are made againſt Cow-
" ards. But what is objected to me, as a Crime,
" is, in Truth, my greateſt Glory: For, whether
" it be, that the Enemies, aſtoniſhed at my Va-
" lour, durſt not venture to attack or oppoſe me,
" it is no ſmall Degree of Merit, that I made
" them dread and avoid me; or if it be, that
" whilſt they engaged me, I had, at the ſame
" Time, both Strength to cut them in Pieces, and
" Skill to guard againſt their Attacks, I muſt then
" have been, at once, both valiant and prudent.
" For, whoever, in the Midſt of an Engagement,
" can expoſe himſelf to Dangers, with Caution,
" and Prudence, ſhews, that he excels, at the
" ſame Time, both in the Virtues of the Mind,
" and the Body. As for Courage, no Man liv-
" ing can reproach *Cleonnis* with any Want of it;
" but, for his Honour's Sake, I am ſorry that he
" ſhould appear to want Gratitude."

After the Concluſion of theſe Harangues, they proceeded to voting: The whole Army were in Suſpence, and impatiently waited for the Deciſion. No Diſpute could be ſo warm, and intereſting as this: It was not a Competition for Gold or Silver, but for Honour alone: The proper Reward of Virtue is pure, diſintereſted Glory. Here the Judges are unſuſpected: The Actions of the Parties ſtill ſpeak for them. It is the King himſelf, ſurrounded with his Officers, who preſides and gives Sentence: It is a whole Army, that are the Witneſſes. The Field of Battle is a Tribunal without Partiality, and without Cabal. In ſhort, all the Votes concurred in Favour of *Ariſtomenes*, and adjudged him the Prize.

Euphaes died not many Days after the Deciſion of this Affair: He had reigned thirteen Years, and during all that Time, was engaged in War with the *Lacedæmonians*. As he died without Children, he left the *Meſſenians* at Liberty to chuſe his Succeſſor. *Cleonnis*, and *Damis*, were Candidates, in Oppoſition to *Ariſtomenes*; but he was elected King, preferably to the others. When he was on the Throne, he did not ſcruple to confer on his two Rivals, the principal Offices of the State. Being all ſtrongly attach'd the publick Good, even more than to their own Glory; Competitors, but not Enemies; theſe great Men burned with a Zeal for their Country, and were neither Friends nor Adverſaries to one another, but in order to preſerve the Common-wealth.

Ariſtomenes, otherwiſe called, *Ariſtodemus*, reigned near ſeven Years, and was equally eſteem'd and beloved by his Subjects. The War ſtill continued all this Time. Towards the End of his Reign he beat the *Lacedæmonians*, took their King *Theopompus*, and, in Honour of *Jupiter* of *Ithoma*, ſacrificed three hundred of their Men, among whom their King was the principal Victim. Shortly after, *Ariſtodemus* ſacrificed himſelf upon the Tomb of his Daughter, to ſatisfy the Anſwer of an Oracle. *Damis* was his Succeſſor, but without taking upon him the Title of King.

After his Death, the *Meſſenians* never had any Succeſs in their Affairs, but found themſelves in a very wretched and hopleſs Condition. Being reduced to the laſt Extremity, and utterly deſtitute of Proviſions, they abandoned *Ithoma*, and fled to ſuch of their Allies, as were neareſt to them: The City was immediately razed, and all the People that remained, ſubmitted. They were made to engage themſelves by Oath, never to forſake the Party of *Lacedæmonians*, and never to revolt from them; a very uſeleſs Precaution, which would only ſerve to make them add the Guilt of Perjury to their Rebellion. Their new Maſters impoſed no Tribute upon them; but contented themſelves with obliging them to bring to the *Spartan* Market, one Half of the Corn they ſhould reap in their Harveſt. It was likewiſe ſtipulated, that the *Meſſenians*, both Men and Women, ſhould attend, in Mourning, on the Funerals, either of the Kings, or chief Citizens of *Sparta*: Which the *Lacedæmonians*, probably, look'd upon as a Mark of the others Dependance, and as a kind of Homage paid to their Nation: Thus ended the firſt *Meſſenian* War, after having laſted twenty Years.

But the Gentleneſs, wherewith the *Lacedæmonians* treated the *Meſſenians*, at firſt, was of no long Duration. When once they found the whole Country had ſubmitted, and thought the People incapable of giving them any farther Trouble, they returned to their natural Character, which was a Compoſition of Inſolence and Haughtineſs, that often degenerated into Cruelty, and ſometimes even into Ferocity. Inſtead of treating the Vanquiſh'd with Kindneſs, as Friends and Allies, and endeavouring by gentle Methods to win thoſe, they had ſubdued by Force, they ſeemed intent upon nothing but aggravating their Yoke, and making them feel the whole Weight of their Subjection. They laid heavy Taxes upon them; delivered them up to the Avarice of the Collectors of thoſe Taxes; gave no ear to their Complaints; rendered them no Juſtice; treated them like vile Slaves; and committed the moſt crying Outrages againſt them.

Man, who is born for Liberty, does not grow tame by Servitude: The moſt gentle Slavery exaſperates, and provokes him to rebel. What could be expected then from ſo cruel a Slavery, as was that the *Meſſenians* groaned under? Why, after having endured it with great Uneaſineſs near forty Years, they reſolved to throw off the Yoke, and to recover their antient Liberty. This was in the fourth Year of the twenty-third *Olympiad*: The Office of *Archon*, at *Athens*, was then made annual; and *Anaxander* and *Anaxidamus* reigned at *Sparta*.

The *Meſſenians* firſt Care, was to ſtrengthen themſelves with the Alliance of the neighbouring Nations. Theſe they found very well inclined to enter into their Views; becauſe their own Intereſts led them thereto. For it was not without Jealouſy and Apprehenſions, that they ſaw ſo powerful a City riſing up in the midſt of them, which manifeſtly ſeemed to aim at extending her Dominion over all the reſt. The People therefore of *Elis*, the *Argians*, and *Sicyonians*, declared for the *Meſſenians*: But before their Forces were joined, a a Battle was fought between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Meſſenians*. *Ariſtomenes*, the ſecond of that Name, was at the Head of the latter: He was a Commander of an intrepid Courage, and of great Abilities in War. The *Lacedæmonians* were beat in this Engagement; and *Ariſtomenes*, who had a

Mind

Mind to give the Enemy, at firſt, an advantagious Opinion of his Bravery, knowing what Influence it has on the Succeſs of future Enterpriſes, boldly ventured to enter *Sparta* by Night, and, upon the Gate of the Temple of *Minerva*, who was ſurnamed *Chalcioecos*, hung up a Shield, on which was an Inſcription, ſignifying, that it was a Preſent offered by *Ariſtomenes*, to that Goddeſs, out of the Spoils of the *Lacedæmonians*.

This Bravado did in Reality aſtoniſh the latter; but they were ſtill more alarmed at the formidable League that was formed againſt them. The *Delphic* Oracle, which they conſulted, in order to know by what Means they ſhould be ſucceſsful in this War, directed them to ſend to *Athens* for a Commander, and to ſubmit to his Council and Conduct. *This was a very mortifying Step to ſo* haughty a City as *Sparta*: But the Fear of incurring the Diſpleaſure of the God, by a direct Diſobedience, prevailed over all other Conſiderations; and they ſent an Embaſſy to the *Athenians* for that Purpoſe.

The People of *Athens* were ſomewhat perplex'd at the Requeſt: On one Hand, they were not ſorry to ſee the *Lacedæmonians* at War with their Neighbours, and had no Inclination to furniſh them with a good General: On the other Hand, they were afraid likewiſe of diſobeying the God. To extricate themſelves out of this Difficulty, they offered the *Lacedæmonians* one *Tyrtæus*, a Poet only by Profeſſion; and not only diſagreeable in his Perſon, but, one would have thought, very unfit for ſuch an Office, for he was lame. However, notwithſtanding theſe Defects, the *Lacedæmonians* received him, as a General, ſent unto them by Heaven itſelf; but their Succeſs did not, at firſt, anſwer their Expectation; for they loſt three Battles ſucceſſively.

Hereupon, the Kings of *Sparta*, diſcouraged by ſo many Diſappointments, and out of all Hopes of better Succeſs for the future, were entirely bent upon returning to *Sparta*, and marching home again with their Forces, when *Tyrtæus*, the Poet, oppoſed this Deſign very warmly, and at length brought them over to his Opinion. He ſpoke to the Troops, and repeated to them Verſes, he had made on Purpoſe, and on which he had beſtowed great Pains and Application. He firſt endeavoured to comfort them for their paſt Loſſes, which he imputed to no Fault of theirs, but only to ill Fortune, or to Fate, which no human Wiſdom can ſurmount. He then repreſented to them, what a Shame it would be for *Spartans* to fly from an Enemy; and how glorious it would be rather to periſh Sword in Hand, in fighting for their Country, if it was ſo decreed by Fate. Then, as if all Danger was vaniſhed, and the Gods, fully ſatisfied and appeaſed with their late Calamities, were entirely turned to their Side, he laid Victory before their Eyes as preſent and certain, and as if ſhe herſelf were inviting them to the Combat.

All the antient Authors, who have made any Mention of the Stile and Character, of the Poetry of *Tyrtæus*, have obſerved, that it was full of a certain Fire, Ardour, and Enthuſiaſm, that animated the Minds of Men; that exalted them above themſelves; that inſpired them with ſomething generous and martial; that extinguiſhed all Fear and Apprehenſion of Danger or Death; and made them wholly intent upon the Preſervation of their Country, and their own Glory.

However that be, this was really the Effect, the Verſes of *Tyrtæus* had upon the Soldiers on this Occaſion: They all deſired, with one Voice, to march againſt the Enemy: Being grown indifferent as to their Lives, they were bent only upon ſecuring to themſelves the Honour of a Burial: A Point about which the ancient *Heathens* were very anxious. To this End they all tied Strings round their Right-arms, on which were inſcrib'd their own and their Fathers Names, that, if they chanced to be killed in the Battle, and to have their Faces ſo altered through Time, or Accidents, as not to be diſtinguiſhable, it might certainly be known who each of them was, by theſe reſpective Badges. Soldiers thus determined to die, are very valiant: Accordingly this appeared in the Battle that was then fought. It was very bloody; the Victory being a long Time diſputed on both Sides; but at laſt the *Meſſenians* gave Ground. Hereupon, when *Tyrtæus* went afterwards to *Sparta*, he was received with the greateſt Marks of Diſtinction, and incorporated into the Body of Citizens; which they reckoned one of the greateſt Honours they could confer upon him.

However, the gaining this Battle did not put an End to the War, which had already laſted three Years. *Ariſtomenes* having gathered together the Remains of his Army, retired to the Top of a Mountain, of difficult Acceſs, which was called *Ira*. The Conquerors attempted to carry the Place by Aſſault; but that brave Prince defended himſelf there, for the Space of eleven Years, and performed the moſt extraordinary Actions: And when he was at laſt obliged to quit it, he was driven thereto by Surprize and Treachery, and fought like a Lion. Such of the *Meſſenians* as fell into the Hands of the *Lacedæmonians* on this Occaſion, were reduced to the Condition of the *Helotæ*, or Slaves: The reſt ſeeing their Country ruined, went and ſettled at *Zancle*, a City in *Sicily*, which afterwards took its Name from this People, and was called *Meſſena*; the ſame Place which now, at this Day, is called *Meſſina*. As for the brave *Ariſtomenes*, after having conducted one of his Daughters to *Rhodes*, whom he had given in Marriage to the Tyrant of that Place, he thought of paſſing on to *Sardis*, and reſiding with *Alyattes*, King of the *Lydians*; or to *Ecbatana*, there to ſtay with *Phraortes*, King of the *Medes*; but Death prevented his putting either of theſe Deſigns in Execution.

The ſecond *Meſſenian* War laſted fourteen Years, and ended the firſt Year of the twenty-ſeventh *Olympiad*.

There was a third War between the ſame People and the *Lacedæmonians*; which began both at the Time, and on the Occaſion of a great Earthquake, that happened at *Sparta*; an Account whereof will be given in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

CHAP. IV.

The History of the Persians *and* Greeks; Darius, *the Son of* Hystaspes, *in an Inscription upon an Equestrian Statue, owns himself indebted to his Groom, and his Horse, for the* Persian *Empire; Observation thereon; His admirable Regulation of the* Persian *Government; The unparallel'd Insolence of* Intaphernes; *Signally punished;* Oretes *justly punished. for his Cruelty and Treachery;* Democedes, *a* Grecian *Physician, his remarkable Story; He is the distant Cause of the War between the* Persians *and* Greeks; *The Revolt and Reduction of* Babylon; *the unparallel'd Generosity and Zeal of* Zopyrus; *The Expedition of* Darius *against the* Scythians; *Which proves unsuccessful; the Revolt of the* Ionians; *Its fatal Consequences.*

COME we now to the joint History of the *Persians*, and *Grecians*. Before *Darius*, the Son of *Hystaspes*, obtain'd the Kingdom, he was called *Ochus*; but on his Accession to the Throne, he took the Name of *Darius*, which, according to *Herodotus* in the *Persian* Language, signifies an Avenger, or a Man that Defeats the Schemes of another; probably, because he had punished, and put an End to the *Magian* Impostor. He reigned thirty-six Years.

When he was seated on the Throne, the better to secure himself therein, he married two Daughters of *Cyrus*, *Atossa* and *Artistona*: The former had been Wife to *Cambyses*, her own Brother, and afterwards to *Smerdis* the *Magian*, during the Time he was possessed of the Throne. *Artistona* was still a Virgin, when *Darius* married her; and of all his Wives, was the Person he most loved. He likewise married *Parmys*, Daughter of the true *Smerdis*, who was Brother to *Cambyses*; as also *Phedyma*, Daughter to *Otanes*, by whose Management, the Imposture of the *Magian* had been discovered: And by all these Wives he had a great Number of Children of both Sexes, which is no great Wonder.

We have already seen, that the seven Conspirators, who put the *Magian* to Death, had agreed among themselves, that he, whose Horse, on the Day appointed, first neighed, at the Rising of the Sun, should be declared King; and that the Horse of *Darius*, by the Address of his Groom, procur'd his Master that Honour. The King, desiring to transmit to future Ages, his Gratitude for this signal and extraordinary Service, caused an Equestrian Statue to be set up with this Inscription: Darius, *the Son of* Hystaspes, *acquired the Kingdom of* Persia *by Means of his Horse* (whose Name was inserted) *and of his Groom*, Oebares. In this Inscription, where, we see, the King is not asham'd to own himself indebted to his Horse and his Groom, for so transcendent a Benefaction, as the regal Diadem, when it was his Interest, one would think, to have it look'd upon as the Fruits of a superior Merit, there is a Simplicity and Sincerity, peculiar to the Genius of those ancient Times; and extremely contrary to our absurd Pride and Vanity now-a-days.

One of the first Cares of *Darius*, when he was settled on the Throne, was to regulate the State of the Provinces, and to put his Finances into good Order. Before his Time, *Cyrus* and *Cambyses* had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered Nations such free Gifts only, as they voluntarily offered, and with requiring a certain Number of Troops, when they had Occasion for them. But *Darius* was of Opinion, that it was impossible for him to preserve all the Nations, under his Dominion, in Peace and Security, without keeping up certain Bodies of regular Forces; as also to keep up those Forces without assigning them a certain Pay; or to be able punctually to give them that Pay, without laying certain Taxes and Impositions upon the People.

In order therefore to put the Administration of his Finances into a proper Method, he divided the whole Empire into twenty Districts, or Governments, each of which was annually to pay a certain Sum to the *Satrapa*, or Governor, appointed for that Purpose: The natural Subjects, that is, the *Persians*, were exempt from all Imposition. *Herodotus* gives a particular Enumeration of these Provinces, which may very much contribute to give a just Idea of the Extent of the *Persian* Empire at that Time.

In *Asia*, it comprehended all that now belongs to the *Persians*, and *Turks*; in *Africa*, it took in *Egypt*, and Part of *Nubia*, as also the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*, as far as the Kingdom of *Barca*; and in *Europe*, Part of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*. But it must be observed, that in this vast Extent of Country, there were several Nations, which were only Tributary, and not properly under the *Persian* Dominion; as there are, to this Day, in the Dominions of the *Grand Signior*.

History observes, that *Darius*, in laying these Impositions, shewed great Wisdom and Moderation. He sent for the principal Inhabitants of every Province; such as were best acquainted with the Condition and Ability of their Country, and as were obliged in Interest to give him a true and impartial

impartial Account. He then asked them, if ſuch and ſuch Sums, which he propoſed to each of them for their reſpective Provinces, were not too great or did not exceed what they were able to pay; his Intention being, as he told them, not to oppreſs his Subjects, but only to require ſuch Aids from them, as were proportion'd to their Incomes, and abſolutely neceſſary for the Defence of the State. They all anſwered, that the Sums he propoſed were very reaſonable, and ſuch as would not be burdenſome to the People. The King, however, was pleaſed to abate one Half, chuſing rather to keep abundantly within Bounds, than to risk a Poſſibility of exceeding them.

But notwithſtanding the extraordinary Moderation of the King, as there is ſomething odious in all Impoſitions, the *Perſians*, who gave the Surname of Father to *Cyrus*, and of Maſter to *Cambyſes*, thought fit to characterize *Darius* with that of Merchant, or rather *Broker*. The ſeveral Sums levied by the Impoſition of theſe Tributes or Taxes, as far as we can infer from the Calculation of *Herodotus*, which is attended with great Difficulties, amounted in the whole to about Ten Millions Sterling.

After the Death of the *Magian* Impoſtor, it was agreed, that the ſeven *Perſian* Noblemen, who had conſpired againſt him, ſhould, beſides ſeveral other Marks of Diſtinction, have the Liberty of free Acceſs, to the Preſence of the King at all Times, except when he was alone with the Queen. *Intaphernes*, one of theſe Noblemen, though there was this Exception in their Privilege, being refuſed Admittance into the Apartment of the King, at a Time, when that Monarch, and his Queen were in private, in a violent Rage fell foul upon the Officers of the Palace, and abuſed them outragiouſly, by cutting their Faces with his Scymetar. *Darius*, and not without Reaſon, highly reſented ſo heinous an Inſult; and, at firſt, apprehended it might be a Conſpiracy among the Noblemen. But when he was well aſſured of the contrary, he cauſed *Intaphernes*, together with his Children, and all that were of his Family, to be taken up; and had them all condemned to be put to Death; confounding, through a blind Exceſs of Severity, the Innocent with the Guilty.

In theſe unhappy Circumſtances, the Lady of the Criminal, went every Day to the Gates of the Palace, crying and weeping, in the maſt lamentable Manner; and never ceaſing to implore the Clemency of the King, with all the pathetick Eloquence of Sorrow and Diſtreſs. *Darius* could not reſiſt ſo moving a Spectacle; but, beſides her own, granted her the Pardon of any one Perſon of her Family, whom ſhe herſelf ſhould name. This put the unhappy Lady, who, no doubt, was deſirous of ſaving all, into a great Perplexity: At laſt, after a long Deliberation, ſhe determined in Favour of her Brother. This Choice, wherein ſhe ſeemed not to have followed the Sentiments, which Nature ſhould dictate to a Mother and a Wife, ſurprized the King; who deſiring her to be asked the Reaſon of it, ſhe made Anſwer, That by a ſecond Marriage, the Loſs an Husband and Children might be retrieved; but that, her Father and Mother being dead, there was no Poſſibility of recovering a Brother: Upon which *Darius*, beſides the Life of her Brother, granted her the ſame Favour for the eldeſt of her Children.

We have already related the perfidious Wile, whereby *Oretes*, one of the *Perſian* Governors in *Aſia minor*, compaſs'd the Death of *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*: So black and deteſtable a Crime did not go unpuniſh'd. *Darius* found out, that *Oretes* ſtrangely abuſed his Power; and made no Account of the Blood of thoſe Perſons, who had the Misfortune to diſpleaſe him: This *Satrapa* carried his Inſolence ſo far, as to put to Death, a Meſſenger ſent him by the King, becauſe he did not like the Orders he had brought him. Nevertheleſs *Darius*, who did not think himſelf well ſettled in the Throne, would not venture to attack him openly; for this *Satrapa* had no leſs than a thouſand Soldiers for his Guard, not to mention the Succours he was able to raiſe from his Government, which took in *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and *Ionia*: The King, therefore, thought fit to proceed in a ſecret Manner, to rid himſelf of ſo dangerous a Servant; and, with this Commiſſion, he intruſted one of his Officers, of approved Fidelity, and Attachment to his Perſon.

Hereupon, this Officer, under Pretence of other Buſineſs, went to *Sardis*; where, with great Dexterity, he ſifted into the Diſpoſitions of the People. To pave the Way to his Deſign, he firſt gave the principal Officers of the Governor's Guard Letters from the King, which contained nothing but general Orders. A little while after, he deliver'd them other Letters, in which their Orders were more expreſs and particular. And aſſoon as he found himſelf perfectly ſure of the Diſpoſition of the Troops, he then read them a third Letter, wherein the King, in plain Terms, commanded them to kill the Governor; and this Order was executed without Delay. All his Effects were confiſcated to the King; and all the Perſons belonging to his Family and Houſhold were removed to *Suſa*: Among the reſt, there was a celebrated Phyſician of *Crotona*, whoſe Name was *Democedes*. The Story of this Phyſician is very ſingular, and his Removal to *Suſa* was productive of very extraordinary Conſequences, and is as follows.

Not long after the fore-mentioned Tranſaction, *Darius* chanced to have a Fall from his Horſe in hunting, by which he got a violent Sprain in one of his Feet, and disjointed his Heel. The *Egyptians* were then reckon'd the moſt skilful in Phyſick; for which Reaſon the King had ſeveral Phyſicians of that Nation about him. Theſe undertook to cure the King, and exerted all their Skill on ſo important an Occaſion: But they were ſo unhandy in the Operation, and in the handling and managing the King's Foot, that they put him to incredible Pain; ſo that he paſſed ſeven Days, and ſeven Nights without ſleeping.

Hereupon, ſome Perſon who had been at *Sardis*, and had there heard *Democedes* extoll'd as a very able Phyſician, happen'd to mention him. He was ſent for immediately, and brought to the King, in the Condition he was in, with his Irons on, and in a very poor Apparel; for he was, at that Time, actually a Priſoner. The King ask'd him, whether he had any Knowledge in Phyſick. At firſt he anſwered in the Negative, fearing, that if he ſhould give any Proofs of his Skill, he ſhould be detained in *Perſia*; and by that Means be for ever debarred from returning to his own Country, for which he had a very paſſionate Fondneſs; and *Darius*, diſpleaſed with his Anſwer, ordered him to be put to the Torture.

Democedes

Democedes then found it was neceſſary to own the Truth; and, therefore, offer'd his Service to the King; and the firſt Thing he did was to apply gentle Fomentations to the Parts affected. This Remedy had a ſpeedy Effect; *Darius* recover'd his Sleep; and, in a few Days, was perfectly cur'd, both of the Sprain, and the Diſlocation; and, to recompenſe the Phyſician, the King made him a Preſent of two Pair of golden Chains: Upon which, *Democedes* ask'd him, whether he meant to reward the happy Succeſs of his Endeavours, by doubling his Misfortune. *Darius* was pleas'd with that Saying; and order'd his Eunuchs to conduct *Democedes* to his Wives, that they might ſee the Perſon, to whom he was indebted for his Recovery; and they all made him very magnificent Preſents; ſo that, in one Day, he was ſufficiently inrich'd.

Democedes was a Native of *Crotona*, a City of *Great Greece*; or rather, Part of *Italy*, ſo call'd, in the farther *Calabria*; from whence he had been oblig'd to fly, on Account of the ill Treatment he receiv'd from his Father. He firſt went to *Egina*, where, by ſeveral ſucceſsful Cures, he acquir'd great Reputation: The Inhabitants of this Place ſettled on him a yearly Penſion of a Talent. The Talent contain'd ſixty *Minæ*, and was worth about a hundred and fifty Pounds. Some Time after, he was invited to *Athens*; where they augmented his Penſion to two hundred and fifty Pounds. After this, he was receiv'd into the Family of *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, who gave him a Penſion of two thouſand Crowns. It is very much for the Honour of Cities, or Princes, by handſome Penſions, and Salaries, to engage ſuch Perſons in their Service, as are of publick Benefit to Mankind; and even to induce Foreigners of Worth, and Merit, to come, and ſettle among them. The *Crotonians*, from this Time, had the Reputation of having the ableſt Phyſicians; and next, after them, the People of *Cyrene*, in *Africa*. The *Argians* were, at the ſame Time, reputed to excell in Muſick.

After performing this Cure upon the King, *Democedes* was admitted to the Honour of eating at his Table; and came to be in great Credit at *Suſa*. At his Interceſſion, the *Egyptian* Phyſicians were pardon'd, who had all been condemn'd to be hang'd, for their having been leſs skilful than the *Grecian*; as if they were oblig'd to anſwer for the Succeſs of their Remedies; or, that it was a Crime not to be able to cure a Monarch. A ſtrange Abuſe this, and, at the ſame Time, but too common a Conſequence of unlimited Power! Which is ſeldom govern'd by Reaſon, or Equity; and which, being accuſtom'd to ſee every one ſubmit to its Authority, expects, that its Commands, of what Nature ſoever, ſhould be infallibly perform'd.

We have ſeen another Inſtance of this Kind, in the Hiſtory of *Nebuchadnezzar*; who pronounc'd a general Sentence of Death upon all his *Magi*, becauſe they could not divine what it was he had dream'd in the Night, when he himſelf had forgot it. *Democedes* procur'd alſo the Enlargement of ſeveral of thoſe Perſons, who had been impriſon'd with him. He liv'd in the greateſt Affluence, and was in the higheſt Eſteem, and Favour, with the King: But, he was at a great Diſtance from his own Country, upon which his Thoughts, and Deſires were continually fix'd.

Not long after, he had the good Fortune to perform another Cure, which contributed to raiſe his Credit, and Reputation, ſtill higher. *Atoſſa*, one of the King's Wives, and Daughter of *Cyrus*, was attack'd with a Cancer in her Breaſt. As long as the Pain of it was tolerable, ſhe bore it with Patience, not being able to prevail on herſelf, through Modeſty, to diſcover her Diſorder. But, at laſt, ſhe was conſtrain'd to it, and ſent for *Democedes*; who promis'd to cure her, but, at the ſame Time, requeſted, that ſhe would be pleas'd to grant him a certain Favour he ſhould beg of her, intirely conſiſtent with her Honour. The Queen engag'd her Word, and was cur'd. The Favour promis'd the Phyſician, was, to procure him a Journey into his own Country: And the Queen was not unmindful of her Promiſe. Such Events are highly worthy our Notice, which, though not very conſiderable in themſelves, yet often give Occaſion to the greateſt Enterprizes of Princes; and are even the ſecret Springs, and diſtant Cauſes of them.

As *Atoſſa* was converſing, one Day, with *Darius*, ſhe took Occaſion to repreſent to him, that, being in the Flower of his Age; of a vigorous Conſtitution, capable of enduring the Fatigues of War; and having great, and numerous Armies at Command; it would be for his Honour, to form ſome great Enterprize, and let the *Perſians* ſee, they had a Man of Courage for their King. You have div'd into my Deſign, reply'd *Darius*; for, I was thinking of going to attack the *Scythians*. I had much rather, ſays *Atoſſa*, you would, firſt, turn your Views towards the *Grecians*. I have heard great Things ſaid in Praiſe of the Women of *Lacedæmon*, of *Argos*, *Athens*, and *Corinth*; and ſhould be very glad to have ſome of them in my Service. Beſides, you have a Perſon here, who might be very uſeful to you in ſuch an Enterprize, and could give you a perfect Knowledge of the Country: The Perſon, I mean, is *Democedes*, who hath cur'd both you and me. This was enough for the King, and the Affair was concluded on immediately.

Fifteen *Perſian* Noblemen were appointed to accompany *Democedes* into *Greece*; and with him, to view, and examine, all the maritime Places thereof, as thoroughly as poſſible. The King farther charg'd theſe Perſons, above all Things, to keep a ſtrict Eye upon the Phyſician, that he did not ſlip from them; and to bring him back with them to the *Perſian* Court. *Darius*, in giving ſuch an Order, plainly ſhew'd, he did not underſtand the proper Methods, for engaging Men of Wit, and Merit, to reſide in his Dominions; and for attaching them to his Perſon. To pretend to do this by Authority, and Compulſion, is the ſure Way of ſuppreſſing all Knowledge, and Induſtry; and of driving away the liberal Arts, and Sciences; which muſt be free, and unconfin'd, as the intellectual Faculty, from whence they ſpring. For one Man of Genius, who will be kept in a Country by Force, Thouſands will be driven away; who would, probably, have choſen to reſide in it, if they could have enjoy'd their Liberty, and met with generous Uſage.

When *Darius* had form'd his Deſign, of ſending theſe Lords into *Greece*, he acquainted *Democedes* with it; laid open his Views to him, and told him the Occaſion he had for his Service, to conduct the *Perſian* Noblemen thither; particularly

larly to the maritime Towns, in order to obſerve their Situation, and Strength; at the ſame Time, earneſtly deſiring him, that, when that was done, he would return back with them to *Perſia*. The King permitted him to carry all his Moveables with him; and give them, if he pleas'd, to his Father, and Brothers; promiſing, at his Return, to ſupply him with as many of greater Value; and ſignify'd to him farther, that he would order the Galley, in which he was to ſail, to be laden with very rich Preſents, for him to beſtow, as he thought fit, on the Reſt of his Family. The Intention of *Darius* appear'd, by his Manner of ſpeaking, to be undiſguis'd, and without Artifice: But, *Democedes* was afraid it might be a Snare, laid for him, in order to diſcover whether he purpos'd to return back to *Perſia*, or not: And therefore, to remove all Suſpicion, he left his own Goods behind him at *Suſa*; and only took with him the Preſents deſign'd for his Family.

The firſt Place they went to was *Sidon*, in *Phœnicia*; where they equipp'd two large Veſſels, for themſelves, and put all they had on board another Veſſel of Burthen: Thence they proceeded to *Greece*, and carefully examin'd the chief Cities; which done, they went to *Tarentum*, in *Italy*: Here the *Perſian* Noblemen were ſeized as Spies; and *Democedes*, taking Advantage of their Detainer, made his Eſcape from them, and fled to *Crotona*. When the *Perſian* Lords had recover'd their Liberty, they purſu'd him thither, but could not prevail on the *Crotonians* to deliver up their Fellow-Citizen. Beſides which, they ſeiz'd the loaded Veſſel: And the *Perſians*, having loſt their Guide, laid aſide the Thoughts of going over the other Parts of *Greece*, and ſet out for their own Country.

At their Departure, *Democedes* let them know, that he was going to marry the Daughter of *Milo*, a famous Wreſtler of *Crotona*; whoſe Name was very well known to the King, and of whom we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. This Voyage of the *Perſian* Noblemen into *Greece*, was attended with no immediate Conſequence; becauſe, on their Return home, they found the King engag'd in other Affairs; but it produc'd extraordinary Events afterwards.

In the third Year of this King's Reign, which was but the ſecond, according to the *Jewiſh* Computation; new Troubles, and Diſturbances, were rais'd againſt the *Jews*, by the Inſtigation of the *Samaritans*. In the preceding Reigns, the latter had procur'd a Prohibition, againſt the *Jews* from proceeding any farther, in building the Temple of *Jeruſalem*. But, upon the lively Exhortation of the Prophets, and the expreſs Order of God, the *Iſraelites* had lately reſum'd the Work, which had been interrupted for ſeveral Years; and carry'd it on with great Vigour.

Hereupon, the *Samaritans* had Recourſe to their ancient Practices, to ſtop their Proceedings; they apply'd to *Thatanai*, whom *Darius* had made Governor of the Provinces of *Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and complain'd to him of the audacious Proceedings of the *Jews*; who, of their own Authority, and in Defiance of the Prohibitions to the contrary, preſum'd to rebuild their Temple; adding, it muſt, neceſſarily, be prejudicial to the King's Intereſts. Upon this Repreſentation, the Governor thought fit to go himſelf to *Jeruſalem*. And, being a Perſon of great Equity, and Moderation, when he had inſpected the Work, he did not think proper to proceed violently, and to put a Stop to it, without any farther Deliberation; but enquir'd of the *Jewiſh* Elders, what Licence they had, for entering upon a Work of that Nature? The *Jews*, hereupon, producing the Edict of *Cyrus*, made in that Behalf; he would not, of himſelf, ordain any Thing in Contradiction thereto, but ſent an Account of the whole Matter to the King, and deſir'd to know his Pleaſure.

However, he gave *Darius* a true Repreſentation of the Affairs, acquainting him with the Edict of *Cyrus*, which the *Jews* alledg'd, in their Juſtification; and deſiring him to order the Regiſters to be conſulted; that it might be ſeen, whether *Cyrus* had really publiſh'd ſuch an Edict in their Favour; and thereupon to ſend him what Inſtructions he thought fit. Upon which, *Darius* having commanded the Regiſters to be examin'd, the Edict was found at *Ecbatana*, in *Media*, the Place, where *Cyrus* was, at the Time of its being granted; and *Darius*, having a great Reſpect for the Memory of that Prince, confirm'd his Edict; and caus'd another to be drawn up, wherein the former was referr'd to, and ratify'd.

This Regard to the Memory of *Cyrus*, had there been nothing elſe to influence the King, would have been very laudable: But the *Scripture* informs us, that it was *God* Himſelf, who influenc'd the Mind, and Heart of the King; and inſpir'd him with a favourable Diſpoſition towards the *Jews*. The Truth of this appears pretty plain, from the Edict itſelf: Firſt, it ordains, that all Victims, Oblations, and other Expences of the Temple, ſhould be abundantly furniſh'd the *Jews*, as the Prieſts ſhould require: Then it enjoins the Prieſts of *Jeruſalem*, when they offer'd their Sacrifices to the *God* of Heaven, to pray for the Preſervation of the Life of the King, and the Princes his Children: And laſtly, it goes ſo far, as to denounce Imprecations againſt all Princes, and People, who ſhould hinder the carrying on the building of the Temple; or, that ſhould attempt to deſtroy it: By all which, *Darius* evidently acknowledg'd, that the *God* of *Iſrael* was able to overturn the Kingdoms of the World, and to dethrone the moſt mighty, and powerful Princes.

By Virtue of this Edict, the *Jews* were not only authoriz'd to proceed in the building of their Temple; but all the Expences thereof were alſo to be furniſh'd to them, out of the Taxes, and Impoſitions of the Province. What muſt have become of the *Jews*, when the Crimes of Diſobedience, and Rebellion, were laid to their Charge; if, at ſuch a Juncture, their Superiors had only hearken'd to their Enemies, and not given them Leave to juſtify themſelves!

The ſame Prince, ſome Time after, gave ſtill a more ſignal Proof of his Love for Juſtice; and his Abhorrence of Accuſers, and Informers; a deteſtable Race of Men, who are, by their very Nature, and Condition, Enemies to all Merit, and Virtue. It is pretty obvious, that we mean in that famous Edict, publiſh'd by this Prince againſt *Haman*, in Favour of the *Jews*, at the Requeſt of *Eſther*, whom the King had taken to his Bed, in the Room of *Vaſthi*, one of his Wives. According to Archbiſhop *Uſher*, this *Vaſthi* is, we believe, the ſame Perſon, as is call'd by prophane

Writers *Atossa*; and the *Ahasuerus* of the *Holy Scriptures* the same, as *Darius*: But, according to Dr. *Prideaux*, it is *Artaxerxes*.

Such Justice does great Honour to the Memory of a Prince: As does also Gratitude, of which, *Darius*, on a certain Occasion, gave a very laudable Instance. *Syloson*, Brother to *Polycrates*, Tyrant of *Samos*, had once made *Darius* a Present of a Suit of Cloaths, of a curious red Colour, which extreamly pleas'd his Fancy; and would never suffer him to make any Return for it. *Darius*, at that Time, was but a private Gentleman; an Officer in the Guards of *Cambyses*; whom he accompany'd to *Memphis*, in his *Egyptian* Expedition. But, when he was advanc'd to the Throne of *Persia*, *Syloson* went to *Susa*, presented himself at the Gate of his Palace, and sent up Word to the King, that there was a *Grecian* below, to whom his Majesty was under some Obligation.

Darius, surpriz'd at such a Message, and curious to know the Truth of it, order'd him to be brought in; and when he saw him, remember'd him, and acknowledg'd him to have been his Benefactor: He was so far from being asham'd of an Adventure, which some would have thought not much for their Honour, that he ingenuously applauded the Gentleman's Generosity; which proceeded from no other Motive, than that of doing a Pleasure to a Person, from whom he could have no Expectations; and then propos'd to make him a considerable Present of Gold and Silver.

But Money was not what *Syloson* desir'd: The Love of his Country was his predominant Passion. The Favour he requir'd of the King was, that he would settle him at *Samos*, without shedding the Blood of the Citizens; by driving out the Person, who had usurp'd the Government, since the Death of his Brother. *Darius* consented; and committed the Conduct of the Expedition to *Otanes*, one of the principal Lords of his Court; who undertook it with Joy, and perform'd it with Success.

About the Beginning of the fifth Year of *Darius*, he met with some little Disquiet, by the Revolt of *Babylon*; which could not be reduc'd, till after a Siege of twenty Months. This City, which before was Mistress of the *East*, grew impatient of the *Persian* Yoke, especially after the Removal of the imperial Seat to *Susa*, which very much diminish'd the Wealth, and Grandeur of *Babylon*. The *Babylonians*, therefore, taking Advantage of the Revolution that happen'd in *Persia*, first, on the Death of *Cambyses*, and afterwards, on the Massacre of the *Magi*, made secretly, for four Years together, all Kinds of Preparations for War; and when they thought the City sufficiently stor'd with Provisions for many Years, they set up the Standard of Rebellion; which oblig'd *Darius* to besiege them with all his Forces.

Now *God* continu'd to accomplish those terrible Threatnings he had denounc'd against *Babylon*: That he would, not only humble, and bring down, that proud, and impious City; but depopulate, and lay it waste, with Fire, and Sword; utterly exterminate it, and reduce it to an eternal Solitude. In order to fulfil these Predictions, *He* permitted the *Babylonians* to rebel against *Darius*; and, by that Means, to draw upon themselves the whole Force of the *Persian* Empire: And they themselves were the first, in putting these Prophecies in Execution, by destroying a great Number of their own People, as will be seen presently. It is probable, that the *Jews*, of whom a considerable Number remain'd at *Babylon*, went out of the City, before the Siege was form'd; as the Prophets *Isaiah*, and *Jeremiah*, had exhorted them long before; and *Zechariah*, but a little before, in the following Terms: *Thou*, Sion, *who dwellest with the Daughter of* Babylon, *flee from the Country, and save thyself.*

In Effect, the *Babylonians*, to make their Provisions last the longer, and to enable them to hold out with the greater Vigour, took the most desperate, and barbarous Resolution, that ever was heard of; which was, to destroy all such of their own People, as were unserviceable on this Occasion. For this Purpose, they assembled together all their Wives, and Children, and strangled them: Only every Man was allow'd to keep his best beloved Wife, and one Servant-Maid.

After this cruel Execution, the unhappy Remainder of the Inhabitants, thinking themselves out of all Danger, both on Account of their Fortifications, which they look'd upon as impregnable, and the vast Quantity of Provisions they had laid up in Store, began to insult the Besiegers from the Tops of their Walls; and to provoke them with opprobrious Language. In Effect, the *Persians*, for the Space of eighteen Months, did all that Force, or Stratagem, were capable of, in order to make themselves Masters of the City; nor did they forget to make Use of the same Means, as had so happily succeeded with *Cyrus* some Years before; we mean, that of turning the Course of the River. But, all their Efforts were fruitless; and *Darius* began, almost, to despair of taking the Place; when a Stratagem, till then unheard of, open'd the Gates of that City to him; which, otherwise, must have been impregnable, in Spite of all the Attacks they could then have made; since no Engines, then in Use, could have forc'd an Entrance.

He was strangely surpriz'd, one Morning, to see *Zopyrus*, one of the chief Noblemen of his Court, and Son of *Megabyses*, who was one of the seven Lords, that made the Association against the *Magi*, appear before him all over Blood; with his Nose, and Ears cut off, and his whole Body wounded in a terrible Manner. Starting up from his Throne, he cry'd out: Who is it, *Zopyrus*, that has dar'd to treat you thus? Yourself, O King, reply'd *Zopyrus*. The Desire I had of rendering you Service, has put me into this Condition. As I was fully persuaded, that you never would have consented to this Method, I have consulted none but the Zeal I had for your Service. He then open'd to him his Design of going over to the Enemy; and they settled every Thing together, that was proper to be done. The King, however, could not see him set out upon this extraordinary Project, without the utmost Affliction, and Concern.

All Things being agreed on, *Zopyrus* approached the Walls of the City; and, having told them who he was, he was soon admitted; and they carry'd him before the Governor, to whom he laid open his Misfortune, and the cruel Treatment he had met with from *Darius*, for having dis-

diſſuaded him from continuing any longer before a City, which it was impoſſible for him to take. He then offer'd the *Babylonians* his Service, which could not fail of being highly uſeful to them, ſince he was acquainted with all the Deſigns of the *Perſians*; and ſince the Deſire of Revenge would inſpire him with freſh Courage, and Reſolution. His Name, and Perſon, were both well known at *Babylon*: And the Condition in which he appear'd, his Blood, and his Wounds teſtify'd for him; and, by Proofs not to be ſuſpected, confirm'd the Truth of all he advanc'd: Wherefore, they entirely believ'd whatever he told them, and alſo gave him, the Command of as many Troops, as he deſir'd.

In the firſt Sally he made, he cut off a thouſand of the Beſiegers: A few Days after, he kill'd them double the Number; and, on the third Time, four thouſand of their Men lay dead upon the Spot: All this had been before agreed upon between him and *Darius*. Accordingly, nothing was now talk'd of in *Babylon*, but *Zopyrus*: The whole City ſtrove who ſhould extol him moſt; they had not Words ſufficient to expreſs their high Value for him, and how happy they eſteem'd themſelves, in having gain'd ſo great a Man. He was now declar'd Generaliſſimo of their Forces, and intruſted with the Care of guarding the Walls of the City; upon which, *Darius* approaching, with his Army, towards the Gates, and, at the Time agreed on between them, *Zopyrus* open'd them to him, and made him, by that Means, Maſter of the City; which he never could have been able to take, either by Force, Famine, or any other Means whatever then known.

As powerful as this Prince was, he found himſelf incapable of making a ſufficient Recompence for ſo great a Service; and he us'd often to ſay, that he would, with Pleaſure, ſacrifice a hundred *Babylons*, if he had them, to reſtore *Zopyrus* to the Condition he was in, before he inflicted that cruel Treatment upon himſelf. He ſettled upon him, during Life, the whole Revenue of this opulent City, which he alone had procur'd him the Poſſeſſion of, and heap'd all the Honours upon him, that a King could poſſibly confer upon a Subject. *Megabyſes*, who, afterwards, commanded the *Perſian* Army in *Egypt*, againſt the *Athenians*, was Son to this *Zopyrus*; and that *Zopyrus*, who went over to the *Athenians*, in the Quality of a Deſerter, was his Grandſon.

No ſooner was *Darius* in Poſſeſſion of *Babylon*, but he order'd the hundred Gates to be pull'd down; and all the Walls of that proud City to be entirely demoliſh'd; that ſhe might never be in a Condition any more to rebel againſt him. If he had pleas'd to make Uſe of all the Rights of a Conqueror, he might, upon this Occaſion, have exterminated all the Inhabitants. But he contented himſelf with cauſing three thouſand of thoſe, who were principally concern'd in the Revolt, to be impal'd; and granted a Pardon to all the Reſt. And, in order to prevent the Depopulation of the City, he caus'd fifty thouſand Women to be brought from the ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, to ſupply the Place of thoſe, which the Inhabitants had ſo cruelly deſtroy'd at the Beginning of the Siege.

Such was the Fate of *Babylon*; and thus did *God* execute his Vengeance on that impious City, for the Cruelty ſhe had exercis'd towards the *Jews*, in falling upon a free People, without any Reaſon, or Provocation; in deſtroying their Government, Laws, and Worſhip; in forcing them from their Country, and tranſporting them to a ſtrange Land; where they laid a moſt grievous Yoke upon them, and made Uſe of all their Power to cruſh, and afflict an unhappy Nation; favour'd, however, by *God*, and having the Honour to be ſtil'd, the peculiar People of the *Almighty*.

This troubleſome Affair being thus over, *Darius* made great Preparations for the War againſt the *Scythians*, who inhabited that large Tract of Land, which lyes between the *Danube*, and the *Tanais*. His Pretence for undertaking this War, was to be revenged of that Nation, for the Invaſion, which their Anceſtors had formerly made of *Aſia*: A very frivolous, and ſorry Pretext; and a very ridiculous Thing, to revive an old Quarrel, after an Interval of a hundred and twenty Years.

Whilſt the *Scythians* were employ'd in that Irruption, which laſted twenty-eight Years, the *Scythians* Wives marry'd their Slaves. When the Husbands were on their Return home, theſe Slaves went out to meet them with a numerous Army, and diſputed their Entrance into their Country. After ſome Battles fought with pretty equal Loſs on both Sides, the Maſters conſidering, that it was doing too much Honour to their Slaves, to put them upon the Foot of Soldiers, march'd againſt them, in the next Encounter, with Whips in their Hands, to make them remember their proper Condition: This Stratagem had the intended Effect: For, not being able to bear the Sight of their Maſters thus arm'd, they all ran away.

Formerly there were *Scythians* both in *Europe*, and *Aſia*, moſt of them inhabiting thoſe Parts, that lye towards the *North*: But we deſign now to treat chiefly of the firſt; namely, of the *European Scythians*.

Hiſtorians, in the Accounts they have left us of the Manners, and Character of theſe *Scythians*, relate Things of them, that are entirely oppoſite, and contradictory to one another. One While, they repreſent them, as the juſteſt, and moſt moderate People in the World: Another While, they deſcribe them, as a fierce, and barbarous Nation, who carry'd their Cruelty to ſuch horrible Exceſſes, as are ſhocking to human Nature. This Contrariety is a manifeſt Proof, that thoſe different Characters are to be apply'd to different Nations of *Scythians*, all compriz'd in that vaſt, and extenſive Tract of Country; and that, though they were all comprehended under one, and the ſame, general Denomination of *Scythians*, we ought not to confound them, or their Characters, together.

Strabo has quoted Authors, who mention *Scythians*, dwelling upon the Coaſt of the *Euxine Sea*, that cut the Throats of all Strangers, who came amongſt them, fed upon their Fleſh, and made Pots, and Drinking-Veſſels of their Sculls, when they had dry'd them. *Herodotus*, in deſcribing the Sacrifices, which the *Scythians* offer'd to the God *Mars*, ſays, they us'd to offer human Sacrifices. Their Manner of making Treaties alſo, according to this Author, was very ſtrange, and particular. They, firſt, pour'd Wine into a large Earthen Veſſel, and then the Contracting Parties, cutting

cutting their Arms with a Knife, let some of their Blood run into the Wine, and stain'd, likewise, their Armour therewith; after which, they themselves, and all that were present, drank of that Liquor, making the strongest Imprecations against the Person that should violate the Treaty.

But what the same Historian relates, concerning the Ceremonies observ'd at the Funeral of their Kings, is still more extraordinary. We shall only mention such of those Ceremonies, as may serve to give us, an Idea of the cruel Barbarity of this People.

When their King dy'd, they embalm'd his Body, and wrapp'd it up in Wax; after this, they put it into an open Chariot, and carry'd it from City to City, exposing it to the View of all the People under his Dominion. This done, they laid the Body in the Place, appointed for its Burial; and there they made a large Grave, in which they interr'd the King; and with him, one of his Wives, his chief Cup-Bearer, his great Chamberlain, his Master of the Horse, his Chancellor, his Secretary of State; all which Persons were put to Death for that Purpose. To these, they added several Horses, a great Number of Drinking-Vessels, and a certain Part of every Kind of Household-Goods, and Furniture, belonging to their deceased Monarch: After which, they fill'd up the Grave, and cover'd it with Earth.

This was not all: When the Anniversary of his Interrment came, they cut the Throats of fifty more of the dead King's Officers, and of the same Number of Horses; and plac'd the Officers on Horse-back round the King's Tomb, having first prepar'd, and embalm'd their Bodies for the Purpose; this they did, probably, to serve him as Guards. These Ceremonies, possibly, took their Rise from a Notion they might have, of their King's being still alive: And, upon this Supposition, they judg'd it necessary, that he should have his Court, and ordinary Officers still about him. Whether Employments, which terminated in this Manner, were much sought after, we shall not pretend to determine.

It is now Time to pass to the Consideration of their other Manners, and Customs, that had more Humanity in them; though, possibly, in another Sense, they may appear to be equally wild, and savage. The Account we are going to give of them, is chiefly taken from *Justin*. According to this Author, the *Scythians* liv'd in great Innocence, and Simplicity: They were ignorant, indeed, of all Arts, and Sciences; but then, they were equally unacquainted with Vice. They did not make any Division of their Lands amongst themselves, says *Justin*: It would have been in vain for them so to have done; since they did not apply themselves to Agriculture. However, *Horace*, in one of his Odes, tells us, that some of them did cultivate a certain Portion of Land, allotted to them for one Year only; at the Expiration of which, they were reliev'd by Others, who succeeded them, on the same Conditions.

They had no Houses, nor settled Habitation; but wander'd continually, with their Cattle, and their Flocks, from Country to Country. Their Wives, and Children, they carry'd along with them in Waggons, cover'd with the Skins of Beasts; which were all the Houses they had to dwell in. Justice was observ'd, and maintain'd amongst them, through the natural Temper, and Disposition of the People, without any Compulsion of the Laws, with which they were wholly unacquainted. No Crime was more severely punish'd among them, than Theft, and Robbery; and that with good Reason. For, their Herds, and their Flocks, in which all their Riches consisted, lying always open, how could they possibly subsist, if Theft had not been most rigorously punish'd? They coveted neither Silver, nor Gold, like the Rest of Mankind; and made Milk, and Honey, their principal Diet. They were Strangers to the Use of Linnen, or Woollen Manufactures; and to defend themselves from the violent, and continual cold Weather of their Climate, they made Use of nothing but the Skins of Beasts.

We have observ'd before, that these Manners of the *Scythians* would appear, to some People, very wild, and savage. And indeed, what can be said for a Nation, that has Lands, and yet does not cultivate them; that has Herds of Cattle, of which they content themselves to eat the Milk, and neglect the Flesh? The Wool of their Sheep might furnish them with warm, and comfortable Cloaths; and yet they use no other Raiment, than the Skins of Animals. But, that which is the greatest Demonstration of their Ignorance, and Savageness, according to the general Opinion of Mankind, is their utter Neglect of Gold, and Silver, which have always been in such great Request in all civiliz'd Nations.

But, oh! how happy was this Ignorance! How vastly preferable this savage Wildness to our pretended Politeness! This Contempt of all the Conveniences of Life, says *Justin*, was attended with such an Honesty, and Uprightness of Manners, as hinder'd them from ever coveting their Neighbour's Goods. For, the Desire of Riches can only take Place, where Riches can be made Use of. And, would to *God*, says the same Author, we could see the same Moderation prevail among the Rest of Mankind, and the like Indifference for the Goods of other People? If that were the Case, the World would not have seen, so many Wars perpetually succeeding one another in all Ages, and in all Countries: Nor would the Number of those, who are cut off by the Sword, exceed that of those, who fall by the irreversible Decree, and Law, of Nature.

Justin finishes his Character of the *Scythians*, with a very judicious Reflection. It is surprizing, says he, that an happy, natural Disposition, without the Assistance of Education, should carry the *Scythians* to such a Degree of Wisdom, and Moderation, as the *Grecians* could not attain to, with the Institutions of their Legislators, and the Rules, and Precepts of all their Philosophers; and that the Manners of a barbarous Nation should be preferable to the Manners of a People, so civiliz'd, and polish'd with Arts, and Sciences. So much more effectual, and advantagious, was the Ignorance of Vice in the one, than the Knowledge of Virtue in the other!

The *Scythian* Fathers thought, with good Reason, that they left their Children a valuable Inheritance, when they left them in Peace, and Union with one another. One of their Kings, whose Name was *Scylurus*, finding himself draw near his End, sent for all his Children, and giving to each

of

them, one after another, a Bundle of Arrows ty'd fast together, desir'd them to break them. Each us'd his Endeavours, but was not able to do it. Then untying the Bundle, and giving them the Arrows, one by one, they were broken very easily. Let this Image, says the Father, be a Lesson to you of the mighty Advantage, that results from Union, and Concord. In order to strengthen, and enlarge these domestick Advantages, the *Scythians* us'd to admit their Friends into the same Terms of Union with them, as their Relations. Friendship was consider'd, by them, as a sacred, and inviolable Alliance, which differ'd but little from the Alliance, Nature has put between Brethren; and which they could not infringe, without being guilty of a heinous Crime.

Ancient Authors seem to have vy'd with each other, who should most extol the Innocence of Manners, that prevail'd among the *Scythians*, by magnificent Encomiums upon them. That which *Horace* makes, we shall transcribe at large. That Poet, however, does not confine it entirely to the *Scythians*, but joins the *Getæ* with them; who were then very Near-Neighbours.

It is in Book III. Ode 24, that beautiful Ode, where he inveighs against the Luxury, and Irregularities of the Age he liv'd in. After he has told us, that Peace, and Tranquility of Mind, is not to be procur'd, either by immense Riches, or sumptuous Buildings, he adds: "An hundred "Times happier are the *Scythians*, who roam "about in their itinerant Houses upon Waggons; "and happier even are the frozen *Getæ*. With "them, the Earth, without being parcell'd out "into private Grounds, produceth her Fruits, "which are gather'd in common. There each "Man's Tillage is but of one Year's Continuance; "and when a Man has finish'd his Year, he is re"liev'd by a Successor, who takes his Place, and "manures the Ground on the same Conditions. "There the Step-Mothers do not attempt the "Lives of their Husbands Children by a former "Wife. The Wives do not pretend to domineer "over their Husbands, on Account of their For"tunes; nor are they to be corrupted by the "insinuating Language of adulterous Seducers. "The greatest Portion a young Woman has there, "is her Father and Mother's Virtues; her invio"lable Attachment to her Husband, and her per"fect Disregard to all other Men. They dare "not be unfaithful, because the Punishment of "Unfaithfulness there is no less than Death."

When we consider the Manners, and Character of the *Scythians*, without Prejudice, can we possibly forbear looking upon them with Esteem, and Admiration? Does not their Manner of living, as to the exterior Part of it, at least, bear a great Resemblance to that of the Patriarchs, who had no fix'd Habitation; who did not till the Ground; who had no other Occupation, than that of feeding their Flocks, and Herds; and who dwelt in Tents? Can we believe this People were much to be pity'd, for not understanding, or rather, for despising the Use of Gold, and Silver?

Is it not to be wish'd, that those Metals had for ever lain bury'd in the Bowels of the Earth? And that they had never been dug from thence to become the Causes, and Instruments of all Vices, and Iniquity? What Advantage could Gold, or Silver, be of to the *Scythians*, who valued nothing but what the Necessities of Man have really an Occasion for; and who took Care to set narrow Bounds to those Necessities? It is no Wonder, that, living as they did, without Houses, they should make no Account of those Arts, that were so highly valued in other Places; as Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting: Or, that they should despise fine Cloaths, and costly Furniture, since they found the Skins of Beasts sufficient to defend them against the Inclemency of the Seasons.

After all, can we truly say, that these pretended Advantages contribute to the real Happiness of Life? Were those Nations, that had them in the greatest Plenty, more healthful, or robust, than the *Scythians*? Did they live to a greater Age, than they? Or, did they spend their Lives in greater Freedom, and Tranquility; or, a greater Exemption from Cares, and Troubles? Let us acknowledge it, to the Shame of ancient Philosophy; the *Scythians*, who did not particularly apply themselves to the Study of Wisdom, yet carry'd it to a greater Pitch in their Practice, than either the *Egyptians*, *Grecians*, or any other civiliz'd Nation. They did not give the Name of Goods, or Riches, to any Thing, but what truly deserv'd that Appellation; as Health, Strength, Courage, the Love of Labour, and Liberty; Innocence of Life, Sincerity, an Abhorrence of all Lying, and Dissimulation: And, in a Word, all such Qualities, as render a Man more virtuous, and more valuable. If, to these happy Inclinations, we add the Knowledge, and Love of *God*, and of our *Redeemer*, they would have been a perfect People.

When we compare the Manners of the *Scythians*, with those of the present Age, we are tempted to believe, that the Pencils, which drew so beautiful a Picture, were not free from Partiality, and Flattery; and that, both *Justin*, and *Horace*, have adorn'd them with Virtues, that did not belong to them. But, all Antiquity agrees, in giving the same Testimony of them; and *Homer*, in particular, whose Opinion ought to be of great Weight, calls them the most just, and upright of Men.

But, at Length (who could believe it) Luxury, that might be thought only to thrive in an agreeable, and delightful Soil, penetrated into this rough, and uncultivated Region; and breaking down the Fences, which the constant Practice of several Ages, founded on the Nature of the Climate, and the Genius of the People, had set against it, did, at last, effectually corrupt the Manners of the *Scythians*, and bring them, in that Respect, upon a Level with the other Nations, where it had been long predominant. It is *Strabo*, who acquaints us with this Particular, which is very worthy of our Notice; he liv'd in the Time of *Augustus*, and *Tiberius*.

After he has greatly commended the Simplicity, Frugality, and Innocence, of the ancient *Scythians*, and their extreme Aversion to all Dissimulation, and Deceit; he owns, that their Intercourse, in later Times, with other Nations, had extirpated those Virtues, and planted the contrary Vices in their Stead. One would think, says he, that the natural Effect of such an Intercourse with civiliz'd, and polite Nations, should have consisted only in rendering them more humaniz'd, and courteous; by softening that Air of Savageness, and Ferocity; which they had before: But, instead

of that, it introduc'd a total Diſſolution of Manners amongſt them; and quite transform'd them into different Creatures. It is, undoubtedly, with Reference to this Change, that *Athenæus* ſays, the *Scythians* devoted themſelves to Voluptuouſneſs, and Luxury; at the ſame Time, that they ſuffer'd Self-Intereſtedneſs, and Avarice to prevail amongſt them.

Strabo, in making the Remark we have been mentioning, does not deny, but that it was to the *Romans*, and *Grecians*, this fatal Change of Manners was owing. "Our Example (ſays he) has "perverted, almoſt all the Nations of the World: "By carrying the Refinements of Luxury, and "Pleaſure amongſt them, we have taught them "Inſincerity, and Fraud; and a thouſand Kinds "of ſhameful, and infamous Tricks, to get Mo-"ney." It is a miſerable Talent, and a very unhappy Diſtinction for a Nation, by their Ingenuity, in inventing Modes, and refining upon Thing, that tends to nouriſh, and promote Luxury, to become the Corrupters of all their Neighbours; and the Authors, as it were, of their Vices, and Debauchery.

It was againſt theſe *Scythians*, but at a Time, when they were yet uncorrupted, and in their utmoſt Vigour, that *Darius* undertook that unſucceſsful Expedition; whereof we ſhall now give an Account.

We have already obſerv'd, that the Pretence, us'd by *Darius*, for undertaking this War againſt the *Scythians*, was, the Irruption, formerly made by this People into *Aſia*: But, in Reality, he had no other End therein, than to ſatisfy his own Ambition, and enlarge his Conqueſts. Whereupon, his Brother *Artabanes*, for whom he had a great Regard; and who, on the other Hand, had no leſs Zeal for the true Intereſts of the King, his Brother; thought it his Duty, on this Occaſion, to ſpeak his Sentiments, with all that Freedom, that an Affair of ſuch Importance requir'd.

"Great Prince, ſays he, they, who form any "great Enterprize, ought carefully to conſider, "whether it will be beneficial or prejudicial to "the State; whether the Execution of it will be "eaſy, or difficult; whether it be likely to in-"creaſe, or diminiſh their Glory; and laſtly, "whether the Thing deſigned be conſiſtent with, "or contrary to, the Rules of Juſtice. For my "own Part, I cannot perceive, Sir, even though "your were ſure of Succeſs, what Advantage "you can propoſe to your ſelf in undertaking a "War againſt the *Scythians*. Conſider the vaſt "Diſtance there is between them and you; and "the prodigious Space of Land and Sea, that ſe-"parates them from your Dominions: Beſides, "they are a People, that dwell in wild and un-"cultivated Deſarts; that have neither Towns "nor Houſes; that have no fix'd Settlements, or "Places of Habitation; and that are deſtitute of "all Manner of Riches. What Spoil or Benefit "can accrue to your Troops from ſuch an Expe-"pedition; or, to ſpeak more properly, what "Loſs have you not Reaſon to apprehend?

"As they are accuſtomed to remove from "Country to Country, if they ſhould think pro-"per to fly before you, not out of Cowardiſe or "Fear, for they are a very couragious and war-"like People, but only with a Deſign to harraſs "and ruin your Army, by continual and fatiguing "Marches, what would become of us, in ſuch an "uncultivated, barren, and naked Country, where "we ſhall neither find Forage for our Hourſes, "nor Proviſion for our Men? I am afraid, Sir, "that through a falſe Notion of Glory, and the "Influence of Flatterers, you may be hurried into "a War, which may turn to the Diſhonour of "the Nation. You now enjoy the Sweets of "Peace and Tranquillity, in the Midſt of your "People, where you are the Object of their Ad-"miration, and the Author of their Happineſs. "You are ſenſible the Gods have placed you upon "the Throne, only to be their Co-adjutor; or, to "ſpeak more properly, to be the Diſpenſer of "their Bounty, rather than the Miniſter of their "Power. It is your Pleaſure to be the Protector, "the Guardian, and the Father of your Subjects: "And you often declare to us, becauſe you really "believe ſo, that you look upon yourſelf, as in-"veſted with ſovereign Power, only in order to "make your People happy.

"What exquiſite Joy muſt it be to ſo great a "Prince as you are, to be the Fountain of ſo "many Bleſſings; and, under the Shadow of your "Name, to preſerve ſuch infinite Numbers of "People in ſo deſirable a Tranquillity! Is not "the Glory of a King, who loves his Subjects, "and is beloved by them; who, inſtead of mak-"ing War againſt neighbouring, or diſtant Na-"tions, makes uſe of his Power to keep them in "Peace and Amity together; is not ſuch a Glory, "vaſtly preferable to that of ravaging, and ſpoil-"ing of Nations; of filling the Earth with "Slaughter and Deſolation; with Horror, Con-"ſternation, and Deſpair? But there is one Mo-"tive more, which ought to have a greater In-"fluence upon you, than any other, I mean that "of Juſtice. Thanks to the Gods, you are not "of the Number of thoſe Princes, who acknow-"ledge no other Law, than that of Force; and "who imagine, that they have a peculiar Privi-"lege, annexed to their Dignity, which private "Perſons have not, of invading the Properties of "other Men. You do not make your Greatneſs "conſiſt in being able to do whatever you will, "but in willing only what may be done, without "infringing the Laws, or violating your Con-"ſcience.

"To ſpeak plain, ſhall one Man be reckon'd "unjuſt, and a Robber, for ſeizing on a few "Acres of his Neighbour's Eſtate; and ſhall ano-"ther be reckon'd juſt and great, and have the "Title of Hero, only becauſe he ſeizes upon, "and uſurps whole Provinces? Permit me, Sir, "to ask you, What Title have you to *Scythia*? "What Injury have the *Scythians* done you? What "Reaſon can you alledge for declaring War a-"gainſt them? The War indeed, in which you "have been engaged againſt the *Babylonians*, was "at the ſame Time both juſt and neceſſary: The "Gods have accordingly crown'd it with an happy "Succeſs. It belongs to you, Sir, to judge, whe-"ther that, which you are now going to under-"take, is of the ſame Nature?"

Nothing but the generous Zeal of a Brother, truly concerned for the glory of his Prince, and the Good of his Country, could inſpire ſuch a Freedom: As, on the other Hand, nothing but a perfect Moderation in the Prince, could make him capable of bearing with it. *Darius*, as *Tacitus* obſerves

obſerves of another great Emperor, had the Art of reconciling two Things, which are generally incompatible, namely, Dominion and Liberty. Far from being offended at the Freedom uſed by his Brother, he thank'd him for his good Advice; though he did not follow it; for he had already reſolv'd. He ſet out then from *Suſa* at the Head of an Army of ſeven hundred thouſand Men; and his Fleet, conſiſting of ſix hundred Sail of Ships, was chiefly manned with *Ionians*, and other *Grecian* Nations, that dwelt upon the Sea Coaſts of *Aſia minor*, and the *Helleſpont*. He march'd his Army towards the *Thracian Boſphorus*, which he paſſed upon a Bridge of Boats: After which, having made himſelf Maſter of all *Thrace*, he came to the Banks of the *Danube*, otherwiſe called the *Iſter*, whither he had ordered his Fleet to ſail, and join him. In ſeveral Places, on his March, he cauſed Pillars to be erected, with magnificent Inſcriptions, in one of which he ſuffered himſelf to be called, *The beſt and handſomeſt of all Men living*. What a ridiculous Vanity, unworthy of a great Soul was this!

And yet, if all the Faults of this Prince had terminated only in Sentiments of Pride and Vanity, perhaps they would appear more excuſable, than they do; at leaſt, they would not have been ſo pernicious to his Subjects. But how ſhall we reconcile the Diſpoſition of *Darius*, for the Generality, which (except in the Execution of the Family of *Intaphernes*, for his Offence alone) ſeem'd to be ſo exceeding human and gentle, with a barbarous and cruel Action of his towards *Oebarus*, a venerable old Man, whoſe Merit, as well as Quality, entitled him to Reſpect? This Nobleman had three Sons, who were all preparing themſelves, to attend the King in this Expedition againſt the *Scythians*. Upon the Departure of *Darius* from *Suſa*, the good old Father begg'd, as a Favour of him, that he would pleaſe to leave one of them at home, to be a Comfort to him in his old Age. *One*, reply'd *Darius*, *will not be ſufficient for you*; *I will leave you all the three*: And immediately he cauſed them all to be put to be put to death! an Action unworthy of any one but a Savage!

When the Army had paſſed the *Danube*, upon a Bridge of Boats, the King was for having the Bridge broken, that his Army ſhould not be weakened, by leaving ſo conſiderable a Detachment of his Troops, as would be neceſſary to guard it: But one of his Officers repreſented to him, that it might be proper to keep that, as a neceſſary Refuge, in Caſe they ſhould meet with any Misfortunes in the War with the *Scythians*. The King, and happy was it for him he did ſo, very prudently gave in to this Opinion, and committed the guarding of the Bridge to the Care of the *Ionians*, who built it; giving them Leave, at the ſame Time, to go back to their own Country, if he did not return in the Space of two Months: This done, he proceeded on his March to *Scythia*.

Aſſoon as the *Scythians* were informed, that *Darius* was marching againſt them, they immediately enter'd into Conſultation upon the Meaſures proper to be taken on ſuch an Occaſion. They were very ſenſible, that they alone were not in a Condition to reſiſt ſo formidable an Enemy. They applied therefore to all the neighbouring Nations, and deſired their Aſſiſtance; alledging, that the Danger was general, and concerned them all; and that it was their common Intereſt to oppoſe an Enemy, whoſe Views of Conqueſt were not confin'd to one Nation. Some return'd favourable Anſwers to their Demand: Others abſolutely refuſed to enter into a War, which, they ſaid, did not regard them; but they ſoon had Reaſon to repent their Refuſal.

One wiſe Precaution taken by the *Scythians*, was to ſecure their Wives and Children, by ſending them in Carriages, to the moſt *northern* Parts of the Country; and with them likewiſe they ſent all their Herds and Flocks; reſerving nothing themſelves, but what was neceſſary for the Support of their Army. Another of their Precautions, and no leſs prudent, was to fill up all their Wells, and ſtop up their Springs, and to conſume all the Forage in thoſe Parts, through which the *Perſian* Army was to paſs. This done, they went, in Conjunction with their Allies, to meet the Enemy, not in order to give him Battle; for they were determined to avoid that, but to draw him on to ſuch Places, as would be moſt for their own Advantage. Whenever the *Perſians* ſeemed diſpoſed to attack them, they ſtill retired before them, and went farther up into the Country: And thus they drew them on from one Place to another, into the Territories of thoſe Nations, that had refuſed to enter into Alliance with them, by which Means their Lands became a Prey to the two Armies of *Perſians* and *Scythians*.

Darius, weary of theſe tedious and fatiguing Purſuits, ſent an Herald to the King of the *Scythians*, whoſe Name was *Indathyrſus*, with this Meſſage, in his Name. "Prince of the *Scythians*, "wherefore doſt thou continually fly before me? "Why doſt thou not ſtop ſomewhere, or other; "either to give me Battle, if thou believeſt thy "ſelf able to encounter me, or, if thou thinkeſt "thy ſelf too weak, to acknowledge thy Maſter, "by preſenting him with Earth and Water?" The *Scythians* were an high-ſpirited People, extremely jealous of their Liberty, and profeſſed Enemies to all Slavery; accordingly *Indathyrſus* ſent *Darius* the following Anſwer: "If I fly be"fore thee, Prince of the *Perſians*, it is not be"cauſe I fear thee: What I do now, is no more "than what I am uſed to do in Time of Peace. "We *Scythians* have neither Cities nor Lands to "defend: If thou haſt a Mind to force us to come "to an Engagement, advance, and attack us at the "Tombs of our Fathers, and thou ſhalt find what "Manner of Men we are. As to the Title of "Maſter, which thou aſſumeſt, keep it for other "Nations, than the *Scythians*. For my Part, I "acknowledge no other Maſter, than the Great "*Jupiter*, one of our own Anceſtors, and the "Goddeſs *Veſta*."

In the mean while, the farther *Darius* advanced into the Country, to the greater Hardſhips were his Army expoſed; and juſt as they were reduced to the laſt Extremities, there came an Herald to him, from the *Scythian* Prince; with a Bird, a Mouſe, a Frog, and five Arrows, for a Preſent. The King deſir'd to know the Meaning of thoſe Gifts. The Meſſenger anſwer'd, that his Orders were only to deliver them, and nothing more; and that it was left to the *Perſian* King, to find out the Meaning.

Here-

Hereupon, *Darius* concluded, at firſt, that the *Scythians*, thereby, conſented to deliver up the Earth and Water to him, which were repreſented by a Mouſe, and a Frog; as alſo their Cavalry, whoſe Swiftneſs was repreſented by the Bird; together with their own Perſons, ſignify'd by the Arrows. But, *Gobryas*, one of the ſeven Lords, who had depos'd the *Magian* Impoſtor, expounded the *Ænigma*, in the following Manner: "Know "(ſays he to the *Perſians*) that, unleſs you can "fly away in the Air, like Birds; or hide your-"ſelves in the Earth, like Mice; or ſwim in the "Water, like Frogs; you ſhall in no wiſe be "able to avoid the Arrows of the *Scythians*."

In Effect, the whole *Perſian* Army marching in a vaſt, uncultivated, and barren Country, in which there was no Water, were reduc'd to ſo deplorable a Condition, that they had nothing before their Eyes but inevitable Ruin: Nor was *Darius* himſelf exempt from the common Danger. He ow'd his Preſervation to a Camel, which was loaded with Water, and follow'd him, with great Difficulty, through that wild, and Deſart-Country. The King was not unmindful, afterwards, of his Benefactor: To reward him for the Service he had done him, and the Fatigues he had undergone, on his Return into *Aſia*, he ſettled a certain Diſtrict of his own upon him, for his peculiar Uſe, and Subſiſtence; for which Reaſon, that Place was call'd, *Gangamele*; that is, in the *Perſian* Tongue, *the Camel's Habitation*. It was near this ſame Place, that *Darius Codomannus* receiv'd a ſecond Overthrow by *Alexander* the *Great*.

Finding this Interpretation but too juſt, and too well founded, *Darius* did not deliberate much longer; being ſenſible he was under an abſolute Neceſſity of quitting his imprudent Enterprize: He began then to think, in Earneſt, upon returning home; and ſaw but too plainly, that there was no Time to be loſt. Therefore, as ſoon as Night came, the *Perſians*, to deceive the Enemy, lighted a great Number of Fires, as uſual; and leaving the old Men, and the Sick, behind them in the Camp, together with all their Aſſes, which made a ſufficient Noiſe; they march'd away, as faſt as they could, in order to reach the *Danube*. The *Scythians* did not perceive they were gone, till the next Morning: Whereupon they immediately ſent a conſiderable Detachment, as quick as poſſible, to the *Danube*: This Detachment, being perfectly well acquainted with the Roads of the Country, arriv'd at the Bridge, a great While before the *Perſians*.

Now, the *Scythians* had ſent Expreſſes beforehand, to perſuade the *Ionians* to break the Bridge, and return to their own Country: And the latter had promis'd to do it, but without Deſign to execute their Promiſe. Now, the *Scythians* preſſed them to it the more earneſtly; and repreſented to them, that the Time, preſcrib'd to them by *Darius* for ſtaying there, was elaps'd; that they were at Liberty to return home, without either violating their Word, or their Duty; that they now had it in their Power, to throw off, for ever, the Yoke of their Subjection, and make themſelves a happy, and free People; and, that the *Scythians* would render *Darius* incapable of forming any more Enterprizes againſt any of his Neighbours.

Accordingly, the *Ionians* enter'd into Conſultation upon the Affair. *Miltiades*, an *Athenian*, who was Prince; or, as the *Grecks* call it, Tyrant of the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, at the Mouth of the *Helleſpont*, was one of thoſe, who had accompany'd *Darius*, and furniſh'd him with Ships to favour his Enterprize. He, having the publick Intereſt more at Heart, than his own private Advantage, was of Opinion, that they ſhould comply with the Requeſt of the *Scythians*; and embrace ſo favourable an Opportunity of recovering the Liberty of *Ionia*: All the Commanders gave into his Sentiments, except *Hyſtiæus*, the Tyrant of *Miletos*.

But, when it came to his Turn to ſpeak, he repreſented to the *Ionian* Generals, that their Fortune was linked with that of *Darius*; that it was under that Prince's Protection, each of them was Maſter in his own City; and if the Power of the *Perſians* ſhould ſink, or decline, the Cities of *Ionia* would not fail to depoſe their Tyrants, and recover their Freedom. Hereupon, all the other Chiefs then gave into his Opinion; and, as is uſual in moſt Caſes, the Conſideration of private Intereſt prevailed over the publick Good. Accordingly, the Reſolution they came to, was, to wait for *Darius*: but, in Order to deceive the *Scythians*, and hinder them from Undertaking any Thing, they declared to them, they had reſolved to retire, purſuant to their Requeſt; and, the better to carry on the Fraud, they actually began to break one End of the Bridge; exhorting the *Scythians*, at the ſame Time, to do their Part, to return ſpeedily back, to meet the common Enemy, and to fall upon, and defeat them. The honeſt *Scythians* being too credulous, retired, and were thus deceived a ſecond Time.

By great good Fortune for *Darius*, they miſſed him, becauſe he happened to have taken a different Rout from that they expected to find him in: He arrived then, by Night, at the Bridge over the *Danube*, and finding it broken, he no longer doubted, but the *Ionians* were gone; and that, conſequently, he ſhould be ruined. However, he made his People call out for *Hyſtiæus*, the *Mileſian*, who at laſt anſwered, and put the King out of his Anxiety. They ſoon entirely repaired the Bridge; ſo that *Darius* repaſſed the *Danube*, and came back into *Thrace*. There he left *Megabyſus*, one of his chief Generals, with Part of his Army, to compleat the Conqueſt of that Country, and entirely reduce it under his Dominion: Which done, he paſſed the *Boſphorus* with the Reſt of his Troops, and went to *Sardis*; where he ſpent the Winter, and the greateſt Part of the Year following, in Order to refreſh his Army, which had ſuffered extremely in that ill-concerted and unfortunate Expedition.

Accordingly, *Megabyſus* continued ſome Time in *Thrace*; whoſe Inhabitants, according to *Herodotus*, would have been invincible, had they had the Diſcretion to unite their Forces, and to chuſe one chief Commander. Among ſome of the *Thracians*, they had theſe very particular Cuſtoms: In one of their Diſtricts, when a Child came into the World, all the Relations expreſſed great Sorrow and Affliction, bitterly weeping at the Proſpect of Miſery that was before the new-born Infant. On the other Hand, when any Perſon died, all their Kindred rejoiced, becauſe they looked upon the deceaſed Perſon, as happy only from that Moment, wherein he was delivered for ever from the Troubles

Troubles and Calamities of this Life In another Diſtrict, where Polygamy was in Faſhion, when a Husband died, it was a great Diſpute among his Wifes, which of them was the beſt beloved: And ſhe, in whoſe Favour the Conteſt was decided, had the Privilege of being ſacrificed by her neareſt Relation, upon the Tomb of her Husband, and of being buried with him; whilſt all the other Wives envied her Happineſs, and thought themſelves in ſome Sort diſhonoured.

On his Return to *Sardis*, after his unhappy Expedition againſt the *Scythians*, *Darius* having been aſſured that he owed both his own Safety, and that of his whole Army, to *Hyſtiæus*, who had perſuaded the *Ionians*, not to deſtroy the Bridge on the *Danube*, ſent for that Prince to his Court, and deſired him freely to ask any Favour, in Recompence of his Service. Hereupon, *Hyſtiæus* deſired the King to give him *Mircina* of *Edonia*, a Territory upon the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*, together with the Liberty of building a City there. His Requeſt was readily granted; whereupon he returned to *Miletos*, where he cauſed a Fleet of Ships to be equipped, and then ſet out for *Thrace*: And having taken Poſſeſſion of the Territory that was granted him, he immediately ſet about the Execution of his Project, in building a City.

But, *Megabyſus*, who was then Governor of *Thrace*, for *Darius*, immediately perceived, how prejudicial that Undertaking would be, to the King's Affairs in thoſe Quarters. He conſidered, that this new City ſtood upon a navigable River; that the Country round about it abounded in Timber for building of Ships; that it was inhabited by different Nations, both *Grecks*, and *Barbarians*, that might furniſh great Numbers of Men for Land and Sea-ſervice; that, if once thoſe People were under the Management of a Prince ſo skillful and enterprizing as *Hiſtiæus*, they might become ſo powerful both by Sea and Land, that it would be no longer poſſible for the King to keep them in Subjection: Eſpecially conſidering, that they had a great many Gold and Silver-mines in that Country, which would enable them to carry on any Projects or Enterprizes.

Accordingly, at his Return to *Sardis*, he repreſented all theſe Things to the King, who was convinced by his Reaſons; and, therefore, ſent for *Hiſtiæus*, to come to him at *Sardis*, pretending to have ſome great Deſigns in View, wherein he wanted the Aſſiſtance of his Counſel. And, when he had thus drawn him to his Court, he carried him to *Suſa*, making him believe, that he ſet an extraordinary Value upon a Friend of his Fidelity and Underſtanding; two Qualifications, that had rendered him ſo very dear to him, and of which he had given ſuch memorable Proofs in the *Scythian* Expedition: At the ſame Time, giving him to underſtand, that he ſhould be able to find ſomething for him in *Perſia*, which would make him ample Amends for all, that he could leave behind him. Hereupon, *Hyſtiæus*, pleaſed with ſo honourable a Diſtinction, and finding himſelf, likewiſe, under a Neceſſity of complying, accompanied *Darius* to *Suſa*; and left *Ariſtagoras* to govern at *Miletos*, in his Room.

Whilſt *Megabyſus* was in *Thrace*, he had ſent ſeveral *Perſian* Noblemen to *Amintas*, King of *Macedonia*, to require him to give Earth and Water to *Darius* his Maſter; which was the uſual Form of one Prince's ſubmitting to another. *Amintas* readily complied with this Requeſt, and paid all imaginable Honours to the Ambaſſadors; inſomuch, that at an Entertainment, which he made for them, they having deſired, at the latter End of it, that the Ladies might be brought in, which was a Thing contrary to the Cuſtom of the Country, the King would not venture to refuſe them. However, the *Perſian* Noblemen, being heated with Wine, and thinking they might uſe the ſame Freedoms, as in their own Country, did not obſerve a due Decorum towards thoſe Princeſſes; upon which the King's Son, whoſe Name was *Alexander*, could not ſee his Mother and Siſters treated in ſuch a Manner, without great Reſentment and Indignation. Wherefore, upon ſome Pretence or other, he contrived to ſend the Ladies out of the Room, as if they were to return again preſently; and had the Precaution likewiſe, to get the King, his Father, out of the Company. In this Interval he cauſed ſome young Men to be dreſt like Women, and to be armed with Poniards, under their Garments. Theſe pretended Ladies came into the Room, inſtead of the others; and when the *Perſians* began to treat them, as they had before treated the Princeſſes, they drew out their Poniards, fell violently upon them, and killed, not only the Noblemen, but every one of their Attendants. The News of this Slaughter ſoon reached *Suſa*; and the King appointed Commiſſioners, to take Cognizance of the Matter: But *Alexander*, by the Power of Bribes and Preſents, ſtifled the Affair, ſo that nothing came thereof.

In the mean While, the *Scythians*, to be revenged on *Darius*, for his invading their Country, paſſed the *Danube*, and ravaged all that Part of *Thrace*, that had ſubmitted to the *Perſians*, as far as the *Helleſpont*; whereupon *Miltiades*, to avoid their Fury, abandoned the *Cherſoneſus*: But after the Enemy were gone back, he returned thither again, and was reſtored to the ſame Power he had before, over the Inhabitants of the ſame Country.

About the ſame Time, which was in the thirteenth Year of the Reign of *Darius*, that Prince having an Ambition of extending his Dominions *Eaſt-wards*, reſolved firſt, in Order to facilitate his Conqueſts, to get a proper Knowledge of the Country. To this End, he cauſed a Fleet to be built, and equipped, at *Caſpatyre*, a City ſtanding upon the *Indus*; and did the ſame at ſeveral other Places on the ſame River, as far as the Frontiers of the *Aſiatick Scythia*. The Command of this Fleet was given to *Scylax*, a *Grecian* of *Caryandia*, a Town of *Caria*, who was perfectly well verſed in Maritime Affairs. His Orders were to ſail down that River, and get all the Knowledge he poſſibly could, of the Country, on both Sides, quite down to the Mouth of the River; to paſs from thence into the *Southern* Ocean, and to ſteer his Courſe afterwards to the *Weſt*, and ſo return back that Way to *Perſia*.

Scylax exactly obſerved his Maſters Inſtructions, and ſailing quite down the River *Indus*, entered the *Red Sea*, by the Streights of *Babelmandel*; and after a Voyage of thirty Months, from the Time of his ſetting out from *Caſpatyre*, arrived in *Egypt*; at the ſame Port, from whence *Nechao*, King of *Egypt*, had formerly ſent the *Phœnicians*, who were in his Service, with others, to ſail round the Coaſts of *Africa*; as has been obſerved before.

Very probably, this was the ſame Port, where now ſtands the Town of *Suez*, at the farther End of the *Red Sea*. From thence, *Scylax* returned to *Suſa*, where he gave *Darius* an Account of all his Obſervations.

Hereupon, that Prince entered *India*, with a powerful Army, and reduced all that vaſt Country. Our Readers will naturally expect to be informed of the Particulars of ſo important a War; but *Herodotus* ſays not one Word about it: He only tells us, that *India* made the twentieth Province, or Government of the *Perſian* Empire; and that the annual Revenue of it was worth but Three Hundred and Sixty Talents of Gold, to *Darius*; which amount not to above Six Hundred Thouſand Pounds *Sterling*.

The next War we ſhall find the *Perſians* engaged in, was with another Sort of Enemies, who proved no leſs formidable than the *Scythians*; and who, at laſt, proved the Ruin of that vaſt Empire.

It is ſurprizing to conſider what trifling Incidents give Riſe to the moſt important Expeditions. *Darius*, after his Return to *Suſa*, from his unfortunate Enterprize againſt the *Scythians*, had given the Government of *Sardis* to his Brother *Artaphernes*; and, at the ſame Time, he made *Otanes* Commander in Chief in *Thrace*, and the adjacent Countries along the Sea-Coaſt, in the Room of *Megabyſus*. Accordingly, a Sedition at *Naxus*, a ſmall Iſland, but one of the largeſt of the *Cyclades*, in the *Ægean* Sea, now the *Archipelago*, involved all *Greece*, and *Perſia* in a bloody War; which ended in the Deſtruction of the latter.

In this Sedition, the principal Inhabitants having been cruſhed by the Populace, who were the greater Number; many of the richeſt Families were baniſhed out of the Iſland. Hereupon, they fled to *Miletos*, and addreſſed themſelves to *Ariſtagoras*, beſeeching him to reſtore them to their own Country. He was, at this Time, Governour of that City, as Lieutenant to *Hyſtiæus*; to whom he was both Nephew and Son-in-Law; and whom *Darius* had carried along with him to *Suſa*.

Ariſtagoras readily promiſed the Exiles the Aſſiſtance they implored; but, not being powerful enough himſelf to execute what he had promiſed, he went to *Artaphernes*: He repreſented to him, that this was a very favourable Opportunity of reducing *Naxus* under the Power of *Darius*; that if he were once Maſter of that Iſland, all the Reſt of the *Cyclades* would fall under his Dominion, one after another; that then the Iſland *Eubœa*, (now *Negroponte*) which was as large as *Cyprus*, lying very near the other, would be eaſily conquered; that this would give the King a free Paſſage into *Greece*, and furniſh him with the Means of bringing all that Country under his Subjection; and, in ſhort, that an hundred Ships would be ſufficient, for the effectual Execution of this Enterprize. Hereupon, *Artaphernes* was ſo pleaſed with the Project, that, inſtead of one Hundred Veſſels, which *Ariſtagoras* required, he promiſed him two Hundred, in Caſe he obtained the King's Conſent, to engage in that Expedition.

Darius, alſo charmed with the mighty Expectations, wherewith he was flattered, very readily approved of the Enterprize; though, at the Bottom, it was founded upon nothing but Injuſtice, and a boundleſs Ambition; as alſo upon the Perfidy in *Ariſtagoras*, and *Artaphernes*. However, *Darius* never heſitated about it one Moment; this moſt injurious Attempt was projected, and approved, without the leaſt Reluctance or Scruple; it was decided merely upon the Motives of Advantage and Conveniency. This Iſland lay convenient for the *Perſians*; which they looked upon as a ſufficient Title, and a warrantable Ground for reducing it by Force of Arms: In Effect, moſt of the Expeditions of this Prince took their Riſe from the ſame Principle.

Having obtained the King's Conſent for undertaking the Enterprize, *Artaphernes* made the neceſſary Preparations, for putting it directly into Execution: And the better to conceal his Deſign, and to ſurprize the People of *Naxus*, he ſpread a Report, that this Fleet was bound towards the *Helleſpont*. This done, the Spring following, he ſent the Number of Ships he had promis'd to *Miletos*, under the Command of *Megabates*, a *Perſian* Nobleman, of the Royal Family of *Achæmenes*; who, being directed, in his Commiſſion, to obey the Orders of *Ariſtagoras*, the haughty *Perſian* could not bear to be under the Command of an *Ionian*; eſpecially one, who treated him in an imperious Manner. This Pique occaſion'd a thorough Breach between the two Generals; which was carry'd on ſo far, that *Megabetes*, to be revenged of *Ariſtagoras*, gave the *Naxians* ſecret Intelligence of the Deſign, that was form'd againſt them: Upon this, they made ſuch Preparations for their Defence, that the *Perſians*, after having ſpent four Months in beſieging the chief Town of the Iſland, and conſum'd all their Proviſions, were obliged to retire, with Diſgrace.

This Enterprize having thus miſcarry'd, *Megabates* threw all the Blame upon *Ariſtagoras*, and entirely deſtroy'd his Credit with *Artaphernes*; upon which, the *Ionian* foreſaw, that this Accident would be attended, not only with the Loſs of his Government, but his utter Ruin. His being in this deſperate Situation, made him think of revolting from the King, as the only Expedient, whereby he could poſſibly ſave himſelf: And, no ſooner had he form'd this Deſign, but a Meſſenger came to him from *Hyſtiæus*, who gave him the ſame Counſel. For, *Hyſtiæus*, who had now been ſome Years at the *Perſian* Court, being diſguſted at the Manners of that Nation, and, having an ardent Deſire to return to his own Country, thought this the moſt likely Means of bringing it about; and therefore, gave *Ariſtagoras* that Counſel: flattering himſelf, that in Caſe any Diſturbances aroſe in *Ionia*, he could prevail with *Darius*, to ſend him thither to appeaſe them: And, in Effect, the Thing happen'd according as he had foreſeen.

As ſoon as *Ariſtagoras* found his Deſigns ſeconded, by the Orders of *Hyſtiæus*, he imparted them to the principal Men of the Country, whom he found extremely well diſpos'd to enter into his Views: He, therefore, deliberated no longer; but, being determin'd to revolt, apply'd himſelf wholly to making Preparations for that Purpoſe.

In the mean While, the People of *Tyre*, who had been reduc'd to Slavery, when their City was taken by *Nebuchadnezzar*, had groan'd under that Oppreſſion, for the Space of ſeventy Years. But, after the Expiration of that Term, they were reſtor'd, according to the Prophecy of *Iſaiah*, to the Poſſeſſion of their ancient Privileges; together with

with the Liberty of having a King of their own; which Liberty they enjoy'd, till the Time of *Alexander* the *Great*: And it ſeems highly probable, that this Favour was granted them by *Darius*, in Conſideration of the Services he expected to receive from that City (which was very powerful by Sea) towards bringing back the *Ionians* to their ancient Subjection. This was in the nineteenth Year of the Reign of *Darius*.

Next Year, *Ariſtagoras*, in order to engage the *Ionians* to adhere the more cloſely to him, reinſtated them in their Liberty, and in all their former Privileges. He began with *Miletos*, where he diveſted himſelf of his Power, and gave it up into the Hands of the People. He then made a Progreſs through all *Ionia*; where, by his Example, and Credit; and, perhaps, by making them afraid, that they would be forc'd to it, whether they would, or no, he prevail'd upon all the other Tyrants, to do the ſame Thing in every City.

They comply'd the more readily with this, as the *Perſian* Power, ſince the Check it receiv'd in *Scythia*, was the leſs able to protect them againſt the *Ionians*; who were naturally fond of Liberty, and a State of Independency; and profeſſed Enemies to all Tyranny. When he had, hereby, united them all in one common League, of which he himſelf was declar'd the Head, he ſet up a Standard of Rebellion againſt the King, and made great Preparations by Sea, and Land, for ſupporting a War againſt him.

To enable himſelf to carry it on with the more Vigour, he went, in the Beginning of the Year following, to *Lacedæmon*, in order to draw that City into his Intereſts, and engage them to furniſh him with Troops. *Cleomenes* was, at this Time, King of *Sparta*; who was the Son of *Anaxandrides*, by a ſecond Wife, whom the *Ephori* had obliged him to marry, becauſe he had no Iſſue by the firſt. He had, by her, three other Sons, beſides *Cleomenes*; namely, *Doriæus*, *Leonidas*, and *Cleombrotus*; the two laſt of which aſcended the Throne of *Lacedæmon*, in their Turns.

Ariſtagoras then addreſs'd himſelf to *Cleomenes*; and the Time, and Place, for an Interview between them being agreed on, he waited upon him, and repreſented to him, that the *Ionians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, were Countrymen; that *Sparta* being the moſt powerful City of *Greece*, it would be for her Honour, to concur with him, in the Deſign he had form'd of reſtoring the *Ionians* to their Liberty; that the *Perſians*, their common Enemy, were not a warlike People, but exceeding rich, and wealthy; and conſequently, would become an eaſy Prey to the *Lacedæmonians*; that, conſidering the preſent Spirit, and Diſpoſition of the *Ionians*, it would not be difficult for them, to carry their victorious Arms, even to *Suſa*; the Metropolis of the *Perſian* Empire, and the Place of the King's Reſidence: At the ſame Time, he laid before him, a Draught of all the Nations, and Towns, through which they were to paſs, engraven upon a little Plate of Braſs, which he had brought along with him to that End.

Hereupon, *Cleomenes* deſir'd three Days Time to conſider of the Propoſal; which Term being expir'd, he ask'd the *Ionian*, what was the Diſtance from the *Ionian* Sea to *Suſa*, and how much Time it requir'd, to make the Voyage from one Place to the other: And *Ariſtagoras*, without conſidering the Effect his Anſwer was likely to have upon upon *Cleomenes*, having told him, that from *Ionia* to *Suſa*, was about three Months Journey; the *Spartan* Monarch was ſo amaz'd at this Propoſal, that he forthwith order'd him to depart from *Sparta* before Sun-ſet.

Nevertheleſs, *Ariſtagoras* follow'd him home to his Houſe, and endeavour'd to win him, by Arguments of another Sort; that is, by Preſents. The firſt Sum he offer'd him was only ten Talents, which were equivalent to about fifteen Hundred Pounds; and that being refus'd, he ſtill roſe in his Offers, till, at laſt, he propos'd to give him fifteen Talents: Whereupon, *Gorgo*, a Daughter of *Cleomenes*, about eight, or nine Years of Age, whom her Father had not order'd to quit the Room; as apprehending nothing from ſo young a Child, hearing ſuch Propoſals made to her Father, cry'd out: *Fly, Father, fly; this Stranger will corrupt you.* *Cleomenes* ſeem'd only to laugh thereat; but yet obſerv'd the Child's Admonition, and actually retir'd: Upon which, *Ariſtagoras* quitted the *Lacedæmonian* Territories.

From thence he proceeded to *Athens*, where he found a more favourable Reception: He had the good Fortune to arrive there at a Time, when the *Athenians* were extremely well diſpos'd to hearken to any Propoſals, that could be made them againſt the *Perſians*; with whom they were highly offended, on the following Occaſion. *Hippias*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, Tyrant of *Athens*, about ten Years before the Time, of which we are ſpeaking, had been ſent into Baniſhment; and having try'd, in vain, Abundance of Ways to bring about his Reſtoration, at laſt, went to *Sardis*, and made his Application to *Artapherne*s. He was ſo fortunate, as to inſinuate himſelf ſo far into the good Opinion of that Governour, that he gave a favourable Ear to all the other ſaid, to the Diſadvantage of the *Athenians*, and became extremely prejudic'd againſt them.

The *Athenians*, having Intelligence of this, ſent an Ambaſſador to *Sardis*; and deſir'd of *Artapherns*, not to hearken to what any of their Out-Laws ſhould inſinuate to their Diſadvantage; to which *Artapherns* return'd for Anſwer, that, if they deſir'd to live in Peace, they muſt recal *Hippias*.

When this haughty Anſwer was brought back to the *Athenians*, it put the whole City into ſo great a Rage againſt the *Perſians*, that *Ariſtagoras*, coming thither juſt at this Juncture, eaſily obtain'd whatever he deſir'd. *Herodotus* obſerves, on this Occaſion, how much eaſier it is to impoſe upon a Multitude, than upon a ſingle Perſon: And ſo *Ariſtagoras* found it; for, he prevail'd with thirty Thouſand *Athenians* to come to a Reſolution, into which he could not perſuade *Cleomenes* alone. They engaged immediately to furniſh twenty Ships, to aſſiſt him in his Deſign: And it may be truly ſaid, that this little Fleet was the original Source of all the Calamities, in which both the *Perſians*, and *Grecians*, were afterwards involv'd.

In the third Year of this War, the *Ionians*, having collected all their Forces together, with the twenty Veſſels, furniſh'd by the City of *Athens*, and five more, from *Eretria*, in the Iſland of *Euboea*, they ſet Sail for *Epheſus*: Where, leaving their

their Ships behind them, they march'd, by Land, to the City of *Sardis*; and, finding the Town in a defenceleſs Condition, ſoon made themſelves Maſters of it: But were not able to force the Citadel, into which *Artaphernes* retir'd. As moſt of the Houſes of this City were built with Reeds, and conſequently, were very combuſtible, an *Ionian* Soldier ſet Fire to one of them; and the Flame, ſpreading, and communicating itſelf to the Reſt, reduc'd the whole City to Aſhes. Alarmed by this Diſaſter, the *Perſians*, and *Lydians*, drew their Forces together, for their mutual Defence; upon which, the *Ionians* judg'd it was high Time for them to think of retreating: And accordingly, they march'd back with all poſſible Diligence, in order to reimbark on board their Ships at *Epheſus*: But the *Perſians*, arriving there almoſt as ſoon as they, attack'd them vigorouſly, and deſtroy'd a great Number of their Men. Hereupon, when the *Athenians* had got their Ships and Men home again, they would never engage any more in this War; notwithſtanding all the Inſtances, and Sollicitations of *Ariſtagoras*.

However, *Darius*, being inform'd of the Burning of *Sardis*, and of the Share the *Athenians* had therein, reſolv'd, from that very Time, to make War upon *Greece*: And, that he might never forget his Reſolution, he commanded one of his Officers, to remind him of it, every Evening, when he was at Supper, by crying; *Sir, remember the* Athenians. In the Burning of *Sardis*, it happen'd, that the Temple of *Cybele*, the Goddeſs of that Country, was conſum'd, with the Reſt of the City; which ſerv'd, afterwards, as a Pretence to the *Perſians*, to burn all the Temples they found in *Greece*: To which they were likewiſe led, by a Motive of Religion, which has already been explain'd.

As *Ariſtagoras*, the Head, and Manager of this Revolt, was the Lieutenant of *Hyſtiæus*, at *Miletos*, *Darius* ſuſpected, that the latter might, probably, be the Fomenter of the whole Conſpiracy: For which Reaſon, he enter'd into a free Conference with him upon that Subject; and acquainted him with his Thoughts, and the reaſonable Grounds he had for his Suſpicions. Upon which, *Hyſtiæus*, who was an artful Courtier, and an expert Maſter in the Art of diſſembling, appear'd extremely ſurpriz'd, and afflicted; then ſpeaking in a Tone, that, at once, expreſs'd both Sorrow, and Indignation, he thus endeavour'd to purge himſelf to the King: "Is it poſſible, then, for your Majeſty "to have entertain'd ſo injurious a Suſpicion of "the moſt faithful, and moſt affectionate of your "Servants? I, be concern'd in a Rebellion againſt "you! Alas! What is there in the World, that "could tempt me to it? Do I want any Thing "here? Am I not already rais'd to one of the "higheſt Stations in your Court? And, beſides "the Honour I have of aſſiſting at your Coun-"cils, I daily receive new Proofs of your Boun-"ty, by the numberleſs Favours you heap upon "me."

After this, he inſinuated, that the Revolt in *Ionia* proceeded from his Abſence, and Diſtance from that Country; that they had waited for that Opportunity to rebel; that, if he had ſtaid at *Miletos*, the Conſpiracy would never have been form'd; that the ſureſt Way to reſtore the King's Affairs in that Country, would be to ſend him thither; and, that he promis'd, on the Forfeiture of his Head, to deliver *Ariſtagoras* into his Hands; and engaged, beſides, to make the large Iſland of *Sardinia* tributary to him. (This Iſland, however, is very remote from *Ionia*, and could have no Relation to it; we are, therefore, apt to believe it muſt be an Error, that has crept into the Text of *Herodotus*, and ſhould, rather, have been *Euboea*.) The beſt Princes are often too credulous; and when they have once taken a Subject into their Confidence, it is with Difficulty they withdraw it from him; nor do they eaſily undeceive themſelves: Accordingly, *Darius*, impos'd upon by that Air of Sincerity, with which *Hyſtiæus* diſcours'd on this Head, believ'd him, on his own Word; and gave him Leave to return to *Ionia*, on Condition, he came back to the *Perſian* Court, as ſoon as he had executed what he promis'd.

In the mean Time, the Revolters, though deſerted by the *Athenians*, and, notwithſtanding the conſiderable Check they had receiv'd in *Ionia*, did not loſe Courage; but ſtill puſh'd on their Point with Reſolution. Their Fleet ſet Sail towards the *Helleſpont*, and the *Propontis*, and reduc'd *Byzantium*; with the major Part of the other *Grecian* Cities, in that Quarter. After which, as they were returning back again, they obliged the *Carians* to join with them in this War; as alſo the People of *Cyprus*. However, the *Perſian* Generals, having divided their Forces among themſelves, march'd three different Ways, againſt the Rebels; and defeated them in ſeveral Encounters, in one of which *Ariſtagoras* was ſlain.

When *Hyſtiæus* was come to *Sardis*, his intriguing Temper carry'd him to form a Plot againſt the Government; into which he drew a great Number of *Perſians*: But, perceiving, by ſome Diſcourſe he had with *Artaphernes*, that the Part he had had in the Revolt of *Ionia*, was not unknown to that Governor, he thought it not ſafe for him to ſtay any longer at *Sardis*; wherefore, ſtealing out ſecretly, the Night following, he retir'd to the Iſle of *Chios*; From thence he ſent a Meſſenger, in whom he repos'd great Confidence, to *Sardis*, with Letters for ſuch of the *Perſians*, as he had gain'd over to his Party. This Meſſenger betray'd him, and deliver'd his Letters to *Artaphernes*; by which Means, the Plot was diſcover'd, all his Accomplices put to Death, and his Project utterly defeated. However, ſtill imagining, that he could do ſomething important, if he were but once at the Head of the *Ionian* League, he made ſeveral Attempts to get into *Miletes*; and to be admitted into the Confederacy, by the Citizens: But, none of his Endeavours ſucceeded, and he was obliged to return to *Chios*.

There, being ask'd, why he had ſo ſtrongly urged *Ariſtagoras* to revolt, and, by that Means, involv'd *Ionia* in ſuch Calamities; he made Anſwer, that it was, becauſe the King had reſolv'd to tranſplant the *Ionians* into *Phœnicia*, and to ſettle the *Phœnicians* in *Ionia*. But, all this was a mere Story, and Fiction of his own inventing; a Deſign of that Nature never having enter'd into the Head of *Darius*. The Artifice, however, ſerv'd his Purpoſe extremely well; not only for juſtifying him to the *Ionians*, but alſo, for engaging them to proſecute the War with Vigour. For, being alarm'd at the Thoughts of this Tranſmigration, they took a firm Reſolution, to defend

ſelves

themſelves againſt the *Perſians*, to the laſt Extremity.

At the ſame Time, *Artaphernes*, and *Otanes*, with the Reſt of the *Perſian* Generals, finding, that *Miletos* was the Center of the *Ionian* Confederacy, reſolv'd to march thither with all their Forces; concluding, that, if they could carry that City, all the Reſt would ſubmit, of their own Accord. The *Ionians*, having Intelligence of their Deſign, determin'd, in a general Aſſembly, to ſend no Army into the Field, but to fortify *Miletos*; and to furniſh it, as well as poſſible, with Proviſions, and all Things neceſſary for enduring a Siege; as alſo to gather all their Forces together, and to engage the *Perſians* at Sea; their Dexterity in maritime Affairs inducing them to believe, that they ſhould have the Advantage in a naval Engagement. The Place of their Rendezvous was *Lada*, a ſmall Iſle over-againſt *Miletos*, where they met together, and made a Fleet of three Hundred and fifty-three Veſſels. At the Sight of this Fleet, the *Perſians*, though ſtronger, by one Half, with Reſpect to the Number of their Ships, were afraid; and avoided the hazarding a Battle, till, by their Emiſſaries, they had ſecretly debauch'd the greateſt Part of the Confederates, and engag'd them to deſert: So that, when the two Fleets came to encounter, the Ships of *Samos*, of *Lesbos*, and ſeveral other Places, ſail'd off, and return'd to their own Country; and the remaining Fleet of the Confederates did not conſiſt of above an hundred Veſſels; which were all quickly overpower'd, by the Number of the *Perſian* Ships, and almoſt entirely deſtroy'd. After this, the City of *Miletos* was beſieg'd, and became a Prey to the Conquerors, who utterly deſtroy'd it: This happen'd, ſix Years after the Revolt of *Ariſtagoras*.

All the other Towns, as well on the Continent, as on the Sea-Coaſt, and in the Iſles, return'd to their Duty ſoon after; either voluntarily, or by Force. Thoſe Perſons, who ſtood out, were treated, as they had been threaten'd before-hand. The handſomeſt of the young Men were choſen out to ſerve in the Palace; and the young Women were all ſent into *Perſia*: The Cities, and Temples, were all reduc'd to Aſhes. Theſe were the fatal Effects of the Revolt, into which that People were drawn, by the ambitious Views of *Ariſtagoras*, and *Hyſtiæus*.

The laſt of theſe two had his Share in the general Calamity: For, that ſame Year, he was taken by the *Perſians*, and carry'd to *Sardis*; where *Artaphernes* caus'd him to be immediately hang'd, without conſulting *Darius*; leſt that Prince's Affection for *Hyſtiæus*, ſhould incline him to pardon him; and, by that Means, a dangerous Enemy ſhould be left alive, who might create the *Perſians* new Diſturbances. It appear'd, by the Sequel, that the Conjecture of *Artaphernes* was well grounded: For, when the Head of *Hyſtiæus* was brought to *Darius*, he expreſs'd great Diſſatisfaction at the Authors of his Death, and caus'd the Head to be honourably interr'd, as being the Remains of a Perſon, to whom he had infinite Obligations; the Remembrance whereof was too deeply engraven on his Mind, ever to be blotted out, by the Greatneſs of any Faults he had committed afterwards.

Hyſtiæus was one of thoſe reſtleſs, bold, and enterprizing Spirits; in whom many good Qualities are join'd with ſtill greater Vices; with whom all Means are lawful, and good, that ſerve to promote the End they have in View; who look upon Juſtice, Probity, and Sincerity, as bare, empty Names, without Reality; who make no Scruple of uſing Lying, or Fraud, Treachery, or Perjury, when it is to ſerve their Turn; and who reckon it as nothing to ruin Nations, or, even their own Country, if it be neceſſary to their own Elevation. Accordingly, his End was ſuitable to his Sentiments; and, what is pretty common to thoſe irreligious Politicians, who ſacrifice every Thing in the World to their Ambition; and acknowledge no other Rule of their Actions, and hardly any other God, than their Intereſt, and Fortune.

CHAP. V.

Darius *turns his Arms againſt* Greece; *The State of* Athens, *at that Time*; *The Characters of* Miltiades, Themiſtocles, *and* Ariſtides, *three illuſtrious* Athenians; *The celebrated Battle of* Marathon; *The great Gallantry of* Cynægirus; Darius *highly incenſed at the ſhameful Defeat of his Army, reſolves to command his Forces in Perſon; but is prevented by Death; The remarkable Conteſt between* Artabarzanes, *and* Xerxes, *two of the Sons of* Darius, *for the* Perſian *Crown*; *The Character of* Darius; *The prodigious Preparation of* Xerxes *for carrying on the War againſt the* Greeks; *The prudent Remonſtrance of* Artabanes *upon that Head.*

PURSUANT to his long meditated Deſign, *Darius*, in the twenty-eighth Year of his Reign, having recall'd all his other Generals, ſent *Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobryas*, a young Lord, of an illuſtrious *Perſian* Family, who had lately marry'd one of his Daughters, to command in chief, throughout all the maritime Parts of *Aſia*; and with a particular Order, to invade

Greece, and take Vengeance of the *Athenians*, and *Eretrians*, for the Burning of *Sardis*. However, he did not ſhew much Wiſdom in this Choice, by which he preferr'd a young Man, becauſe he was a Favourite, to all his oldeſt, and moſt experienc'd Generals; eſpecially, as it was in ſo difficult a War; the Succeſs of which he had very much at Heart; and wherein the Glory of his Reign was infinitely concern'd. His being Son-in-Law to the King, was a Quality, indeed, that might augment his Credit, but added nothing to his real Merit; nor contributed any Thing towards the making him an excellent Commander.

At his coming into *Macedonia*, where he had march'd with his Land-Forces, after having paſs'd through *Thrace*, the whole Country, terrify'd at ſuch a mighty Army, at firſt, ſubmitted. But, his Fleet, attempting to double Mount *Athos* (now call'd *Capo Santo*) in order to gain the Coaſts of *Macedonia*, was attack'd with ſo violent a Hurricane, that, upwards of three hundred Ships, together with above twenty thouſand Men, periſh'd in the Sea. His Land-Army met, at the ſame Time, with no leſs fatal a Blow. For, being incamp'd in a Place of no Security, the *Thracians* attack'd the *Perſian* Camp by Night, made a great Slaughter of the Men, and wounded *Mardonius* himſelf. All this ill Succeſs obliged him, ſhortly after, to return into *Aſia*, with Grief, and Confuſion, at his having miſcarry'd, both by Sea, and Land, in this Expedition.

Hereupon, *Darius*, being ſenſible too late, that the Youth, and Inexperience of *Mardonius*, had occaſion'd the Defeat of his Troops, recall'd him; and put two other Generals in his Place, *Datis*, a *Mede*; and *Artaphernes*, Son of his Brother *Artaphernes*, who had been Governor of *Sardis*. The King's Thoughts were now earneſtly bent upon the immediate Execution of his long meditated Deſign, to attack *Greece* with all his Forces; and, particularly, to take a ſignal Vengeance of the People of *Athens*, and *Eretria*; whoſe Enterprize againſt *Sardis* was perpetually in his Memory.

However, before we enter upon this War, it will be proper to refreſh our Memories, with a View of the State of *Athens*, at this Time; which alone ſuſtain'd the firſt Shock of the *Perſians* at *Marathon*; as alſo, to form ſome Idea, beforehand, of the great Men, concern'd in that celebrated Victory.

Athens, juſt deliver'd from that Servitude, which ſhe had been forc'd to bear, for above thirty Years, under the Tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*, and his Children, now peaceably enjoy'd the Advantages of Liberty; the Sweetneſs, and Value of which, were only heighten'd, and improv'd by that ſhort Privation. *Lacedæmon*, which was, at this Time, the Miſtreſs of *Greece*, and had contributed, at firſt, to this happy Change in *Athens*, ſeem'd, afterwards, to repent of her good Offices: And growing jealous of the peaceful Tranquility, ſhe herſelf had procur'd for her Neighbours, ſhe attempted to diſturb it, by endeavouring to ſet *Hippias*, the Son of *Piſiſtratus*, again on the Throne of *Athens*. But, all her Attempts were fruitleſs, and ſerv'd only to manifeſt her Ill-Will, and her Grief, to ſee *Athens* determin'd to live independent, even of *Sparta* itſelf. *Hippias*, hereupon, had Recourſe to the *Perſians*; and *Artaphernes*, Governor of *Sardis*, ſent the *Athenians* Word, that they muſt reſtore *Hippias* to his Throne, unleſs they had a Mind to draw the whole Power of *Darius* upon them. This ſecond Attempt ſucceeding no better than the firſt, *Hippias* was obliged to wait for a more favourable Juncture; and we ſhall ſee preſently, that he ſerv'd as a Conductor, or Guide to the *Perſian* Generals, ſent by *Darius* againſt *Greece*.

But, *Athens*, ſince the Recovery of her Liberty, was quite another City than under her Tyrants; and diſplay'd a very different Sort of Courage: Among the Citizens, *Miltiades* was the Man, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf moſt, in the War with the *Perſians*, which we are going to relate. He was the Son of *Cimon*, an illuſtrious *Athenian*; who had a Half-Brother, by the Mother's Side, whoſe Name was, likewiſe, *Miltiades*; of a very ancient, and noble Family, in *Ægina*, who had lately been receiv'd into the Number of the *Athenian* Citizens. He was a Perſon of great Credit, even in the Time of *Piſiſtratus*: But, being unwilling to bear the Yoke of a deſpotick Government, he joyfully embrac'd the Offer made him, of going to ſettle with a Colony in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, where he was invited by the *Dolonci*, the Inhabitants of that Country, to be their King; or, according to the Language of thoſe Times, their Tyrant. He dying without Children, left the Sovereignty to *Steſagoras*, who was his Nephew, and eldeſt Son of his Brother *Cimon*; and *Steſagoras* dying, likewiſe, without Iſſue, the Sons of *Piſiſtratus*, who then rul'd the City of *Athens*, ſent his Brother, *Miltiades*, the Perſon we are now ſpeaking of, into that Country to be his Succeſſor.

He arriv'd there, and aſcended the Throne, the ſame Year that *Darius* undertook his Expedition againſt the *Scythians*. He attended that Prince with ſome Ships, as far as the *Danube*; and was the Perſon, who adviſ'd the *Ionians* to deſtroy the Bridge, and return home, without waiting for *Darius*; though it was contrary to his private Intereſt, as we have before obſerv'd. During his Reſidence in the *Cherſoneſus*, he marry'd *Hegeſipyla*, Daughter of *Olorus*, a *Thracian* King, in the Neighbourhood; by whom he had *Cimon*, that famous *Athenian* General, of whom a great deal will be ſaid in the Sequel. This *Miltiades*, then, having, for ſeveral Reaſons, abdicated his Government in *Thrace*, embark'd, and took all that he had, on board five Ships, and ſet Sail for *Athens*; where he ſettled a ſecond Time, and acquir'd a great Reputation.

At the ſame Time, two other Citizens, younger than *Miltiades*, began to diſtinguiſh themſelves conſiderably at *Athens*; namely, *Ariſtides*, and *Themiſtocles*. *Plutarch* obſerves, that the former of theſe had endeavour'd to form himſelf upon the Model of *Cliſthenes*, one of the greateſt Men of his Time, and a zealous Defender of Liberty; who had contributed to the reſtoring it at *Athens*, by expelling the *Piſiſtratides* out of that City. It was an excellent Cuſtom, among the Ancients, and which, it were to be wiſh'd, might prevail amongſt us; that the young Men, who were ambitious of publick Employments, particularly attach'd themſelves to ſuch aged, and experienc'd Men, as had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves moſt eminently therein; and who, both by their Converſation, and Example, could teach them how to behave themſelves, and govern others with Wiſdom,

and

and Diſcretion. Thus, ſays *Plutarch*, did *Ariſtides* attach himſelf to *Cliſthenes*; *Cimon* to *Ariſtides*; and he mentions ſeveral others: Among the Reſt, that excellent General, and Hiſtorian, *Polybius*; who, in his Youth, was the conſtant Diſciple, and faithful Imitator of the celebrated *Philopœmen*.

Themiſtocles, and *Ariſtides*, were of very different Diſpoſitions; but they both render'd great Services to the Common-Wealth. *Themiſtocles*, who naturally lean'd to a popular Government, omitted nothing, that could contribute to render himſelf agreeable to the People, and gain Friends; behaving himſelf with great Affability, and Complaiſance, to every-body; and always ready to do Service to the Citizens, every one of which he knew, by Name; nor was he very nice about the Means he us'd to oblige them. Some-body talking with him once on this Subject, told him, he would make an excellent Magiſtrate, if his Behaviour to the Citizens was more equal; and if he had no Biaſs, to favour one more than another; upon which he reply'd, *God forbid, I ſhould ever ſit upon a Tribunal, where my Friends ſhould find no more Credit, or Favour, than Strangers.* Cleon, who appear'd ſome Time after, at *Athens*, obſerv'd a quite different Conduct; but yet ſuch, as was not wholly exempt from Blame. When he came into the Management of publick Affairs, he aſſembled all his Friends, and declar'd to them, that, from that Moment, he renounc'd their Friendſhip; leſt it ſhould prove an Obſtacle to him in the Diſcharge of his Duty, and cauſe him to act with Partiality, and Injuſtice. This was doing them very little Honour, and judging hardly of their Integrity: But, as *Plutarch* rightly obſerves, he ought not to have renounc'd his Friends, but his Paſſions.

However, *Ariſtides* had the Diſcretion to obſerve a juſt *Medium* between theſe two vicious Extremes. Being a Favourer of Ariſtocracy, in Imitation of *Lycurgus*, whoſe great Admirer he was, he follow'd a Conduct, peculiar, in a Manner, to himſelf: Not endeavouring to oblige his Friends, at the Expence of Juſtice; and yet always ready to do them Service, when it was conſiſtent with it. He carefully avoided making Uſe of his Friends Recommendations for obtaining Employments; for Fear it ſhould be a dangerous Obligation upon him; as well as a plauſible Pretext for them, to require the ſame Favour from him, on the like Occaſion. He us'd to ſay, that the true Citizen, or the honeſt Man, ought to make no other Uſe of his Credit, and Power, than to practiſe himſelf upon all Occaſions, and to engage others to practiſe, what was juſt, and honeſt.

Conſidering this Contrariety of Principles, and Humours, among theſe great Men, we are not to wonder, if, during the Time of their Adminiſtration, there was a continual Oppoſition between them. *Themiſtocles*, who was bold, and enterprizing, in almoſt all his Attempts, was ſtill ſure to meet *Ariſtides* in his Way; who thought himſelf obliged to thwart the other's Deſigns, even ſometimes, when they were juſt, and beneficial to the Publick; leſt he ſhould get too great an Aſcendant, and Authority; which might become pernicious to the Common-Wealth.

Accordingly, one Day, having got the better of *Themiſtocles*, who had made ſome Propoſal, really advantagious to the State, he could not contain himſelf, but cry'd out aloud, as he went from the Aſſembly: *That thd* Athenians *would never proſper, till they threw them both into the* Barathrum; which was a Pit, into which the Malefactors were thrown, who were condemn'd to die. But, notwithſtanding this mutual Oppoſition, when the common Intereſt was at Stake, they were no longer Enemies: And, whenever they were going to take the Field, or engage in any Expedition, they agreed together to lay aſide all their Diſſenſions, on leaving the City; and to be at Liberty to reſume them, on their Return, if they thought fit.

The predominant Paſſion of *Themiſtocles* was Ambition, and the Love of Glory; which diſcover'd itſelf in him, from his Childhood. After the Battle of *Marathon*, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently; when the People were every-where extolling the Valour, and Conduct of *Miltiades*, who had won it, *Themiſtocles* never appear'd but in a very thoughtful, and melancholy Humour: He ſpent whole Nights without Sleep, and was never ſeen at publick Feaſts, and Entertainments, as he us'd to be before. And, when his Friends, aſtoniſh'd at this Change, ask'd him the Reaſon of it, he made Anſwer, that the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not let him ſleep. Theſe were as ſo many Stings in his Mind, which never ceas'd to ſpur, and animate his Ambition: From this Time, *Themiſtocles* addicted himſelf wholly to Arms; and the Love of martial Glory became his prevailing Paſſion.

As for *Ariſtides*, the Love of the publick Good was the great Spring of all his Actions. What he was moſt particularly admir'd for, was, his Conſtancy, and Steadineſs, under the unforeſeen Changes, to which thoſe, who have the Adminiſtration of Affairs, are expos'd; for, he was neither elevated with the Honours conferr'd upon him; nor caſt down, at the Contempt, and Diſappointments he ſometimes met with. On all Occaſions, he preſerv'd his uſual Calmneſs, and Temper; being perſuaded, that a Man ought to devote himſelf entirely to his Country, and to ſerve it with a perfect Diſintereſtedneſs, as well with Regard to Glory, as to Riches.

The general Eſteem he was in, for the Uprightneſs of his Intentions, the Purity of his Zeal for the Intereſts of the State, and the Sincerity of his Virtue, appear'd remarkably, one Day, at the Theatre, when one of the Plays of *Æſchylus* was acting. For, when the Actor had recited that Verſe, which deſcribes the Character of *Amphiaraus*, thus, *He does not deſire to appear to be an honeſt, and virtuous Man, but really to be ſo*; the whole Audience turn'd their Eyes upon *Ariſtides*, and apply'd the Character to him, as a Man, who really deſerv'd it.

Another Thing, related of him, concerning a publick Employment he diſcharged, is very remarkable. He was no ſooner made Treaſure-General of the Republick, but he made it appear, that his Predeceſſors, in that Office, had cheated the State of vaſt Sums of Money; and, among the Reſt, *Themiſtocles*, in particular: For, this great Man, with all his Merit, was not free from Corruption. For this Reaſon, when *Ariſtides* came to paſs his Accounts, *Themiſtocles* rais'd a mighty Faction againſt him; accus'd him of having

ing robb'd the publick Treaſure, and prevail'd ſo far, as to have him condemn'd, and fin'd. But the principal Inhabitants, and the moſt virtuous Part of the Citizens, riſing up againſt ſo unjuſt a Sentence, not only the Judgment was revers'd, and the Fine remitted; but he was likewiſe elected Treaſurer for the Year enſuing.

He then ſeem'd to repent of his former Adminiſtration; and, by ſhewing himſelf more tractable, and indulgent towards others, he found out the Secret of pleaſing all who pillaged the Commonwealth. For, as he neither reprov'd them, nor narrowly inſpected their Accounts; all thoſe Plunderers, grown fat with Spoil and Rapine, now extoll'd *Ariſtides* to the Skies. It would have been eaſy for him, to have inrich'd himſelf, in a Poſt of this Nature; which ſeems, as it were, to invite a Man to it by the many favourable Opportunities it throws in his Way; eſpecially, as he had to do with Officers, who, for their Part, were intent upon nothing but Plunder; and would have been ready to conceal the Frauds of the Treaſurer, their Maſter, upon Condition he did them the ſame Favour.

Accordingly, thoſe very Officers now made Intereſt with the People, to have him continued a third Year in the ſame Office. But, when the Time of Election was come, juſt as they were agreeing to the Nomination of *Ariſtides*, he roſe up, and warmly reprimanded the *Athenians*. "What (ſays he) when I managed your Treaſure "with all the Fidelity and Diligence, of which "an honeſt Man is capable, I met with the moſt "cruel Treatment, and the moſt mortifying Re"turns; and now, that I have abandon'd it to "the Mercy of all theſe publick Plunderers, I "am an admirable Man, and a moſt worthy "Citizen! I cannot help declaring to you, that "I am more aſham'd of the Honour you do me "this Day, than I was of the Condemnation you "pronounc'd againſt me, this Time Twelve"Month: And, with Grief I find, that it is "more glorious at *Athens*, to be complaiſant to "Knaves, than to ſave the publick Treaſure." By this Declaration, he ſilenc'd all the publick Plunderers, and gain'd the Eſteem of all good Men.

Such were the Characters of theſe two illuſtrious *Athenians*; who began to exert their extenſive Merit, when *Darius* firſt turn'd his Arms againſt *Greece*.

Before that Prince would directly engage in this Enterprize, he judg'd it expedient, to ſound the *Grecians*; and to learn how thoſe different Nations ſtood affected towards him. With this View, he ſent Heralds into all the ſeveral Parts of *Greece*, to require Earth and Water, in his Name; which was the Form us'd by the *Perſians*, when they exacted Submiſſion from any Nation, they deſigned to bring under their Subjection. On the Arrival of theſe Heralds, many of the *Grecian* Cities dreading the Power of the *Perſians*, comply'd with their Demands: As did alſo the Inhabitants of *Ægina*, a little Iſle, over-againſt, and not far from *Athens*. This Proceeding of the *Æginians* was look'd upon as a publick Treaſon. Accordingly, the *Athenians* repreſented the Matter to the *Spartans*; who immediately ſent *Cleomenes*, one of their Kings, to apprehend the Authors of that Diſloyalty: But the People of *Ægina* refus'd to give them up, under Pretence, that he came without his Colleague: This Colleague was *Demaratus*; who had himſelf ſuggeſted that Excuſe to the *Æginians*.

Hereupon, as ſoon as *Cleomenes* was return'd to *Sparta*, in order to be revenged on *Demaratus* for that Affront, he endeavour'd to get him depos'd, as not being of the Royal Family: And he ſucceeded in his Attempt, through the Aſſiſtance of the Prieſteſs of *Delphos*, whom he had ſuborn'd, to give an Anſwer, favourable to his Deſigns; upon which, *Demaratus*, not being able to digeſt ſo ignominious an Affront, baniſh'd himſelf from his Country, and retir'd to *Darius*, who receiv'd him with open Arms, and gave him a conſiderable Settlement in *Perſia*.

He was ſucceeded in the Throne by *Leotychides*, who join'd his Colleague; and went along with him to *Ægina*, from whence they brought away ten of the principal Inhabitants, and committed them to the Cuſtody of the *Athenians*, their declared Enemies. But, *Cleomenes* dying not long after; and the Fraud he had committed at *Delphos* being diſcover'd, the *Lacedæmonians* endeavour'd to oblige the People of *Athens* to ſet their *Æginian* Priſoners at Liberty; which they refus'd.

In the mean While, the *Perſian* Heralds, who went to *Sparta* and *Athens*, were not ſo favourably receiv'd, as thoſe, who had been ſent to the other Cities. One of them was thrown into a Well, and the other into a deep Ditch; and were bid to take thence Earth and Water. We ſhould be leſs ſurpriz'd at this unworthy Treatment, if *Athens* alone had been concern'd in it. It was a Proceeding ſuitable enough to a popular Government, which is raſh, impetuous, and violent; where Reaſon is ſeldom hearken'd to, and every Thing is determin'd by Paſſion: But, we do not find any Thing in this Conduct, agreeable to the *Spartan* Equity and Gravity.

They were at Liberty to refuſe what was demanded: But, to treat publick Officers in ſuch a Manner, was an open Violation of the Law of Nations; and, if what the Hiſtorians ſay on this Head be true, the Crime did not remain unpuniſh'd. *Talthybius*, one of *Agamemnon*'s Heralds, was honour'd at *Sparta*, as a God, and had a Temple there: He revenged the Indignities done to the Heralds of the King of *Perſia*; and made the *Spartans* feel the Effects of his Wrath, by bringing many terrible Accidents upon them. In order to appeaſe him, and expiate their Offence, they ſent, afterwards, ſeveral of their chief Citizens into *Perſia*; who voluntarily offer'd themſelves, as Victims for their Country: They were deliver'd into the Hands of *Xerxes*; who wou'd not let them ſuffer, but ſent them back to their own Country. As for the *Athenians*, *Talthybius* executed his Vengeance on the Family of *Miltiades*; who was principally concern'd in the Outrage, committed upon the Heralds of *Darius*.

In Return thereof, that Prince ſent away, in all Haſte, *Datis* and *Artapherner*, whom he had appointed Generals, in the Room of *Mardonius*: Their Inſtructions were, to give up *Eretria* and *Athens* to be plunder'd; to burn all the Houſes, and Temples therein; to make all the Inhabitants of both Places Priſoners, and to ſend them to *Suſa*; for which Purpoſe, they went provided with a great

great Number of Chains and Fetters; To which End, they ſet Sail with a Fleet of five, or ſix hundred Ships, and an Army of five hundred Thouſand Men.

After making themſelves Maſters of moſt of the Iſles in the *Ægean* Sea, which they did without Difficulty, they turn'd their Courſe towards *Eretria*, a Town in *Euboea*; which they took, after a Siege of ſeven Days, by the Treachery of ſome of the principal Inhabitants: They reduc'd the whole Town to Aſhes, put all the People they found therein in Chains, and ſent them to *Perſia*, in Obedience to the King's Commands: As much incens'd, however, as *Darius* was, contrary to their Expectation, he treated the Captives with great Humanity; and gave them a Village in *Ciſſia*, to dwell in, which was but a Day's Journey from *Suſa*; and where *Apollonius Tyanæus* found ſome of their Deſcendants, ſix Hundred Years afterwards.

After this Succeſs at *Eretria*, the *Perſians* advanc'd towards *Attica*; and *Hippias* conducted them to *Marathon*, a little Town by the Sea-ſide. They took Care to acquaint the *Athenians* with the Fate of *Eretria*; and to let them know, that not an Inhabitant of that Place had eſcap'd their Vengeance; in Hopes, that this News would induce them to ſurrender immediately. In the mean While, the *Athenians* had ſent to *Lacedæmon*, to deſire Succours againſt the common Enemy; which the *Spartans* granted them inſtantly, and without Deliberation; but which could not ſet out till ſome Days after, on Account of an ancient Cuſtom, and a ſuperſtitious Maxim amongſt them, which did not allow them to begin a March before the Full of the Moon. Not one of their other Allies prepar'd to ſuccour them; ſo great Terror had the formidable Army of the *Perſians* ſpread on every Side: The Inhabitants of *Platæa* alone furniſh'd them with a Thouſand Soldiers: In this Extremity the *Athenians* were obliged to put their Slaves in Arms, which had never been done there before this Occaſion.

The *Perſian* Army, commanded by *Datis*, conſiſted of near five hundred Thouſand Foot, and ten Thouſand Horſe; and that of the *Athenians* amounted, in all, but to ten Thouſand Men. This was led by ten Generals, of whom *Miltiades* was chief; and theſe ten were to have the Command of the whole Army, each for a Day, one after another. There was a great Diſpute among theſe Officers, whether they ſhould riſque an Engagement in the Field, or wait for the Enemy's coming into the Town. The latter Opinion prevail'd with great Odds, and appear'd very reaſonable; for, what Appearance of Succeſs could there be, in going out with an Handful of Soldiers, to meet ſo numerous, and formidable an Army, as the *Perſians*? *Miltiades*, however, declar'd for the contrary Opinion; and ſhew'd, that the only Way to raiſe the Courage of their own Troops, and to ſtrike a Terror into thoſe of the Enemy, was, to advance boldly towards them, with an Air of Confidence and Intrepidity. *Ariſtides* ſtrenuouſly defended this Opinion; and brought over to it ſome of the other Commanders; ſo that, when the Suffrages came to be taken, they were equally divided. Hereupon, *Miltiades* addreſs'd himſelf to *Callimachus*; who was then *Polemarchus*, a Magiſtrate of Importance; and had a Right of voting, as well as the ten Commanders. He very warmly repreſented to him, that the Fate of their Country was then in his Hands; that his ſingle Vote was to determine, whether *Athens* ſhould preſerve her Liberty, or fall into Slavery; and that he had it in his Power, by one Word, to become as famous, as *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, the prime Authors of that Liberty, which the *Athenians* enjoy'd. Then *Callimachus* gave this Vote in Favour of the Opinion of *Miltiades*; and accordingly, a Battle was reſolv'd upon.

In the mean While, *Ariſtides*, reflecting, that a Command, which changes every Day, muſt neceſſarily be weak, unequal, not of a Piece, often contrary to itſelf; and incapable, either of projecting, or executing any Deſigns with Regularity; was of Opinion, that their Danger was both too great, and too preſſing, for them to expoſe their Affairs to ſuch Inconveniences. In order to prevent them, he judg'd it neceſſary to veſt the whole Power in one ſingle Perſon: And that he might prevail with his Colleagues, he himſelf gave the firſt Example of Reſignation. When the Day came, on which it was his Turn to command, he reſign'd his Privilege to *Miltiades*, as to a more able and experienc'd Commander than himſelf: Accordingly, the other Generals did the ſame; all Sentiments of Jealouſy giving Way to the Love of the publick Good: And, by this Day's Behaviour, we may learn, that it is almoſt as glorious, to acknowledge Merit in other Perſons, as to have it one's ſelf.

Miltiades, however, thought fit to wait till his own Day came; then, like an able Captain, he endeavour'd, by the Advantage of the Ground, to gain what he wanted in Strength, and Number. He ranged his Army at the Foot of a Mountain, that the Enemy ſhould not be able either to ſurround them, or to attack them behind. To this End, he had caus'd Numbers of large Trees to be fell'd; which he plac'd as a Barrier, on the two Sides of his Army, in order to cover his Flanks, and render the *Perſian* Cavalry uſeleſs. Accordingly, *Datis*, their Commander, was very ſenſible, that the Place was not favourable for him: But, relying upon the Number of his Troops, which was, beyond all Compariſon, ſuperior to that of the *Athenians*; and, not being willing to ſtay, till a Reinforcement of *Spartans* came up, he determin'd to engage.

The *Athenians* did not wait for their coming to attack them: As ſoon as the Signal for the Battle was given, they ran againſt the Enemy with all the Fury imaginable. The *Perſians* look'd upon this firſt Step of the *Athenians*, as a Piece of Madneſs; conſidering their Army was ſo ſmall, and utterly deſtitute both of Cavalry, and Archers: But they were quickly undeceiv'd. *Herodotus* obſerves, that this was the firſt Time the *Grecians* began an Engagement, by running in this Manner; which may ſeem ſomewhat aſtoniſhing. In Effect, there was great Reaſon to apprehend, that their Running would, in ſome Meaſure, weaken the Troops, and blunt the Edge of their firſt Impetuoſity; and that the Soldiers, having their Ranks broken, might be out of Breath, ſpent, and in Diſorder, when they came to the Enemy; who, waiting to receive them, in a ſteddy Poſture, and without ſtirring, muſt, one

would think, be in a Condition to ſuſtain their Onſet advantagiouſly.

This Conſideration engaged *Pompey*, at the Battle of *Pharſalia*, to keep his Troops in a ſteddy Poſture; and to forbid them making any Motion, till the Enemy made the firſt Attack: But *Cæſar* blames *Pompey*'s Conduct, in this Particular, and gives this Reaſon for it: That the Impetuoſity of the Motion of an Army, in running to engage, inſpires the Soldiers Souls with a certain Enthuſiaſm, and martial Fury; that it gives an additional Force to their Blows; and that it increaſes, and inflames their Courage; which, by the rapid Motion of ſo many Thouſand Men together, is animated, and blown up, if we may uſe that Expreſſion, as a Fire is by Wind, or Air. We leave it, however, to the Gentlemen of that Profeſſion, to decide the Point between thoſe two great Commanders, and return to our Subject.

The Battle was very fierce, and obſtinate. *Miltiades* had made the Wings of his Army exceeding ſtrong, but had left the main Body more weak, and leſs thick; the Reaſon of which ſeems pretty manifeſt. Having but ten Thouſand Men to ſet in Oppoſition to ſuch a numerous and vaſt Army, it was impoſſible for him either to make a large Front, or to give an equal Depth to his Battalions. He was obliged, therefore, to take his Choice: And he imagin'd, that he could no otherwiſe gain the Victory, than by the Efforts he ſhould make with his two Wings, in order to break through, and rout the Wings of the *Perſians*: Not doubting, but, when his Wings were once victorious, they would be able to attack the Enemy's main Body in Flank, and compleat the Victory, without much Difficulty. This was the ſame Plan, as *Hannibal* follow'd afterwards, at the Battle of *Cannæ*; which ſucceeded very well with him; and which, indeed, can ſcarce ever fail of ſucceeding.

The *Perſians* then attack'd the main Body of the *Grecian* Army, and made their greateſt Efforts, particularly upon their Front. This was led by *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles*; who ſupported it a long Time, with an intrepid Courage and Bravery; but were, at length, obliged to give Ground. At that very Inſtant, came up their two victorious Wings, which had defeated thoſe of the Enemy, and put them to Flight. Nothing could be more ſeaſonable for the Body of the *Grecian* Army; which began to be broken, being quite oppreſs'd with the Number of the *Perſians*. The Scale was quickly turn'd, and the *Barbarians* were entirely routed. They all betook themſelves to their Heels, and fled, not towards their Camp, but to their Ships, that they might make their Eſcape; and the *Athenians* purſued them thither, and ſet many of their Veſſels on Fire.

On this Occaſion it was, that *Cynægyrus*, one of the *Athenian* Soldiers, who had taken Hold of a Veſſel, in order to get into it with the Run-aways, having firſt had his Right-Hand, and then his Left, cut off with a Hatchet, would not ſtill let go, but took Hold with his Teeth; ſo eager was he to deſtroy the Enemy. The *Athenians* took ſeven of their Ships: They had not above two hundred Men kill'd on their Side in this Engagement; whereas, on the Side of the *Perſians*, there were above ſix thouſand ſlain, without reckoning thoſe, who fell into the Sea, as they endeavour'd to eſcape, or thoſe, who were deſtroy'd with the Ships ſet on Fire.

Amongſt the *Reſt*, *Hippias* was kill'd in this Battle: That ungrateful, and perfidious Citizen, in order to recover the unjuſt Dominion, uſurp'd by his Father, *Piſiſtratus*, over the *Athenians*, had the Baſeneſs to become a ſervile Courtier to a *Barbarian* Prince; and to implore his Succour againſt his native Country. Being puſh'd on by Hatred, and Revenge, he ſuggeſted all the Ways he could invent, to bring his Fellow-Citizens into Fetters; and even put himſelf at the Head of their Enemies, with a Deſign to reduce that City to Aſhes, to which he ow'd his Birth; and againſt which he had no other Ground of Complaint, than that ſhe would not ackowledge him for her Tyrant. An ignominious Death, together with an everlaſting Infamy entail'd upon his Name, was the juſt Recompence of ſo black a Treachery.

Immediately after the Battle, an *Athenian* Soldier, ſtill reeking in the Blood of the Enemy, diſengaged himſelf from the Army, and ran with all his Might to *Athens*, to carry to his Fellow-Citizens the happy News of the Victory. When he arriv'd at the Magiſtrate's, he only utter'd theſe two or three Words, *Rejoice, rejoice, the Victory is ours*; and fell down dead at their Feet.

As for the *Perſians*, they had thought themſelves ſo ſure of Victory, that they had brought Marble to *Marathon*, in order to erect a Trophy there. The *Grecians* took this Marble, and caus'd a Statue to be made of it by *Phidias*, in Honour of the Goddeſs *Nemeſis*; who had a Temple near the Place, where the Battle was fought.

In the mean While, the *Perſian* Fleet, inſtead of ſailing by the Iſlands, in order to re-enter *Aſia*, doubled the Cape of *Sunium*; with the Deſign of ſurprizing *Athens*, before the *Athenian* Forces ſhould arrive there to defend the City. But the latter had the Precaution to march thither with nine Tribes, to ſecure their Country; and perform'd their March with ſo much Expedition, that they arriv'd there the ſame Day. The Diſtance from *Marathon* to *Athens* is about forty Miles; which was a great Way for an Army, that had juſt undergone a long, and fierce Engagement; by this Diligence, however, the Deſign of their Enemies miſcarry'd, and *Athens* was preſerv'd.

Ariſtides, the only General, who ſtay'd at *Marathon* with his Tribe, to take Care of the Spoil, and Priſoners, acted ſuitably to the good Opinion, that was entertained of him. For, though Gold, and Silver, were ſcattered about in Abundance, throughout the Enemy's Camp; and though all the Tents, as well as Galleys, that were taken, were full of rich Cloaths, and coſtly Furniture, and Treaſure of all Kinds to an immenſe Value, he not only was not tempted to embezzle any of it himſelf, but hindered every-body elſe from touching it.

As ſoon as the Day of the full Moon was over, the *Lacedæmonians* began their March with two Thouſand Men; and, having travelled with all imaginable Expedition, arrived in *Attica*, after three Days hard marching: Now the Length of the Way from *Sparta* to *Attica* was no leſs than twelve hundred *Stadia*, or one hundred and fifty *Engliſh* Miles. The Battle was fought the Day before they arrived: However, they proceeded to

to *Marathon*, where they found the Fields cover'd with dead Bodies, and with Riches; wherefore, after having congratulated the *Athenians* on the happy Succeſs of the Battle, they returned to their own Country.

They were hindred by a fooliſh, and ridiculous Superſtition, from having a Share in the moſt glorious Action recorded in Hiſtory. For, it is, almoſt, a Thing unheard of, that ſuch a ſmall Handful of Men, as the *Athenians* were, ſhould not only make Head againſt ſo numerous an Army, as that of the *Perſians*, but ſhould entirely rout, and defeat them. One is aſtoniſh'd, to ſee ſo formidable a Power attack ſo ſmall a City, and miſcarry; and we are, almoſt, tempted to disbelieve the Truth of an Event, that appears ſo improbable; and which, nevertheleſs, is very certain, and unqueſtionable.

This Battle alone ſhews, what wonderful Things may be perform'd by an able General, who knows how to take his Advantages; by the Intrepidity of Soldiers, who are not afraid of Death; by a Zeal for one's Country; the Love of Liberty; an Hatred, and Deteſtation of Slavery, and Tyranny; which were Sentiments natural to the *Athenians*; but, undoubtedly, very much augmented, and inflamed in them, by the very Preſence of *Hippias*; whom they dreaded to have again for their Maſter, after all that had paſs'd between them.

Plato, in more Places than one, makes it his Buſineſs to extol the Battle of *Marathon*; and endeavours to make that Action be look'd upon, as the Source, and original Cauſe, of all the Victories gain'd afterwards: And, doubtleſs, it was this Victory, deprived the *Perſian* Power of that Terror, which had render'd them ſo formidable, and made every Thing ſtoop before them. It was this Victory taught the *Grecians* how to know their own Strength; and not tremble before an Enemy, who had nothing terrible but the Name; which made them find, by Experience, Victory does not depend ſo much upon the Number, as the Courage of Troops; that ſet before their Eyes, in a moſt conſpicuous Light, the Glory there is in ſacrificing our Lives, in Defence of our Country, and for the Preſervation of our Liberty; and laſtly, that inſpired them, through the whole Courſe of ſucceeding Ages, with a noble Emulation, and warm Ambition, to imitate their Anceſtors, and not degenerate from their Valour. For, on all important Occaſions, it was cuſtomary among them, to put the People in Mind of *Miltiades*, and his invincible Troop; that is, of a ſmall Army of Heroes, whoſe Intrepidity and Bravery had done ſo much Honour to *Athens*.

Thoſe who were ſlain in the Battle, had all the Honour immediately paid them, due to their Merit. Illuſtrious Monuments were erected to them, in the very Place where the Battle was fought; upon which their own Names, and that of the Tribe, to which they reſpectively belong'd, were recorded. There were three diſtinct Setts of Monuments ſeparately ſet up, one for the *Athenians*; another for the *Plataeans*; and a third for the Slaves, whom they had admitted among their Soldiers, on that Occaſion. The Tomb of *Miltiades* was afterwards erected in the ſame Place.

The Reflection, *Cornelius Nepos* makes upon what the *Athenians* did to honour the Memory of their General, deſerves to be remark'd, and conſider'd. "Formerly (ſays he, ſpeaking of the "*Romans*) our Anceſtors rewarded Virtue by "Marks of Diſtinction, not ſtately, or magniſ-"cent, but ſuch as were rarely granted, and for "that very Reaſon, were highly eſteemed; "whereas, now they are ſo common, they are "held in no Eſteem. The ſame [illegible] happen'd "(adds he) among the *Athenians*. All the Ho-"nour paid to *Miltiades*, the great Deliverer of "*Athens*, and of all *Greece*, was in a Picture of "the Battle of *Marathon*, drawn by Order of the "*Athenians*, where he was repreſented at the Head "of the Ten Commanders, exhorting the Soldi-"ers, and ſetting them an Example of their Du-"ty. But this ſame People, in later Ages, being "grown more powerful, and corrupted by the "Flatteries of their Orators, decreed three hun-"dred Statues to *Demetrius Phalereus*."

Plutarch makes the ſame Reflection, and wiſely obſerves; "The Honour, which is paid to great "Men, ought not to be look'd upon as the Re-"ward of their illuſtrious Actions; but only as a "Mark of the Eſteem of them, whereof ſuch "Monuments are intended to perpetuate the "Memory." It is not, then, the Statelineſs or Magnificence of publick Monuments, which gives them their Value, or makes them durable, but the ſincere Gratitude of thoſe, who erect them. The three hundred Statues of *Demetrius Phalereus* were all broken down, even in his own Life-Time; but, the Picture, in which the Courage, and Conduct of *Miltiades*, was repreſented, was preſerved many Ages after him.

This Picture was kept at *Athens*, in a Gallery, adorn'd, and enrich'd with different Paintings; all excellent in their Kind, and done by the greateſt Maſters; which, for that Reaſon, was called, *Poecile*, that is, *Variety*. The celebrated *Polygnotus*, a Native of the Iſle of *Thaſos*, and one of the fineſt Painters of his Time, painted this Picture; or, at leaſt, the greateſt Part of it; and, as he valued himſelf upon his Honour, and was more attach'd to Glory than Intereſt, he drew it *Gratis*, and would not receive any Recompence. The City of *Athens*, therefore, rewarded him with a Sort of Coin, which was more acceptable to his Taſte; by procuring an Order from the *Amphictyons*, to appoint him a publick Lodging in the City, where he might live, as long as he pleaſed.

The Gratitude of the *Athenians* towards *Miltiades* was of no very long Duration: After the Battle of *Marathon*, he deſir'd, and obtain'd the Command of a Fleet of ſeventy Ships, in order to puniſh, and ſubdue the Iſlands, that had favour'd the *Barbarians*. Accordingly, he reduced ſeveral of them: But, having had ill Succeſs in the Iſle of *Paros*; and, upon a falſe Report of the Arrival of the Fleet of the Enemy, having rais'd the Siege which he had laid to the capital City of that Iſland, wherein he had received a very dangerous Wound; on his Return to *Athens* with his Fleet, he was there impeach'd by a Citizen, call'd *Xanthippus*; who accuſed him of having raiſed the Siege, through Treachery, and in Conſideration of a great Sum of Money given him by the King of *Perſia*.

As little Probability as there was in this Accuſation, it, nevertheleſs, prevailed againſt the Merit, and Innocence of *Miltiades*. He was condemn'd

demn'd to loſe his Life, and to be thrown into the *Barathrum*, the Place, into which their greateſt Criminals and Maleſactors were condemn'd to be caſt; and though the Magiſtrate oppos'd the Execution of ſo unjuſt a Sentence, all the Favour, that was ſhewn to this Deliverer of his Country, was to have the Sentence of Death commuted into a Penalty of fifty Talents, about Ten Thouſand Pounds; being the Sum to which the Expences of the Fleet, that had been equipp'd upon his Sollicitation, and Advice, amounted; and not be-being rich enough to pay this Sum, he was put into Priſon, and there dy'd of the Wound he had received in *Paros*. *Cimon*, his Son, who was, at this Time, very young, ſignaliz'd his Piety on this Occaſion; as we ſhall find, in the Sequel, he did his Courage afterwards. He purchas'd the Permiſſion of burying his Father's Body, by paying the Fine of fifty Thouſand Crowns, in which he had been condemn'd; which Sum the young Man rais'd, as well as he could, by the Aſſiſtance of his Friends and Relations.

Upon this Head, *Cornelius Nepos* obſerves, with great Probability; that the *Athenians* were induc'd to act in this Manner to *Miltiades*, only on Account of his great Merit, and Reputation. This made the People, who were but lately deliver'd from the Yoke of Slavery under *Piſiſtratus*, apprehend, that *Miltiades*, who had been Tyrant before in the *Cherſoneſus*, might deſire to be the ſame at *Athens*; wherefore, they choſe rather to puniſh an innocent Perſon, than to have ſuch a perpetual Occaſion of Fear before them. To this ſame Principle was the Inſtitution of the *Oſtraciſm* at *Athens* owing; which made *Valerius Maximus*, in ſpeaking of the Baniſhment of *Ariſtides*, cry out, with great Reaſon, *O happy Republick!* which, after having ſo baſely treated the moſt virtuous Man, who ever belong'd to it, was ſtill able to find any good Man, or any Citizen, zealouſly, and faithfully attach'd to her Service! *Felices Athenas, quæ, poſt illius exilium, cum quo tunc ipſa Sanctitas migravit, invenire aliquem, aut Virum bonum, aut Amantem ſui Civem potuerunt.*

As ſoon as the News of the Defeat of his Army at *Marathon*, reach'd the Ears of *Darius*, he was incenſed to the higheſt Degree; however, that bad Succeſs was ſo far from diſcouraging, or diverting him, from carrying on the War againſt *Greece*, that it only ſerv'd to ſpur him on to purſue it with the greater Vigour; in order to be revenged, at the ſame Time, for the burning of *Sardis*, and for the Diſhonour incurr'd at *Marathon*. Accordingly, he determin'd to march, in Perſon, with all his Forces; wherefore, he iſſued out Orders to all his Subjects, in the ſeveral Provinces of his Empire, to arm themſelves for this Expedition.

However, after having ſpent three Years in making the neceſſary Preparations, he had another War to carry on, occaſioned by the Revolt of *Egypt*; and it ſeems to appear, by what we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, that *Darius* went thither himſelf to quell it, and ſucceeded therein. For, that Hiſtorian relates, upon this Prince's deſiring to have his Statue placed before that of *Seſoſtris*, the chief Prieſt of the *Egyptians* told him, *He had not yet equalled the Glory of that Conqueror*; and that the King, without being offended at the *Egyptian* Prieſt's Freedom, made Anſwer, "That he would "endeavour to ſurpaſs it."

Diodorus adds farther, that *Darius*, deteſting the impious Cruelty, which his Predeceſſor, *Cambyſes*, had exerciſed in that Country, ſhew'd great Reverence for their Gods, and their Temples; that he had ſeveral Converſations with the *Egyptian* Prieſts upon Matters of Religion and Government; and that, having learnt of them, with what Gentleneſs their ancient Kings uſed to treat their Subjects, he endeavour'd, after his Return into *Perſia*, to form himſelf upon their Model. But *Herodotus*, more worthy of Belief, in this Particular, than *Diodorus*, only obſerves, this Prince, reſolving at once to chaſtiſe his revolted Subjects, and to be avenged of his ancient Enemies, determined to make War againſt both at the ſame Time; and to attack *Greece*, in Perſon, with the Bulk of his Army; whilſt the Reſt of it was employ'd in chaſtizing the Revolt of the *Egyptians*.

According to an ancient Cuſtom among the *Perſians*, their King was not allow'd to go to War, without firſt naming the Perſon, who ſhould ſucceed him in the Throne; a Cuſtom wiſely eſtabliſhed, to prevent the State's being expoſed to the Troubles, which generally attend an unſettled Succeſſion; or to the Inconveniences of Anarchy, and to the Cabals of various Pretenders. *Darius*, before he undertook his Expedition againſt *Greece*, thought himſelf the more obliged to obſerve this Rule, as he was already advanced in Years; and, as there was a Difference between two of his Sons, about ſucceeding to the Empire; which Difference might occaſion a Civil War after his Death, if he left it undetermin'd.

He had three Sons by his firſt Wife, the Daughter of *Gobryas*; all born before their Father came to the Crown; and four more by *Atoſſa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, who were all born after their Father's Acceſſion to the Throne. *Artabazanes*, called by *Juſtin*, *Artamenes*, was the eldeſt of the former; and *Xerxes* of the latter. *Artabazanes* alledg'd in his own Behalf, that, as he was the eldeſt of all the Brothers, the Right of Succeſſion, according to the Cuſtom, and Practice of all Nations, belong'd to him, preferably to any other. The Argument of *Xerxes* was, that, as he was the Son of *Darius* by *Atoſſa*, the Daughter of *Cyrus*, who founded the *Perſian* Empire, it was more juſt, that the Crown of *Cyrus* ſhould devolve upon one of his Deſcendants, than upon one, who was not.

Demaratus, a *Spartan* King, unjuſtly depoſed by his Subjects, and at this Time in Exile at the Court of *Perſia*, ſecretly ſuggeſted to *Xerxes*, another Argument to ſupport his Pretenſions: That *Artabazanes* was, indeed, the eldeſt Son of *Darius*, but he, *Xerxes*, was the eldeſt Son of the King; and therefore, *Artabazanes* being born, when his Father was but a private Perſon, all he could pretend to, on Account of his Seniority, was only to inherit his private Eſtate; whereas, *Xerxes*, being the firſt-born Son of the King, had the beſt Right to ſucceed to the Crown. He farther ſupported this Argument, by the Example of the *Lacedæmonians*, who admitted none to inherit the Kingdom, but thoſe Children, who were born after their Father's Acceſſion. The Right of ſucceeding was, accordingly, determin'd in Favour of *Xerxes*, who was the youngeſt.

Juſtin,

Juſtin, and *Plutarch*, place this Diſpute after the Deceaſe of *Darius*; and both take Notice of the prudent Conduct of theſe two Brothers, on ſo nice an Occaſion. According to their Manner of relating this Fact, *Artabazanes* was abſent, when the King died; and *Xerxes* immediately put on all the Badges of Royalty; and exerciſed the Functions belonging to the regal Office. But upon his Brother's returning home, he quitted the Diadem and the *Tiara*, went out to meet him, and ſhew'd him all imaginable Civility. They agreed then to make their Uncle, *Artabanes*, the Arbitrator of their Difference; and without any farther Appeal, to acquieſce with his Deciſion. Their Diſpute was ſo brotherly, that neither he that gained it, inſulted; nor he that loſt it, grieved; but, during the very Time it was depending, they ſent Preſents, and made Entertainments for each other; where, not only Chearfulneſs reigned, but all Manner of Diſtruſt was baniſhed. Nor, when Judgment was given, was there any Appeal from it, or any Reproaches. With ſo much more Moderation, ſays *Juſtin*, did Brothers then divide the greateſt Kingdoms, than they do now a ſmall Patrimony.

Accordingly, when *Artabanes* gave Judgment in Favour of *Xerxes*, his Competitor, the very ſame Inſtant, proſtrated himſelf before him, acknowledging him for his Maſter, and placed him upon the Throne with his own Hand: By which Proceeding he ſhewed a Greatneſs of Soul, truly royal, and infinitely ſuperior to all human Dignities. Nor was this ready acquieſcing with a Sentence, ſo contrary to his Intereſts, the Effect of an artful Policy in *Artabazanes*; which knows how to diſſemble upon Occaſion, and to draw Honour to itſelf, from an Accident, it could not prevent: No; it proceeded from a real Reſpect for the Laws; a ſincere Affection for his Brother; and an Indifference for that, which ſo warmly inflames the Ambition of moſt Men, and ſo frequently ſets the neareſt Relations at War with one another. For his Part, he, all his Life, continued firmly attached to the Intereſts of *Xerxes*; and proſecuted them with ſo much Ardour and Zeal, that he loſt his Life, in his Service, at the Battle of *Salamis*.

But, at what Time ſoever this Diſpute ought to be placed, it is evident, *Darius* could not execute the double Expedition he was meditating; the one againſt *Egypt*, and the other againſt *Greece*; and that he was prevented by Death, from purſuing that Project. The length of his Reign was thirty-ſix Years.

This Prince had many excellent Qualities, but which were accompanied with great Failings; and the Kingdom felt the Effects both of the one and the other. For ſuch is the Condition of Princes; they neither act, nor live for themſelves alone. Whatever they are, either good, or evil, they are for their People; and the Intereſts of the one and the other are inſeparable.

Darius had a great Fund of Gentleneſs, Equity, Clemency, and Kindneſs for his People: He loved Juſtice, and reſpected the Laws: He eſteem'd Merit, and was careful to reward it: He was not jealous of his Rank or Authority, ſo as to exact a forced Homage, or to render himſelf inacceſſible; and notwithſtanding his own great Experience, and Abilities in Buſineſs, he would hearken to the Advice of others, and reap the Benefit of their Councils. It is of him the Holy Scriptures ſpeak, when they ſay, that he did nothing without conſulting the Wiſemen of his Court.

He was not afraid of expoſing his Perſon in Battle, and was always cool, even in the Heat of Action: He ſaid of himſelf, that the moſt imminent and preſſing Danger ſerved only to increaſe his Courage, and his Prudence: In a Word, there have been few Princes more expert than he, in the Art of Governing, or more experienced in th Science of War. Nor was the Glory of be a Conqueror, if that may be called a Glory, wi ing to his Character: For he not only reſto. and entirely ſecured the Empire of *Cyrus*, whic had been very much ſhaken by the ill Conduct of *Cambyſes* and the *Magian* Impoſtor; but he likewiſe added many great and rich Provinces to it; and particularly *India*, *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and the Iſles that lie contiguous to the Coaſts of *Ionia*.

But ſometimes theſe his good Qualities were obſcured by Failings, of a quite oppoſite Nature. For Inſtance, do we ſee any Traces of the uſual Lenity and Humanity of *Darius*, in his Treatment of that unfortunate Father, who deſired the Favour of him to leave him one of his three Sons at Home, while the other two followed him in his Expedition? Was there ever an Occaſion, wherein he had more need of Counſel, than when he formed the Deſign of making War upon the *Scythians?* And could any one give more prudent Advice, than what his Brother gave him on that Occaſion? But he would not follow it. Does there appear in that whole Expedition any Mark of Wiſdom, or Prudence? What do we ſee in all that Affair, but a Prince, intoxicated with his Greatneſs, who fancies, there is nothing in the World, that can reſiſt him; and whoſe fooliſh Ambition to ſignalize himſelf by an extraordinary Conqueſt, had ſtifled all the good Senſe, Judgment, and even military Knowledge, of which he was before poſſeſs'd? But what was the ſolid Glory of this Princes Reign, was, his being choſen by *God* himſelf, as *Cyrus* had been before, to be the Inſtrument of his Mercies towards his People, the declared Protector of the *Iſraelites*, and the Reſtorer of the Temple at *Jeruſalem*. An Account of which is to be ſeen in the Book of *Ezra*, and in the Writings of the Prophets *Haggai*, and *Zachariah*.

The Reign of his Son was not near ſo long, ſince it laſted but twelve Years, but it was full of great Events. The firſt Year of his Reign was employ'd in carrying on the Preparations, begun by *Darius*, for the Reduction of *Greece*, and *Egypt*. He likewiſe confirmed the *Jews*, at *Jeruſalem* in all the Privileges, granted them by his Father; and particularly that, which aſſigned them the Tribute of *Samaria*, for the ſupplying them with Victims for the Temple-Worſhip.

In the ſecond Year of his Reign he marched againſt the *Egyptians*; and having reduced thoſe Rebels, added to the Yoke before impoſed on them; and giving the Government of that Province to his Brother *Achæmenes*, returned about the latter End of the Year to *Suſa*. *Herodotus*, the famous Hiſtorian, was born this ſame Year, at *Halicarnaſſus*, in *Caria*. For he was fifty-three Years old, when the *Peloponneſian* War broke out.

Elate with his Succeſs againſt the *Egyptians*, *Xerxes* determined, in Imitation of his Father, to

turn his Arms againſt the *Grecians*. (He did not intend, he ſaid, to buy any longer the Figs of *Attica*, which were very excellent; becauſe he would eat no more of them, till he was Maſter of the Country.) However, before he engaged in an Enterprize of that Importance, he thought proper to aſſemble his Council, and take the Advice of all the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious Perſons of his Court.

When they were met, he laid before them the Deſign he had of making War againſt *Greece*; and acquainted them with his Motives; which were, the Deſire of imitating the Examples of his Predeceſſors, who had all of them diſtinguiſhed their Names, and their Reigns, by noble Enterprizes; the Obligation he was under to revenge the Inſolence of the *Athenians*, who had preſumed to fall upon *Sardis*, and reduced it to Ages; the Neceſſity he was under, to wipe off the Diſhonour his Country had received at the Battle of *Marathon*; and the Proſpect of the great Advantages that might be reaped from this War; which would be attended with the Conqueſt of *Europe*, the moſt rich and fertile Country in the Univerſe. He added farther, that this War had been reſolved on by his Father *Darius*, and he meant only to follow and execute his Intentions; and concluded, with promiſing ample Rewards to thoſe, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their Valour in that Expedition.

Hereupon, *Mardonius*, the ſame Perſon that had been ſo unſucceſsful in the Reign of *Darius*, grown neither wiſer, nor leſs ambitious, by his ill Succeſs, and coveting extremely to have the Command of the Army, was the firſt, who gave his Opinion. Accordingly, he began by extolling *Xerxes* above all the Kings, that had preceded him, and all thoſe, that were to come after him. He then endeavoured to ſhew, the indiſpenſable Neceſſity of avenging the Diſhonour done to the *Perſian* Name; and diſparaged the *Grecians*, repreſenting them as a cowardly, timorous People, without Courage, without Strength, or Experience in War. For a Proof of what he ſaid, he mentioned his own Conqueſt of *Macedonia*, which he mightily exaggerated; and ſpoke of in a very vain, and oſtentatious Manner, as if that People had ſubmitted to him without any Reſiſtance. He preſumed even to aſſure the King, that not any of the *Grecian* Nations would venture to come out againſt him, when he ſhould march with all the the Forces of *Aſia*; or, if they had the Temerity to preſent themſelves before him, they would learn, to their Coſt, that the *Perſians* were the braveſt and moſt warlike Nation in the World.

The reſt of the Council perceiving that this flattering Diſcourſe extremely pleaſed *Xerxes*, not one of them would venture to contradict it; but all kept ſilence; which was an almoſt unavoidable Conſequence of his Manner of Proceeding. A Prince, when he propoſes an Affair in Council, and really deſires, that every one ſhould ſpeak his true Sentiments, is extremely careful to conceal his own Opinion; that he may put no Conſtraint upon that of others, but leave them entirely at Liberty: On the Contrary, *Xerxes* had openly diſcovered his own Inclination, or rather Reſolution, to undertake the War. When a Prince acts in this Manner, he will always find artful Flatterers, who, being eager to inſinuate themſelves, and to pleaſe, and ever ready to comply with his Paſſions, will not fail to back his Opinion, by ſpecious and plauſible Reaſons; whilſt thoſe, that would be capable of giving good Council, are reſtrained by Fear; there being very few Courtiers, who love their Prince well enough, and have alſo ſufficient Courage to venture to diſpleaſe him, by diſputing what they know will be agreeable to him.

The exceſſive Praiſes, given by *Mardonius* to *Xerxes*, which is the uſual Language of Flatterers, ought to have render'd him ſuſpected by that Monarch; and made him apprehend, that under an Appearance of Zeal for the Glory of his Prince, that Nobleman endeavoured to cloak his own Ambition, and his violent Deſire of Commanding the Army. But Flattery, which generally lurks under fair Speeches, like a Serpent under Flowers, is ſo far from diſpleaſing moſt Princes, that it captivates, and charms them. They do not conſider that Men only flatter and praiſe them, becauſe they believe them weak and vain enough, to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by Commendations, that bear no Proportion to their Merits and Actions.

Accordingly, the King's acting in this Manner, ſhut the Mouths of all his Council, except *Artabanes*, his Uncle, a Prince very venerable for his Age and Prudence, who, in this general Silence, ſpoke his Thoughts, with great Generoſity, Freedom, and Prudence, as follows. "Permit me, "great Prince," ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to *Xerxes*, "to deliver my Sentiments to you, on "this Occaſion, with a Liberty ſuitable to my "Age, and to your Intereſts. When *Darius*, "your Father and my Brother, firſt thought of "making War againſt the *Scythians*, I uſed all "my Endeavours to divert him from it. I need "not tell you what that Enterprize coſt, or what "was the Succeſs of it. The People you are go-"ing to attack, are infinitely more formidable "than the *Scythians*. The *Grecians* are eſteem'd "to have the very beſt Troops, either for fight-"ing by Land or by Sea. If the *Athenians*, alone, "could defeat the numerous Army, commanded "by *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, what ought we to "expect from all the Nations of *Greece*, united "together? You deſign to paſs from *Aſia* into "*Europe*, by laying a Bridge over the Sea: And "what will become of us, if the *Athenians*, prov-"ing victorious, ſhould come up to this Bridge "with their Fleet, and break it down? I ſtill "tremble when I conſider, that in the *Scythian* "Expedition, the Life of the King your Father, "and the Safety of all his Army, were reduced "to depend upon the Fidelity of one ſingle "Man; and that if *Hyſtiæus* the *Mileſian*, had, "in Compliance with the ſtrong Application "made to him, conſented to break the Bridge, "which had been laid over the *Danube*, the "*Perſian* Empire had been entirely ruined. Do "not expoſe yourſelf, Sir, to the like Danger, "eſpecially ſince you are not obliged to do it: "Take Time, at leaſt, to reflect upon it. When "we have maturely deliberated upon an Affair, "whatever happens to be the Succeſs of it, we "have nothing to reproach ourſelves withal: "Precipitation, beſides its being imprudent, is "almoſt always unfortunate, and attended with "fatal Conſequences. Above all, do not ſuffer

"your-

" yourſelf, Great Prince, to be dazzled with the " vain Splendor of an imaginary Glory, or with " the pompous Appearance of your Troops. The " higheſt and moſt lofty Trees have the greateſt " Reaſon to dread the Thunder. As *God* alone " is truly Great, he is an Enemy to Pride, and " takes Pleaſure in humbling every Thing that " exalteth itſelf: And, very often, the moſt nu- " merous Armies fly before an Handful of Men, " becauſe he inſpires theſe with Courage, and " ſtrikes Terror into the other. "

Artabanes, after having thus ſpoken, turned himſelf towards *Mardonius*, and reproached him with his Want of Sincerity, or Judgment, in giving the King a Notion of the *Grecians* ſo directly contrary to Truth; and ſhewed, how extremely he was to blame, for deſiring, raſhly, to engage the Nation in a War, which nothing, but his own Views of Intereſt, and Ambition, could tempt him to adviſe. Then he concluded with theſe Words: " If a War be reſolved upon, let the " King, whoſe Life is dear to us all, remain in " *Perſia*: And do you, ſince you ſo ardently de- " ſire it, march at the Head of the moſt nume- " rous Army, that can be gathered together. In " the mean Time, let your Children and mine be " given up as a Pledge, to anſwer for the Suc- " ceſs of the War. If the Iſſue of it be favour- " able, I conſent, that my Children be put to " Death: But, if it proves otherwiſe, as I well " foreſee it will, then I deſire, that your Children, " and you yourſelf, on your Return, may be " treated in ſuch a Manner, as you deſerve, for " the raſh Counſel you have given your Maſter. "

Diſpleaſed highly at this Freedom, which he ought greatly to have valued, *Xerxes*, who was not accuſtomed to have his Sentiments thus contradicted, fell into a Rage. " Thank the Gods, " ſays he to *Artabanes*, that you are my Father's " Brother; were it not for that, you ſhould this " Moment ſuffer the juſt Reward of your auda- " cious Behaviour. But I will puniſh you for it " in another Manner; by leaving you here a- " mong the Women, whom you too much re- " ſemble in your Cowardiſe and Fear, whilſt I " march at the Head of my Troops, where my " Duty and Glory call me. "

Artabanes had expreſſed his Sentiments in very reſpectful and inoffenſive Terms; *Xerxes* nevertheleſs was extremely offended: It is the Misfortune of Princes, ſpoiled by Flattery, to look upon every Thing, as rough and unmannerly, that is ſincere and ingenuous; and to regard every Advice, deliver'd with a generous and diſintereſted Freedom, as a preſumptuous and ſeditious Aſſurance. They do not conſider, that even a good Man never dares tell them all he thinks, or diſcover the whole Truth; eſpecially in Things diſagreeable to their Humour: And the Thing they ſtand moſt in Need of, is a ſincere and faithful Friend, who will conceal nothing from them. A Prince ought to think himſelf very happy, if, in his whole Reign, he finds but one Man born with that Degree of Generoſity; who, certainly, ought to be conſider'd as the moſt valuable Treaſure of the State; inaſmuch as he is both the moſt uſeful, and uncommon Member of the Government.

Accordingly, *Xerxes* himſelf acknowledg'd this upon this Occaſion. When the firſt Emotions of his Anger were paſt, and he had Time to reflect, upon his Pillow, upon the two different Counſels given him, he confeſſed, he had been to blame, to give his Uncle ſuch harſh Language; and was not aſhamed to repair his Fault, the next Day, in full Council; ingenuouſly owning, that the Heat of his Youth, and Want of Experience, had made him negligent in paying the Regard due to a Prince ſo worthy of Reſpect, as *Artabanes*, both for his Age and Wiſdom: And declaring at the ſame Time, he was come over to his Opinion; notwithſtanding a Dream he had in the Night, wherein a Viſion appeared to him, and warmly exhorted him to undertake that War.

All the Lords who compos'd the Council, were raviſh'd to hear the King ſpeak in this Manner; and, to teſtify their Joy, fell down proſtrate before him, ſtriving who ſhould moſt extol the Glory of ſuch a Proceeding: Nor could their Praiſes, on ſuch an Occaſion, be at all ſuſpected. For, it is no hard Matter to diſcern, whether the Praiſes given to Princes proceed from the Heart, and are founded upon Truth; or, whether they drop from the Lips only, as an Effect of mere Flattery and Deceit. That ſincere, and humble Declaration of the King's, far from appearing as a Weakneſs in him, was look'd upon, by them, as a glorious Effort of a great Soul, which gets the Superiority over its own Faults, by bravely confeſſing them, in order to make Reparation and Attonement.

They admir'd the Nobleneſs of this Procedure the more, as they knew, that Princes, educated like *Xerxes*, in a vain Haughtineſs, and falſe Glory, are never diſpos'd to own themſelves in the Wrong; and generally make Uſe of their Authority to juſtify, with Pride and Obſtinacy, whatever Faults they have committed, through Ignorance, or Imprudence.

We may venture, we think, to ſay, it is more glorious to riſe in this Manner, than it would be never to have fallen. Certainly, there is nothing greater, and, at the ſame Time, more rare, and uncommon, than to ſee a mighty, and powerful Prince, and that in the Time of his greateſt Proſperity, acknowledge his Faults, when he happens to commit any, without ſeeking to cover them with vain Pretexts or Excuſes, pay Homage to Truth, even when it is againſt him, and condemns him; and leave other Princes, who have a falſe Delicacy concerning their Grandeur, the Shame of being ever full of Errors and Defects, and of never owning they have any.

The Night following, the ſame Phantom, if we may believe *Herodotus*, appear'd again to the King, and repeated the ſame Sollicitations; adding thereto Menaces and Threatnings. *Xerxes* communicated what paſs'd to his Uncle; and, in order to find out, whether this Viſion was divine, or not, intreated him earneſtly to put on the royal Robes, aſcend the Throne, and afterwards paſs the Night in his Bed, and his Place. *Artabanes*, hereupon, diſcourſed very ſenſibly and rationally with the King upon the Vanity of Dreams, and then coming to what perſonally regarded him: " I look " upon it (ſays he) almoſt equally commendable " to think well one's ſelf, or hearken with Doci- " lity to the good Counſels of others. You have " both theſe Qualities, great Prince; and, if you " follow'd the natural Bent of your own Temper, " it would lead you entirely to Sentiments of

" Wiſ-

" Wiſdom and Moderation. You never take any " violent Meaſures or Reſolutions, but when the " Artifice of evil Counſellors draws you into them, " or the Poiſon of Flattery miſleads you; in the " ſame Manner as the Ocean, which, of itſelf, is " calm and ſerene, and never diſturb'd, but by " the extraneous Impulſe of other Bodies. What " afflicted me, in the Anſwer you made me the " other Day, when I deliver'd my Sentiments " freely in Council, was not the perſonal Affront " that was put upon me, but the Injury you did " yourſelf, by making ſo wrong a Choice between " the two different Counſels that were offer'd; " rejecting that, which led you to Sentiments of " Moderation and Equity; and embracing the " other, which, on the contrary, tended only to " the feeding of one Man's Pride, and the exci- " ting his Ambition."

After this, *Artabanes*, through Complaiſance, paſs'd the Night in the King's Bed, and had the ſame Viſion which *Xerxes* had before; that is, he dreamed, he ſaw a Man, who made him the moſt ſevere Reproaches, and threatned him with the greateſt Misfortunes, if he continued to oppoſe the King's Intentions. This ſo much affected him, that he came over to the King's firſt Opinion; believing, there was ſomething divine in theſe repeated Viſions; and the War againſt the *Grecians* was reſolv'd upon. Theſe Circumſtances we relate, as we find them in *Herodotus*.

Xerxes, however, in the Sequel, did but ill ſupport that Character and Glory, which he acquir'd in the Beginning. We ſhall find, that he had but very ſhort Intervals of Wiſdom and Reaſon; which exerted themſelves for a Moment, and then gave Way to the moſt culpable and extravagant Exceſſes. We may judge, however, even from thence, that he had very good natural Endowments, and happy Diſpoſitions. But the moſt excellen Qualities are ſoon ſpoil'd, and corrupted by the Poiſon of Flattery, and by the Poſſeſſion of an abſolute and unlimited Authority: It is a fine Sentiment in a Miniſter of State, to be leſs affected with the Affront put upon himſelf, than the Wrong done his Maſter, by giving him evil and pernicious Counſel.

The Counſel of *Mardonius* was pernicious; becauſe, as *Artabanes* obſerv'd, it tended only to nouriſh and increaſe that Spirit of Haughtineſs and Violence in the Prince, which was but too prevalent in him already; and it diſpos'd and accuſtom'd him ſtill to carry his Views and Deſires beyond his preſent Fortune; ſtill to be aiming at ſomething farther, and put no Bounds to his Ambition. This is the predominant Paſſion of thoſe Men, whom we uſually call Conquerors; and whom, according to the Language of the *Holy Scripture*, we might call, with greater Propriety, *Robbers of Nations*.

" If you conſider, and examine the whole Suc- " ceſſion of *Perſian* Kings (ſays *Seneca*) will you " find any one of them, who ever ſtopp'd his " Career of his own Accord; ever ſatisfy'd with " his paſt Conqueſts; or, who was not forming " ſome new Project or Enterprize, when Death " ſurpriz'd him? Nor ought we to be aſtoniſh'd " at ſuch a Diſpoſition: For, Ambition is a " Gulph and a bottomleſs Abyſs, wherein every " Thing is loſt, that is thrown in; and where, " though you were to heap Province upon Pro- " vince, and Kingdom upon Kingdom, you would " never be able to fill up the Chaſm.

CHAP. VI.

Xerxes *enters into a Confederacy with the* Carthaginians; *Paſſes the* Helleſpont; *Orders a Paſſage to be cut through Mount* Athos; *A remarkable Story of an Interview between him and* Pythius, *a* Lydian *Prince*; *Another of a Converſation between him and* Demaratus, *King of* Sparta; *A remarkable Inſtance of the Integrity of* Ariſtides; *The undaunted Bravery of* Leonidas, *and his Three Hundred* Spartans, *at* Thermopylæ; *The* Perſians *defeated at Sea near* Artemiſa; *They are again worſted at Sea near* Salamis; *The inglorious Return of* Xerxes *into* Aſia; *They are routed a third Time by Land at* Platææ, *and afterwards by Sea at* Mycale.

AFTER the War had been reſolved on, *Xerxes*, that he might omit nothing, which might contribute to the Succeſs of his Undertaking, enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Carthaginians*, who were, at that Time, the moſt potent People of the *Weſt*; and made an Agreement with them, that, whilſt the *Perſian* Forces ſhould attack *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* ſhould fall upon the *Grecian* Colonies in *Sicily* and *Italy*; to hinder them from coming to the Aſſiſtance of the Country, from whence they derived their Origin.

In order, hereunto, the *Carthaginians* made *Amilcar* their General; who did not content himſelf with raiſing as many Troops as he could in *Africa*, but with the Money *Xerxes* ſent him, engaged a great Number of Soldiers out of *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, in his Service; ſo that he collected an Army of three hundred Thouſand Men, and a proportionable Number of Ships, in order to execute the Projects and Stipulations of the League.

Thus *Xerxes*, agreeably to the Prophet *Daniel's* Prediction, *having through his Power, and his great Riches*,

Riches, ſtirred up all the Nations of the then known World againſt the Realm of Greece; that is, of all the *Weſt* under the Command of *Amilcar*, and of all the *Eaſt*, that was under his own Banner; and ſet out from *Suſa*, in order to enter upon this War, in the fifth Year of his Reign, which was the tenth after the Battle of *Marathon*; and march'd towards *Sardis*, the Place of Rendezvous for the whole Land-Army, whilſt that by Sea advanc'd along the Coaſts of *Aſia minor* towards the *Helleſpont*.

Towards facilitating the Expedition, and contributing to the Safety of his Fleet, *Xerxes* had given Orders to have a Paſſage cut through Mount *Athos*. This is a Mountain in *Macedonia*, now a Province of the *European Turky*, which reaches a great Way in the *Archipelago*, in the Form of a *Peninſula*. It is joined to the Land only by an *Iſthmus* of about half a League over; and the Sea, in that Part, was very tempeſtuous, and occaſioned frequent Shipwrecks. *Xerxes* made this his Pretence for ordering the Mountain to be cut through: But the true Reaſon was the Vanity of ſignalizing himſelf by an extraordinary Enterprize, and by doing a Thing, that was extremely difficult; as *Tacitus* ſays of *Nero: Erat incredibilium cupitor*. Accordingly, *Herodotus* obſerves, that this Undertaking was more vain-glorious than uſeful, ſince he might with leſs Trouble and Expence have had his Veſſels carry'd over the *Iſthmus*, as was the Practice in thoſe Days. The Paſſage he cauſed to be cut through the Mountain, was broad enough to let two Galleys, with three Benches of Oars each, paſs through it a-breaſt.

What was yet more extravagant, this Prince was vain enough to believe, that all Nature, and the very Elements were under his Command; and, in Conſequence of that Opinion, wrote a Letter to Mount *Athos*, in the following Terms: "*Athos*, "thou proud and aſpiring Mountain, that lifteſt "up thy Head unto the Heavens; I adviſe thee "not to be ſo audacious, as to put Rocks and "Stones, which cannot be cut, in the Way of my "Workmen. If thou giveſt them that Oppoſi-"tion, I will cut thee entirely down, and throw "thee headlong into the Sea." At the ſame Time, he ordered his Labourers to be whipp'd, in order to make them carry on the Work the faſter.

However, a Traveller, who liv'd in the Time of *Francis* the Firſt, of *France*; and who wrote a Book in *Latin*, concerning the ſingular, and remarkable Things he had ſeen in his Travels, makes a Doubt of the Truth of this Fact, and takes Notice, as he paſſed near Mount *Athos*, he could perceive no Traces or Footſteps of this Work we have been ſpeaking of.

To return to *Xerxes*, he advanced towards *Sardis*; and, having left *Cappadocia*, and paſſed the River *Halys*; he came to *Celene*, a City of *Phrygia*, near which is the Source of the *Mæander*. *Pythius*, a *Lydian* Prince, had his Reſidence in this City; and, next to *Xerxes* himſelf, was the moſt opulent Prince of thoſe Times. Accordingly, he entertain'd *Xerxes*, and his whole Army, with an incredible Magnificence; and made him an Offer of all his Wealth, towards defraying the Expences of his Expedition. Hereupon, *Xerxes*, ſurpriz'd, and charm'd at ſo generous an Offer, had the Curioſity to enquire to what Sum his Riches amounted; to which *Pythius* made Anſwer, that, having the Deſign of offering them to his Service, he had taken an exact Account of them, and that the Silver he had by him amounted to Two Thouſand Talents; and the Gold to Four Millions of *Darics*, all but Seven Thouſand; all which he offer'd, and told him, his yearly Revenues were ſufficient for the Support of his Houſehold. In Return, *Xerxes* made him very hearty Acknowledgments, entred into a particular Friendſhip with him; and, that he might not be outdone in Generoſity, inſtead of accepting his Offers, obliged him to accept of a Preſent of the Seven Thouſand *Darics*, which were wanting to make up his Gold a round Sum of Four Millions.

After ſuch an Action, who would not think, that the Characteriſtick, and predominant Virtue of *Pythius* had been Generoſity, and a noble Contempt of Riches? And yet, he was one of the moſt penurious Princes in the World; and one, who, beſides his ſordid Avarice, and Stingineſs to himſelf, was extremely cruel and inhuman to his Subjects, whom he kept continually employ'd in hard and fruitleſs Labour; always digging, and ſearching for Gold and Silver Mines, which he had in his Territories. Accordingly, once, he was abſent from home, his Subjects went all with Tears in their Eyes to the Princeſs his Wife, laid their Complaints before her, and implor'd her Aſſiſtance. She commiſerating their Condition, made Uſe of a very extraordinary Method to work upon her Husband, and give him a clear Senſe, and a Kind of a palpable Demonſtration of the Folly, and Injuſtice of his Conduct.

On his Return home, ſhe order'd an Entertainment to be prepared for him, very magnificent in Appearance; but which, in Reality, was none. All the Courſes and Services were of Gold and Silver; and the Prince, in the Midſt of all theſe rich Diſhes, and ſplendid Rarities, could not ſatisfy his Hunger. He eaſily divin'd the Meaning of this, and began to conſider, the End of Gold and Silver was not merely to be look'd upon, but to be employ'd and made Uſe of; and, that to neglect, as he had done, the Buſineſs of Husbandry, and the tilling of Lands, by employing all his People in digging, and working of Mines, was the direct Way to bring a Famine both upon himſelf and his Country. From thenceforward, therefore, he only reſerv'd a fifth Part of his People for the Buſineſs of mining. It is *Plutarch*, who has handed down this Fact to us, in a Treatiſe, wherein he has collected a great many others together, in order to prove the Ability, and Induſtry of Ladies. The ſame Diſpoſition of Mind is finely expoſed in fabulous Story; by the Example of *Midas*, a Prince, who reign'd in the ſame Country; and who, having requeſted of the Gods, that every Thing he touch'd might be turn'd into Gold, for his Puniſhment, had his Requeſt granted; and accordingly, was, thereby, in Danger of ſtarving with Hunger.

To return to *Pythius*, notwithſtanding his having made ſuch obliging Offers to *Xerxes*, having deſired, as a Favour of him ſome Time afterwards, that, out of his five Sons, who ſerved in his Army, he would be pleaſed to leave him the eldeſt, in order to be a Support, and Comfort to him in his Old-Age; he was ſo enraged at the Propoſal, though ſo reaſonable in itſelf, that he cauſed that eldeſt Son to be kill'd before the Eyes of his Father; giving the latter to underſtand, that it was a

Favour he ſpared him, and the Reſt of his Children; and then cauſing the dead Body to be cut in two, one Part to be placed on the Right, and the other on the Left, he made the whole Army paſs between them, as if he meant to purge and purify it by ſuch a Sacrifice. What a Monſter in Nature is a Prince of this Kind! How is it poſſible to have any Dependance upon the Friendſhip of the Great, or rely upon their warmeſt Profeſſions and Proteſtations of Kindneſs, and Service?

From *Phrygia*, *Xerxes* march'd to *Sardis*, where he ſpent the Winter; and from thence he ſent Heralds to all the Cities of *Greece*, except *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, to require them to give him Earth and Water; which, as we have taken Notice before, was the Way of exacting, and acknowledging Submiſſion. Aſſoon as the Spring of the Year came on, he left *Sardis*, and directed his March towards the *Helleſpont*; where, being arrived, he had a Mind to ſee a naval Engagement, for his Curioſity and Diverſion. To this End, a Throne was erected for him on an Eminence; and in that Situation, ſeeing all the Sea crowded with his Veſſels, and the Land cover'd with his Troops, he felt a ſecret Joy diffuſe itſelf through his Soul, whilſt he was thus ſurveying the vaſt Extent of his Power, and conſidering himſelf, as the moſt happy of Mortals: But, reflecting ſoon afterwards, that, of ſo many Thouſands of Men, in an hundred Years Time, there would not, in all Probability, be one remaining; his Joy was turned into Grief, and he wept at the Uncertainty and Inſtability of human Things. He might have found another Subject of Reflection, which would have more juſtly merited his Tears and Affliction; had he turned his Thoughts upon himſelf, and conſider'd the Reproaches he deſerv'd, for being the Inſtrument of ſhortening that fatal Term, to Millions of People, whom his cruel Ambition was going to ſacrifice in an unjuſt, and unneceſſary War.

Artabanes, who neglected no Opportunity of making himſelf uſeful to the young Prince, and of inſtilling Sentiments of Beneficence into him towards his People, laid hold of this Moment, in which he found him touch'd with a Senſe of Tenderneſs and Humanity; and led him into farther Reflections upon the Miſeries, that the Lives of moſt Men are accompany'd with, and that render them ſo melancholy and burdenſome to them; endeavouring, at the ſame Time, to make him ſenſible of the Duty and Obligations incumbent upon Princes; who, not being able to prolong the natural Life of their Subjects, ought, at leaſt, to do all, that lies in their Power, to alleviate its Pains, and ſweeten its Bitterneſs.

In the ſame Converſation, *Xerxes* ask'd his Uncle, if he ſtill perſiſted in his firſt Opinion; and, if his Advice would ſtill be, not to make War againſt *Greece*, if he had not ſeen the Viſion, which occaſion'd him to change his Sentiments? *Artabanes* own'd, he ſtill had his Fears, and was very uneaſy concerning two Things. What are they, ſaid *Xerxes*? The Land and Sea, reply'd *Artabanes*: The *Land*; becauſe there is no Country can feed, and maintain ſo numerous an Army: The *Sea*, becauſe there are no Ports capable of receiving ſuch a Multitude of Veſſels. The King was very ſenſible of the Strength of this reaſoning; but, as it was now too late to go back, he made Anſwer; In great Undertakings, Men ought not ſo narrowly to examine all the Inconveniences that may attend them; if they did, no ſignal Enterprizes would ever be attempted; and that, if his Predeceſſors had obſerv'd ſo ſcrupulous, and timorous a Maxim, the *Perſian* Empire would never have riſen to that Pitch of Greatneſs and Glory it was now at.

Artabanes gave the King another Piece of prudent Advice, which he thought fit to follow no more than he had done the former: This Advice was, not to employ the *Ionians* in his Service againſt the *Grecians*, from whom they were originally deſcended; and, on which Account, he ought to ſuſpect their Fidelity. That Monarch, however, after theſe Conſultations with his Uncle, ſhew'd him very great Friendſhip, gave him the higheſt Demonſtrations of Honour and Reſpect; ſent him back to *Suſa*, to take the Care and Adminiſtration of the Empire upon him, during his own Abſence; and, to that End, inveſted him with his whole Authority.

Xerxes, at a vaſt Expence, had cauſed a Bridge of Boats to be built upon the Sea, for the Paſſage of his Forces from *Aſia* into *Europe*. The Space that ſeparates the two Continents, formerly call'd the *Helleſpont*, and now the Streights of the *Dardanells*, or of *Gallipoli*, is ſeven *Stadia* in Breadth, which is near an *Engliſh* Mile. A violent Storm riſing on a ſudden, ſoon after broke down the Bridge; which *Xerxes* hearing on his Arrival, fell into an Exceſs of Paſſion; and, in order to revenge himſelf of ſo cruel an Affront, commanded two Pair of Chains to be thrown into the Sea, as if he meant to ſhackle and confine it; and ordered his Men to give it three hundred Strokes of a Whip, and ſpeak to it in this Manner: "Thou "troubleſome, and unhappy Element, thus does "thy Maſter chaſtiſe thee, for having affronted "him without Reaſon. Know, that *Xerxes* will "eaſily find Means to paſs over thy Waters, in "Spite of all thy Billows, and Reſiſtance." The Extravagance of this Prince did not ſtop here; but making the Undertakers of the Work anſwerable for Events, which the leaſt in the World depend upon the Power of Man, he order'd all the Perſons to have their Heads cut off, who had had the Direction and Management of that Undertaking.

He then commanded two other Bridges to be built anew; one for the Army to paſs over, and the other for the Baggage, and the Beaſts of Burden. He appointed Workmen, more able and expert than the former; and this was the Manner they proceeded therein. They placed three hundred and ſixty Veſſels a-croſs, ſome of them having three Benches of Oars, and others fifty Oars a-piece, with their Sides turn'd towards the *Euxine* Sea; and on the Side that faced the *Ægean* Sea, they put three hundred and fourteen. They then caſt large Anchors into the Water on both Sides, in order to fix, and ſecure all theſe Veſſels againſt the Violence of the Winds, and the Current of the Water.

On the *Eaſt*-Side they left three Paſſages, or vacant Spaces, between the Veſſels, that there might be Room for ſmall Boats to go and come eaſily, as there ſhould be Occaſion, to, and from the *Euxine* Sea. After this, upon the Land, on both

Sides,

Sides, they drove large Piles into the Earth, with huge Rings faſten'd to them, to which were ty'd ſix mighty Cables, that went over each of the two Bridges; two of thoſe Cables were made of Hemp, and four of a Sort of Reeds, call'd *Byblos*; uſed in thoſe Times for the making of Cordage. Thoſe that were made of Hemp, muſt have been of an extraordinary Strength and Thickneſs, ſince every Cubit of thoſe Cables weigh'd a Talent. Theſe Cables, laid over the whole Extent of the Veſſels Length-wiſe, reach'd over the Sea, from one Side to the other. When this Part of the Work was finiſh'd, quite over the Veſſels Length-wiſe, and over the Cables we have been ſpeaking of, they laid the Trunks of Trees, cut purpoſely for that Uſe, and flat Boards again over them, faſten'd and join'd together, to ſerve as a Kind of Floor, or ſolid Bottom: All which they cover'd over with Earth, and added Rails, or Battlements, on each Side, that the Horſes, and the Cattle, might not be frightned with ſeeing the Sea in their Paſſage. This was the Form of thoſe famous Bridges, that were built by *Xerxes*.

When the whole Work was compleated, a Day was appointed for their paſſing over. And aſſoon as the firſt Rays of the Sun began to appear, ſweet Odours of all Kinds were abundantly ſpread over both the Bridges, and the Way was ſtrew'd with Myrtle. At the ſame Time, *Xerxes* pour'd out Libations into the Sea; and turning his Face towards the Sun, the principal Object of the *Perſian* Worſhip, he implored the Aſſiſtance of that God in the Enterprize he had undertaken, and deſired the Continuance of his Protection, till he had made the entire Conqueſt of *Europe*, and had brought it into Subjection to his Dominion: This done, he threw the Veſſel, which he uſed in making his Libations, together with a golden Cup, and a *Perſian* Scymitar, into the Sea. The Army was ſeven Days, and as many Nights, in paſſing over theſe Streights; thoſe, who were appointed to conduct the March, laſhing the poor Soldiers all the While with Whips, in order to quicken their Speed, according to the Cuſtom of that Nation, which, properly ſpeaking, was but a Company of Slaves.

The Bridge being thus finiſh'd, and the whole Army paſſed over, *Xerxes*, directing his March a-croſs the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, atrived at *Dor*, a City ſtanding at the Mouth of the *Hebrus* in *Thrace*; where, having incamp'd his Army, and given Orders for his Fleet to follow him, as he went along the River-Side, he had the Opportunity of reviewing both together. Accordingly, he found the Land-Army, which he had brought out of *Aſia*, conſiſted of ſeventeen hundred thouſand Foot, and fourſcore thouſand Horſe; which, together with twenty thouſand Men, that were abſolutely neceſſary for conducting, and taking Care of the Carriages and Camels, made in all eighteen hundred thouſand Men. When he had paſſed the *Helleſpont*, the other Nations, that ſubmitted to him, made an Addition to his Army of three hundred thouſand Men; which made his Land-Forces amount to two Millions, one hundred thouſand Men.

His Fleet, as it was, when it ſet out from *Aſia*, conſiſted of twelve hundred and ſeven Veſſels, or Galleys, all of three Benches of Oars, and intended for Fighting. Each Veſſel carry'd two hundred Men, Natives of the Country, who fitted them out; beſides thirty Men more, that were either *Perſians*, *Medes*, or of the *Sacæ*: Which made, in all, two hundred and ſeventy ſeven thouſand, ſix hundred, and ten Men. The *European* Nations augmented his Fleet with an hundred and twenty Veſſels, each of which carry'd two hundred Men; which makes up the Number of twenty-four thouſand: Theſe, added to the others, amount to three hundred and one thouſand, ſix hundred and ten Men. Beſides this Fleet, which conſiſted all of large Veſſels, the ſmall Galleys of thirty and fifty Oars, the Tranſport-Ships, the Veſſels that carry'd the Proviſions, and were employ'd in other Uſes, amounted to three thouſand. If we reckon but eighty Men in each of theſe Veſſels, one with another, that made, in the Whole, two hundred and forty thouſand Men.

Thus, when *Xerxes* artived at *Thermopylæ*, his Land and Sea-Forces together, amounted to two Millions, ſix hundred and forty-one thouſand, ſix hundred and ten Men: Without including Servants, Eunuchs, Women, Sutlers, and other People of that Sort, which uſually follow an Army, and of which the Number here was equal to that of the Forces: So that the whole Number of Souls, that follow'd *Xerxes* in this Expedition, amounted to five Millions, two hundred eighty-three thouſand, two hundred and twenty.

This is the Computation *Herodotus* makes of them, and in which *Plutarch* and *Iſocrates* agree with him; but *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, *Ælian*, and Others, fall very ſhort of this Number in their Calculation; however, their Accounts of the Matter appear to be leſs authentick than that of *Herodotus*, who liv'd in the very Age, wherein this Expedition was made; and who recites an Inſcription, that was put by Order of the *Amphictyones*, upon the Monument of thoſe *Grecians* kill'd at *Thermopylæ*; and in which it is recorded, they fought againſt three Millions of Men.

For the Suſtenance of all theſe Perſons, there muſt be every Day conſum'd, according to the Computation of *Herodotus*, above an hundred and ten thouſand, three hundred and forty *Medimna* of Flower; (the *Medimnum* was a Meaſure, which, according to *Budæus*, was equivalent to ſix of our Buſhels) allowing, for every Head, the Quantity of a *Chœnix*, which was the daily Portion or Allowance, that the Maſters gave their Slaves among the *Grecians*. We have no Account, in Hiſtory, of any other Army ſo numerous as this. And, amongſt all theſe Millions of Men, there was not one, who could vie with *Xerxes* in Point of Beauty, either for the Comlineſs of his Face, or the Tallneſs of his Perſon: But, this is a poor Merit, or Pre-eminence for a Prince, when it is accompany'd with no other. Accordingly, *Juſtin*, after he has mention'd the Number of theſe Troops, adds, that this vaſt Body of Forces wanted a Head: *Huic tanto agmini Dux defuit.*

We ſhould hardly be able to conceive how it was poſſible to find a ſufficient Quantity of Proviſions for ſuch an immenſe Number of Perſons, if the Hiſtorian had not advertiſed us, that *Xerxes* had employ'd four whole Years in making Preparations for this Expedition. We have ſeen already, how many loaded Veſſels coaſted along continually to attend upon, and ſupply the Land-Army; and doubtleſs, freſh Tenders arrived every Day, and fur-

furniſh'd the Camp with a ſufficient Plenty of all Things neceſſary.

Herodotus likewiſe acquaints us, with the Method they made uſe of, to calculate their Forces, which were almoſt innumerable. They aſſembled ten thouſand Men in a particular Place, and ranked them as cloſe together as was poſſible; after which, they deſcrib'd a Circle quite round them, and erected a little Wall upon that Circle, about Half the Height of a Man's Body: When this was done, they filled this Incloſure with freſh Forces, till the whole Army had paſſed through, and by this Means they knew to what Number it amounted.

Herodotus gives us alſo a particular Account of the different Armour of all the Nations, this Army conſiſted of. Beſides the Generals of every Nation, who each of them commanded the Troops of their reſpective Country, the Land-Army was under the Command of ſix *Perſian* Generals; *viz. Mardonius*, the Son of *Gobryas*; *Teriteutechmes*, the Son of *Artabanes*, and *Smerdomus*, Son to *Otanes*. both near Relations to the King; *Maſiſtes*, Son of *Darius* and *Atoſſa*; *Gergis*, Son of *Adriazes*; and *Megabyzes*, Son of *Zopyrus*. The ten thouſand *Perſians*, who were called, *The Immortal Band*, were commanded by *Hydarnes*. The Cavalry had its particular Generals and Commanders.

There were likewiſe four *Perſian* Generals who, commanded the Fleet. In *Herodotus*, we have a particular Account of all the Nations, by which it was fitted out. * *Artemiſa*, Queen of *Halicarnaſſus*, who, ſince the Death of her Husband, had the Government of the Kingdom for her Son, who was ſtill a Minor, brought but five Veſſels along with her; but they were the beſt equipp'd, and the neateſt, of any in the whole Fleet, next to thoſe of the *Sidonians*. This Princeſs diſtinguiſh'd herſelf, in this War, by her ſingular Courage, and ſtill more, by her Prudence and Conduct. *Herodotus* obſerves, that among all the Commanders in the Army, there was not one, who gave *Xerxes* ſo good Advice, and ſuch wiſe Council, as this Queen: But he was not prudent enough to reap the Benefit of it.

When *Xerxes* had number'd his whole Forces, by Land and Sea, he ask'd *Demaratus*, if he thought the *Grecians* would dare to expect him. We have already taken notice, that this *Demaratus* was one of the two Kings of *Sparta*, who being exil'd by the Faction of his Enemies, had ſought Refuge at the *Perſian* Court, where he was entertain'd with the greateſt Marks of Honour and Beneficence. As the Courtiers were one Day expreſſing their Surprize, that a King ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be baniſhed, and deſir'd him to acquaint them with the Reaſon of it: *It is*, ſays he, *becauſe the Law is more powerful, than the Kings, at* Sparta.

This Prince was very much regarded in *Perſia*: But, neither the Injuſtice of the *Spartan* Citizens, nor the kind Treatment of the *Perſian* King, could make him forget his Country. Aſſoon as he knew that *Xerxes* was making Preparations for the War, he found Means to give the *Grecians* ſecret Intelligence of it. And now, being obliged, on this Occaſion, to ſpeak his Sentiments to that Prince, he did it with ſuch a noble Freedom and Dignity, as became a *Spartan*, and a King of *Sparta*.

Accordingly, before he anſwered *Xerxes*, he deſired to know, whether it was his Pleaſure, that he ſhould flatter him, or that he ſhould ſpeak his Thoughts to him freely and truly: And the King having declared, that he deſired him to act with a perfect Sincerity, he ſpoke in the following Terms: "Great Prince, ſays *Demaratus*, ſince it "is agreeable to your Pleaſure and Commands, "I ſhall deliver my Sentiments to you, with the "utmoſt Truth and Sincerity. It muſt be con-"feſſed, that from the Beginning of Time, *Greece* "has been trained up, and accuſtomed to Po-"verty: But then, ſhe has introduced and eſta-"bliſhed Virtue within her Territories, which is "cultivated by the Study of Wiſdom, and main-"tained by the Vigour of her Laws. And it is "by the Uſe, which *Greece* knows how to make "of this Virtue, that ſhe equally defends her-"ſelf againſt the Inconveniencies of Poverty, and "the Yoke of Servitude. But, to ſpeak only of "the *Lacedæmonians*, my particular Countrymen, "you may aſſure yourſelf, that as they are born "and bred up in Liberty, they will never hear-"ken to any Propoſition, which tends to Sla-"very. Though they were deſerted, and aban-"doned by all the other *Grecians*, and reduced "to a Band of a thouſand Men, or even to a "more inconſiderable Number, they will ſtill "come out to meet you, and not refuſe to give "you Battle."

Xerxes, upon hearing this Diſcourſe, fell a laughing: And, as he could not comprehend how Men, in ſuch a State of Liberty and Independence, as that of the *Lacedæmonians* were deſcribed to be, who had no Maſter to force and compel them to it, could be capable of expoſing themſelves in ſuch a Manner, to Danger and Death. *Demaratus* replied: "The *Spartans* indeed are free, and under "no Subjection to the Will of any Man; but at "ſame Time they have Laws, to which they are "ſubject, and of which they ſtand in greater Awe "than your Subjects do of your Majeſty. Now, "by theſe Laws, they are forbid ever to run away "in Battle, let the Number of their Enemies be "never ſo ſuperior; and are commanded, to "ſtand firm in their Poſt, either to conquer, or "to die."

Xerxes was not offended at the Liberty wherewith *Damaratus* ſpoke to him; but, nevertheleſs, he purſued his Deſign, and continued his March.

In the mean while, *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*, which were the two moſt powerful Cities of *Greece*, and the Cities, againſt which *Xerxes* was moſt exaſperated, were not indolent or aſleep, when ſo formidable an Enemy was approaching. Having had Intelligence, long before, of the Motions of this Prince, they had ſent Spies to *Sardis*, in order to have a more exact Information of the Number and Quality of his Forces. Theſe Spies were taken up, and, as they were juſt going to be put to Death, *Xerxes* countermanded it; and gave Order, that they ſhould be conducted through his Army, and then ſent back, without any Harm being done to them: By their Return, the *Grecians* underſtood, what they had to apprehend from ſo potent an Enemy.

They ſent Deputies at the ſame Time to *Argos*; into *Sicily*; to *Gelon*, Tyrant of *Syracuſe*; to the Iſles of *Corcyra* and *Crete*, to deſire Succours from them;

them, and to form a League againſt the common Enemy.

The People of *Argos* offered a very conſiderable Succour, on Condition they ſhould have an equal Share of the Authority and Command with the *Lacedæmonians*. The latter conſented, that the King of *Argos* ſhould have the ſame Authority, as either of the two Kings of *Sparta*. This was granting them a great deal: But, into what Errors and Miſchiefs are Men led, by a miſtaken Point of Honour, and a fooliſh Jealouſy and Rivalſhip in Command! The *Argians* were not contented with this Offer, and ſo refuſed to enter into the League with the *Grecians*, without conſidering, that if they ſuffer'd them to be deſtroy'd, their own Ruin muſt inevitably follow.

The Deputies then, proceeded from *Argos* to *Sicily*, and addreſſed themſelves to *Gelon*, who was at that Time the moſt potent Prince in all the *Grecian* Colonies. This *Sicilian* Prince offer'd to aſſiſt them with two hundred Veſſels, of three Benches of Oars; with an Army, of twenty thouſand Foot, and two thouſand Horſe; together with two thouſand light-arm'd Soldiers, and the ſame Number of Bow-men and Slingers; and to ſupply the *Grecian* Army with Proviſions during the whole War, on Condition they would make him Generalliſſimo of all the Forces, both by Land and by Sea. The *Lacedæmonians* were highly provok'd at ſuch a Propoſal. *Gelon* then abated ſomewhat in his Demands, and promiſed all that we have mentioned, provided he had, at leaſt, the Command either of the Fleet, or of the Army. This Propoſal was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the *Athenians*, who made Anſwer, that they alone had a Right to command the Fleet, in Caſe the *Lacedæmonians* were willing to give it up. *Gelon*, in Truth, had a more ſubſtantial Reaſon for not leaving *Sicily*, unprovided of Troops, which was the Approach of the formidable Army of *Carthaginians*, commanded by *Amilcar*, that conſiſted of three hundred thouſand Men.

The Inhabitants of *Corcyra*, (now *Corfou*) gave the Envoys a more favourable Anſwer, and immediately put themſelves to Sea, with a Fleet of ſixty Veſſels: But they advanced no farther than the Coaſts of *Laconia*, pretending they were hinder'd by contrary Winds, but, in Reality, waiting to ſee the Succeſs of an Engagement, that they might afterwards range themſelves on the Side of the Conqueror. The People of *Crete*, having conſulted the *Delphic* Oracle, to know what Reſolution they were to take on this Occaſion, abſolutely refuſed to enter into the League.

Thus were the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* left almoſt to themſelves, all the reſt of the Cities and Nations having ſubmitted to the Heralds, whom *Xerxes* had ſent, to require Earth and Water of them, excepting the People of *Theſpia* and *Platæa*. In a Time of ſo preſſing a Danger, the firſt Thing they went about, was to put an End, to all Diſcord and Diviſion among themſelves; for which Reaſon the *Athenians* made Peace with the People of *Ægina*, with whom before they were actually at War.

The next Thing they took Care of, was to appoint a General; for there never was any Occaſion wherein it was more neceſſary to chooſe one, that could worthily diſcharge ſuch a Truſt, than in the preſent Conjuncture, when *Greece* was going to be attack'd by the whole Forces of *Aſia*. The moſt able and experienced Captains, terrify'd at the Greatneſs of the Danger, had taken the Reſolution of not preſenting themſelves as Candidates. There was a certain Citizen at *Athens*, whoſe Name was *Epicydes*, that had a tolerable Talent at ſpeaking, but in other Reſpects was a Perſon of no Merit, was in Diſreputation for his Want of Courage, and notorious for his Avarice; notwithſtanding all which, it was apprehended, that, in the Aſſembly of the People, the Votes would run in his Favour. *Themiſtocles*, who was ſenſible, that in calm Weather, almoſt any Sailor may be capable of conducting a Veſſel; but that, in Storms and Tempeſts, the moſt able Pilots can ſcarcely do it with all their Capacity; was convinced, that the Commonwealth would be loſt, if *Epicydes* was choſen General, whoſe venal and mercenary Soul, gave them all the Reaſon in the World to fear, that he would ſacrifice them to the Gold of the *Perſians*.

Certainly there are ſome Junctures and Occaſions, when, in order to act wiſely, it is lawful for a Man to diſpenſe with, and to ſet himſelf above the eſtabliſh'd Rules of Action. *Themiſtocles*, therefore, who knew very well, that in the preſent State of Affairs, he himſelf was the only Perſon capable of commanding; made no Scruple of employing Bribes, and Preſents, to divert his Competitor from his Purpoſe: And, having thus found Means to compenſate the Ambition of *Epicydes*, by gratifying his Avarice, procured himſelf to be choſen General in his Stead. We may here, very juſtly, apply to *Themiſtocles*, what *Titus Livius* ſays of *Fabius*, on a like Occaſion.

This great Commanded, finding that at the Time when *Hannibal* was in the Heart of *Italy*, the People were going to make a Man of no Merit Conſul, employ'd all his own Credit, as well as that of his Friends, to procure himſelf to be continued in the Conſulſhip, without being concerned at the Clamour, that might be raiſed againſt him; and he ſucceeded in the Attempt. The Hiſtorian adds, "The Criticalneſs of the Time, the Conjuncture "of Affairs, and the extreme Danger the Com-"monwealth was expoſed to, were Arguments "of ſuch Weight, that they prevented any one "from being offended at a Conduct, which might "appear to be contrary to Rules, and removed "all Suſpicion that *Fabius* had acted upon any "Motive of Intereſt or Ambition. On the Con-"trary, the Publick admired his Generoſity and "Greatneſs of Soul, in that, as he knew the Com-"monwealth had Occaſion for an accompliſh'd "General, and could not be ignorant or doubtful "of his own ſingular Merit in that Reſpect, he "had choſen rather, in ſome Sort, to hazard his "own Reputation, and perhaps expoſe his Cha-"racter to the Reproaches of envious Tongues, "than to be wanting in any Service he could ren-"der his Country."

The *Athenians* likewiſe paſſed a Decree to recall Home all their People, that were in Baniſhment. *Ariſtides* was one of the Number; and *Themiſtocles* was the Man, who by his Intrsgues and Cabals, had procured the other to be baniſhed, by a Sentence of the People: The Judgment, that was given againſt him, was accompanied with a Circumſtance, too memorable to be omitted on this Occaſion. In Judgments of this Sort, it was the

Cuſtom of *Athens*, for the Citizens to give their Suffrages by writing the Name of the Perſon in Queſtion upon a Shell, which in *Greek* was called *Oſtracon*, and from whence the Word *Oſtraciſm* is derived. Now, at the Time that the Judgment of *Ariſtides* was before the People, a Countryman, who could not write, and who did not know *Ariſtides*, chanced to make his Application to him himſelf, and deſired him to be ſo kind as write the Name of *Ariſtides* in his Shell. *Did he*, ſays Ariſtides, *ever do you any Injury, that you thus give your Vote for his Condemnation?* *No*, replied the Countryman, *I do not ſo much as know him; but they make ſuch a Noiſe in all Places with his Uprightneſs and Juſtice, that I am tired with hearing it.* Hereupon *Ariſtides*, without making any Reply, or expoſtulating with him in the leaſt, calmly took the Shell, wrote his own Name upon it, and return'd it to the Countryman. When he ſet out upon his Exile, his Prayer to the Gods was, that they would ſuffer no Misfortune to happen to his Country, which ſhould make him regretted.

This Caſe, however, happen'd not long afterwards, when *Xerxes* and his Army were approaching; the *Athenians* were afraid, leſt *Ariſtides* ſhould join their Enemies; and, leſt his Credit ſhould carry over a great many others to the Side of the *Barbarians*. But they judged very wrongly of the Spirit of that upright Citizen, who was the fartheſt in the World from entertaining ſuch a perfidious Sentiment. Be that as it would, on this extraordinary Juncture they thought fit to recall him; and *Themiſtocles* was ſo far from oppoſing the Decree for that Purpoſe, that he promoted it with all his Credit and Authority. The Hatred and Diviſion of theſe great Men, had nothing in them of that implacable, bitter, and outragious Spirit, which prevail'd among the *Romans*, in the latter Times of their Commonwealth. The Danger of the State was the Means of their Reconciliation; and when their Service was neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Commonwealth, they laid aſide all their Jealouſy and Rancour: And we ſhall ſee by the Sequel, that *Ariſtides* was ſo far from ſecretly thwarting his ancient Rival, that he zealouſly contributed to the Succeſs of his Enterprizes, and to the Advancement of his Glory.

The Alarm increaſed in *Greece*, in Proportion as they underſtood, that the *Perſian* Army advanced nearer. If the *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, had been able to make no other Reſiſtance, than with their Land-Forces, *Greece* had been utterly ruined, and reduced to Slavery. This Exigence taught them how to ſet a right Value upon the prudent Foreſight of *Themiſtocles*, who, upon ſome other Pretext, had procured the Building of an hundred Galleys. Inſtead of judging like the reſt of the *Athenians*, who looked upon the Victory of *Marathon* as the End of the War, he, on the Contrary, looked upon it rather as the Beginning, and as the Signal of ſtill fiercer Engagements, for which he ought to prepare the *Athenians*; and from that very Time, he began to think of raiſing *Athens* to a Superiority over *Sparta*, which, for a long Time, had been the Miſtreſs of all *Greece*.

To attain this End, he judged it expedient to turn all the *Athenian* Strength to maritime Affairs; ſeeing very clearly, that, conſidering how little her Power was by Land, ſhe had no other Way of rendering herſelf neceſſary to her *Allies*, or formidable to her Enemies. His Opinion ſoon prevailed among the People, in Spite of the Oppoſition of *Miltiades*; whoſe Difference of Sentiments undoubtedly aroſe, from the little Probability there was, that a People entirely unacquainted with naval Engagements, and who were only capable of fitting out, and arming very ſmall Veſſels, ſhould be able to withſtand ſo formidable a Power, as that of the *Perſians*; who had both a numerous Land-Army, and a Fleet of above a Thouſand Ships.

The *Athenians* had ſome Silver Mines in a Part of *Attica*, called *Laurium*; and all the Revenues and Product thereof, us'd to be diſtributed amongſt them. *Themiſtocles* had the Courage to propoſe to the People, that they ſhould aboliſh theſe Diſtributions, and employ that Money in building Veſſels, with three Banks of Oars, in order to make War upon the People of *Ægina*; againſt whom he endeavoured to rekindle and enflame their ancient Jealouſy. No People are ever very willing to ſacrifice their own particular Intereſts to the general Utility of the Publick: For they ſeldom have ſo much Generoſity, or publick Spirit, as to purchaſe the Welfare, or Preſervation of the State, at their own Expence. The *Athenians*, however, did it upon this Occaſion; being touched with the lively Remonſtrances of *Themiſtocles*, they conſented, that the Money which aroſe from the Product of thoſe Mines, ſhould be employ'd in the building an hundred Galleys. Againſt the Arrival of *Xerxes* they doubled the Number, and to that Fleet was owing the Preſervation of *Greece*.

When they came to the Point of naming a General, for the Command of the Navy, the *Athenians*, who alone had furniſh'd two Thirds of it, laid Claim to that Honour, as appertaining to them; and their Pretenſions were certainly juſt, and well grounded. It happen'd, however, that the Suffrages of the *Allies*, all concurred in Favour of *Eurybiades*, a *Lacedæmonian*. Hereupon, *Themiſtocles*, though very aſpiring after Glory, thought it incumbent upon him, on this Occaſion, to neglect his own Intereſts, for the common Good of his Country; and giving the *Athenians* to underſtand, that, provided they behaved themſelves with Courage and Conduct, all the *Grecians* would quickly deſire to confer the Command upon them of their own Accord, he perſuaded them to conſent, as he would do himſelf, to yield that Point, at preſent, to the *Spartans*. It may juſtly be ſaid, that this prudent Moderation in *Themiſtocles*, was another Means of ſaving the State: For the *Allies* threaten'd to ſeparate themſelves from them, if they refuſed to comply; and if that had happen'd *Greece* muſt have been inevitably ruin'd.

The only Thing, that now remain'd to be diſcuſſed, was, to know in what Place they ſhould reſolve to meet the *Perſians*; in order to diſpute their Entrance into *Greece*. The People of *Theſſaly* repreſented, that as they were the moſt expoſed, and in the Way to be firſt attack'd by the Enemy, it was but reaſonable, that their Defence and Security, on which the Safety of all *Greece* ſo much depended, ſhould firſt be provided for, without which they ſhould be obliged to take other Meaſures; which would be contrary to their Inclinations, but yet abſolutely neceſſary, in caſe their Country was left unprotected and defenceleſs. It was hereupon reſolved, that ten thouſand Men ſhould

ſhould be ſent to guard the Paſſage, which ſeparates *Macedonia* from *Theſſaly*, near the River *Peneus*, between the Mountains *Olympus* and *Oſſa*. But *Alexander*, the Son of *Amyntas*, king of *Macedonia*, having given them to underſtand, that if they waited for the *Perſians* in that Place, they muſt inevitably be oppreſſed by their Numbers, they retired to *Thermopylæ*. The *Theſſalians*, therefore, finding themſelves thus abandoned, without any farther Deliberation, ſubmitted to the *Perſians*.

Thermopylæ is a Strait, or narrow Paſs, of Mount *OEta*, between *Theſſaly* and *Phocis*, which is but twenty-five Foot broad; which, therefore, may be defended by a ſmall Number of Forces, and which was the only Way, through which the *Perſian* Land-Army could enter *Achaia*, and come to beſiege *Athens*. This was the Place, where the *Grecian* Army thought fit to wait for the Enemy: The Perſon who commanded it was *Leonidas*, one of the two Kings of *Sparta*.

Xerxes, in the mean Time, was upon his March; and had given Orders for his Fleet to follow him along the Coaſt, and to regulate their Motions according to the Motions of the Land-Army. Wherever he came, he found Victuals and Refreſhments, prepared before-hand, purſuant to the Orders he had ſent: And every City he arrived at gave him a magnificent Entertainment, which coſt immenſe Sums of Money. The vaſt Expence of theſe Treats, gave Occaſion to a witty Saying, of a certain Citizen of *Abdera*, a City in *Thrace*; who, when the King was gone, ſaid; *They ought to thank the Gods, that he did but eat one Meal a Day.*

In the ſame Country, there was a Prince, who ſhewed an extraordinary Greatneſs of Soul on this Occaſion: It was the King of the *Biſaltes*. Whilſt all the other Princes ran into Servitude, and baſely ſubmitted to *Xerxes*, he bravely refuſed to receive his Yoke, or to obey him. Not being in a Condition to reſiſt him with open Force, he retired to an inacceſſible Place, on the Top of the Mountain *Rhodope*; and forbid all his Sons, who were ſix in Number, to carry Arms againſt *Greece*. But they, either out of Fear of *Xerxes*, or out of Curioſity to ſee ſo important a War, followed the *Perſians*, in Contradiction to their Father's Injunction; on their Return home, their Father, to puniſh ſo direct a Diſobedience, condemned all his Sons to have their Eyes put out. *Xerxes* continued his March through *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and *Theſſaly*, and found every Thing yield and bend before him, till he came to the Streights of *Thermopylæ*.

One cannot ſee, without the utmoſt Aſtoniſhment, with what an Handful of Troops, the *Grecians* oppoſed the innumerable Army of *Xerxes*. We find a particular Computation of their Number in *Pauſanias*. All their Forces, joined together, amounted only to eleven thouſand two hundred Men. Of which Number, four thouſand only were employ'd at *Thermopylæ*, to defend the Paſſage. But theſe Soldiers, adds the Hiſtorian, were all determined to a Man, either to conquer, or to die. And what is it, that an Army of ſuch Reſolution, is not able to accompliſh?

When *Xerxes* advanced near the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, he was ſtrangely ſurprized to find, that they were prepared to diſpute his Paſſage. He had always flatter'd himſelf, that on the firſt hearing of his Arrival, the *Grecians* would betake themſelves to Flight; nor could he ever be perſuaded to believe, what *Demaratus* had told him, from the Beginning of his Enterprize, that at the firſt Paſs he came to, he would find his whole Army ſtopped by an Handful of Men. He ſent out a Spy before him, to take a View of the Enemy. The Spy brought him Word, that he found the *Lacedæmonians* out of their Intrenchments, and that they were diverting themſelves with military Exerciſes, and combing their Hair, which was the *Spartan* Manner of preparing themſelves for Battle.

Xerxes, ſtill entertaining ſome Hopes of their Flight, waited four Days on Purpoſe to give them Time to retreat: And, in this Interval of Time, he uſed his utmoſt Endeavours to gain *Leonidas*, by making him magnificent Promiſes, and aſſuring him, that he would make him Maſter of all *Greece*, if he would come over to his Party. *Leonidas* rejected his Propoſition with Scorn and Indignation; and *Xerxes* having afterwards wrote to him, that he ſhould deliver him up his Arms; *Leonidas*, in a Stile and Spirit truly *Laconic*, anſwered him in two Words: *Come thyſelf and take them.* There was now nothing left to be done, but to prepare themſelves to engage the *Lacedæmonians*. *Xerxes* firſt commanded his *Median* Forces to march againſt them, with Orders to take them all alive, and bring them to him. Theſe *Medes* were not able to ſtand the Shock of the *Grecians*; and being ſhamefully put to Flight, they ſhewed, ſays *Herodotus*, that *Xerxes* had a great many Men, and but few Soldiers. The next, that were ſent to face the *Spartans*, were thoſe *Perſians*, called, *The Immortal Band*, which made up a Body of ten thouſand Men; and were the beſt Troops in the whole Army. But theſe had no better Succeſs than the former.

Xerxes, out of all Hopes of being able to force his Way through Troops, that were ſo determin'd to conquer, or be kill'd, was extremely perplex'd; and could not tell what Reſolution to take, when an Inhabitant of the Country came to him, and diſcovered a ſecret winding By-path, up to an Eminence, which overlook'd and commanded the *Spartan* Forces. He quickly diſpatch'd a Detachment thither, which marching all Night, arrived there at the Break of Day, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that advantagious Situation.

The *Greeks* were ſoon advertiſed of this Misfortune; and *Leonidas* ſeeing, that it was now impoſſible to bear up againſt the Enemy, obliged the reſt of the *Allies* to retire, but ſtaid himſelf, with his three hundred *Spartans*, all reſolved to die with their Leader; who being told by the Oracle, that either *Lacedæmon*, or her King, muſt neceſſarily periſh; determined, without the leaſt Difficulty or Heſitation, to ſacrifice himſelf for his Country. Theſe brave *Spartans* then, did not feed themſelves with any Hopes, either of conquering or eſcaping, but look'd upon *Thermopylæ* as their Grave and Burying place. The King, exhorting his Men to take ſome Nourithment, and telling them at the ſame Time, that they would ſup together with *Pluto*, they all, with one Accord, ſet up a Shout of Joy, as if they had been invited to a Banquet. When they were thus fill'd with an extraordinary Ardour, he led them on to

Battle

Battle: The Shock was exceeding violent and bloody: *Leonidas* himſelf was one of the firſt who fell: And the couragious Efforts his *Lacedæmonians* perform'd to defend his dead Body, were incredible.

At length, not vanquiſh'd, but oppreſs'd by Numbers, they all fell, except one Man; who eſcap'd to *Sparta*, where he was treated as a Coward, and Traitor to his Country; and could find no-body, that would keep Company, or converſe with him. But, a little afterwards, he made a glorious Reparation of his Fault, at the Battle of *Platæa*, where he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in an extraordinary Mauner. *Xerxes*, enraged to the laſt Degree againſt *Leonidas*, for daring to make Head againſt him, caus'd his dead Body to be hung up on a Gallows; and ſo cover'd himſelf with Shame; whilſt he thought to fix Diſhonour on his Enemy.

Some Time after theſe Tranſactions, by Order of the *Amphictyones*, a magnificent Monument was erected juſt by *Thermopylæ*, to the Honour of theſe brave Defenders of *Greece*; and upon the Monument were put two Inſcriptions, one of which was general, and related to all thoſe, who dy'd at *Thermopylæ*; importing, that the *Greeks* of *Peloponneſus*, to the Number only of four Thouſand, had made Head againſt the *Perſian* Army, which conſiſted of three Millions of Men: The other related to the *Spartans* in particular. It was compoſed by the Poet *Simonides*, and is very remarkable for its Simplicity. It is as follows: *Go, Paſſenger, and carry the News to* Lacedæmon, *that we died here, in Obedience to her ſacred Laws.* Forty Years afterwards, *Pauſanias*, who obtain'd the Victory of *Platæa*, caus'd the Bones of *Leonidas* to be carry'd from *Thermopylæ* to *Sparta*, and erected a magnificent Monument to his Memory; near to which was likewiſe another erected to the Honour of *Pauſanias*. Every Year, at theſe Tombs, was a Funeral-Oration pronounc'd to the Honour of theſe Heroes, and a publick Celebration of Games obſerv'd, wherein none but *Lacedæmonians* had a Right to partake, in order to ſhew, that they alone were concern'd in the Glory obtain'd at *Thermopylæ*.

Xerxes, in that Action, loſt above twenty thouſand Men, among which were two of his own Brothers. He was very ſenſible, that ſo great a Loſs, which was a manifeſt Proof of the Courage of their Enemies, was capable of alarming, and diſcouraging his Soldiers. In order, therefore, to conceal the Knowledge of it from them, he cauſed all his Men, kill'd in that Action, except a Thouſand, whoſe Bodies he order'd to be left upon the Field, to be thrown together into large Holes, which were ſecretly made, and cover'd over afterwards with Earth and Herbs. This Stratagem ſucceeded very ill: For, when the Soldiers in his Fleet, being curious to ſee the Field of Battle, obtain'd Leave to come thither for that Purpoſe, the Trick he had practis'd ſerv'd rather to diſcover his own Littleneſs of Soul, than to cover the Number of the Slain.

Being alarm'd at a Victory, that had coſt him ſo dear, he ask'd *Demaratus*, if the *Lacedæmonians* had many ſuch Soldiers. That Prince told him, the *Spartan* Republick had a great many Cities belonging to it, of which all the Inhabitants were exceeding brave; but that the Inhabitants of *Lacedæmon*, who were properly call'd *Spartans*, about eight thouſand in Number, ſurpaſſed all the Reſt in Bravery; and were all like thoſe who fought under *Leonidas*. We muſt ſtep back again a little, and ſpeak a Word or two more upon the Battle of *Thermopylæ*; the Iſſue of which having been fatal, in Appearance, might make an Impreſſion upon the Minds of our Readers, to the Diſadvantage of the *Lacedæmonians*, and occaſion their Courage to be look'd upon as the Effect of a preſumptuous Temerity, or a deſperate Reſolution.

This Action of *Leonidas*, with his three hundred *Spartans*, was not the Effect of Raſhneſs or Deſpair, but was a wiſe, and noble Piece of Conduct, as *Diodorus Siculus* has taken Care to repreſent to us, in the magnificent Encomium he has made of the Glory of that famous Engagement, to which he aſcribes the Succeſs of all the enſuing Victories and Campaigns. *Leonidas* knowing, that *Xerxes* march'd at the Head of all the Forces of the *Eaſt*, in order to overwhelm and cruſh a little Country, by the Dint of his Numbers, rightly conceiv'd, by the Superiority of his Genius and Underſtanding, if they pretended to make the Succeſs of that War conſiſt in oppoſing Force to Force, and Numbers to Numbers, all the *Grecian* Nations together would never be able to equal the *Perſians*, or diſpute the Victory with them; that it was, therefore, neceſſary to point out to *Greece* another Way of Safety and Preſervation, whilſt ſhe was under theſe Alarms; and, that they ought to ſhew the whole Univerſe, who had all their Eyes turn'd upon them, what glorious Things might be done, when Magnanimity is engaged againſt bodily Force; true Courage and Bravery againſt a blind Impetuoſity; the Love of Liberty againſt a tyrannical Oppreſſion; and a few diſciplin'd veteran Troops againſt a confuſed Multitude, though never ſo numerous. Theſe brave *Lacedæmonians* then thought it became them, who were the choiceſt Soldiers of the chief People of *Greece*, to devote themſelves to certain Death, in order to make the *Perſians* ſenſible, how difficult it is to reduce a free People to Slavery; and teach the Reſt of their Countrymen, by their Example, either to vanquiſh, or periſh.

We do not owe theſe Sentiments to our own Invention, or aſcribe them to *Leonidas*, without Foundation: They are plainly compriz'd in that ſhort Anſwer, which that worthy King of *Sparta* made to a certain *Lacedæmonian*; who, being aſtoniſh'd at the generous Reſolution the King had taken, ſpoke to him in this Manner: "Is it poſ-
"ſible then, Sir, that you can think of marching
"with an Handful of Men againſt ſuch a mighty
"and innumerable Army? If we are to reckon
"upon Numbers (reply'd *Leonidas*) all the People
"of *Greece* together would not be ſufficient; ſince
"a ſmall Part of the *Perſian* Army is equal to all
"her Inhabitants: But, if we are to reckon upon
"Courage, my little Troop is more than ſufficient."

The Event ſhew'd the Juſtneſs of this Prince's Sentiments. That illuſtrious Example of Courage aſtoniſh'd the *Perſians*, and gave new Spirit and Vigour to the *Grecians*. The Lives, then, of this heroic Leader, and his brave Troop, were not thrown away, but uſefully employ'd; and their Death produced a double Effect, more great and laſting, than they themſelves had imagin'd. On

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one Hand, it was the Seed, as it were, of their enſuing Victories, which made the *Perſians*, for ever after, lay aſide all Thoughts of coming again to attack *Greece*; ſo that, during the ſeven or eight ſucceeding Reigns, there was neither any Prince, who durſt entertain ſuch a Deſign; nor any Flatterer in his Court, who durſt propoſe the Thing to him.

On the other Hand, ſuch a ſignal, and exemplary Inſtance of Intrepidity, made an indelible Impreſſion upon all the Reſt of the *Grecians*; and left a Perſuaſion deeply rooted in their Hearts, that they were able to ſubdue the *Perſians*, and pull down their vaſt Empire. *Cimon* was the Man, who made the firſt Attempt of that Kind, and did it with Succeſs. *Ageſilaus* afterwards puſh'd that Enterprize farther; and carry'd it ſo far, that he made the great Monarch tremble in his Palace at *Suſa*. *Alexander*, at laſt, accompliſh'd the Deſign with an incredible Facility. He never had the leaſt Doubt, no more than the *Macedonians*, who follow'd him, or the whole Country of *Greece*, that choſe him for General on that Expedition, but that with thirty thouſand Men he could overturn the *Perſian* Empire; ſince all the united Forces of the *Eaſt* had been ſtopp'd by three hundred *Spartans*.

The very ſame Day, on which the glorious Action at *Thermopylæ* happen'd, there was likewiſe an Engagement at Sea between the two Fleets. That of the *Grecians*, excluſive of the little Galleys, and ſmall Boats, conſiſted of two hundred and ſeventy-one Veſſels. This Fleet had lain by near *Artemiſa*, a Promontory of *Eubœa*, upon the *Northern* Coaſt towards the *Streights*. That of the Enemy, which was much more numerous, was near the ſame Place; but had lately been haraſs'd with a violent Tempeſt, that had deſtroy'd above four hundred of their Veſſels. Notwithſtanding this Loſs, it was ſtill vaſtly ſuperior in Number to that of the *Grecians*, upon which they were preparing to fall; inſomuch, that they detach'd two hundred of their Veſſels, with Orders to wait about *Eubœa*, to the End that none of the Veſſels of the Enemies might eſcape them.

The *Grecians* having got Intelligence of this Separation, immediately ſet Sail in the Night, in order to attack that Detachment in the Dawning of the Morning; but, not meeting therewith, they return'd towards the Evening, and fell upon the Bulk of the Enemy's Fleet, which they treated very roughly. Night coming on, they were obliged to ſeparate, and both Parties retired to their Poſts. But the very Night, that parted them, prov'd more pernicious to the *Perſians*, than the Engagement which had preceded; by Reaſon of a violent Storm of Wind, accompany'd with Rain and Thunder, which diſtreſs'd and haraſs'd their Veſſels till Break of Day: And the two hundred Ships, likewiſe, that had been detached from their Fleet, as we mention'd before, were almoſt all caſt away upon the Coaſts of *Eubœa*; it being the Will of the Gods, ſays *Herodotus*, that the two Fleets ſhould be brought pretty near to an Equality.

The *Athenians* having, the ſame Day, receiv'd a Reinforcement of fifty-three Veſſels, the *Grecians*, who were appriz'd of the Wreck, that had happen'd to Part of the Enemies Fleet, fell upon the *Cilicians* at the ſame Hour, as they had attack'd the Fleet the Day before, and ſunk a great Number of them. Upon which, the *Perſians*, being aſham'd to ſee themſelves thus inſulted by an Enemy, who were ſo much inferior in Number, thought fit, the next Day, to appear firſt in a Diſpoſition to engage. The Battle was very obſtinate this Time, and the Succeſs pretty near equal on both Sides, excepting, that the *Perſians*, who were incommoded by the Largeneſs, and Number of their Veſſels, ſuſtained the greater Loſs: Both Parties, retir'd in good Order.

All theſe Actions, which paſſed near *Artemiſa*, did not bring Matters to an abſolute Deciſion, but contributed very much to animate the *Athenians*; becauſe they were then convinc'd, by their own Experience, that there was nothing really formidable, either in the Number, and ſumptuous Decorations of Veſſels; or in the inſolent Manner of the *Barbarians*, ſhouting and crying out *Victory*; for Men, who know how to come to cloſe Combat, and had the Courage to fight with Steadineſs and Reſolution; and that, the beſt Way of dealing with ſuch an Enemy, was, to deſpiſe all that vain Appearance; to come boldly up to them, and attack them briskly and vigorouſly, without ever flinching, or giving Ground.

The *Grecian* Fleet, by this Time, having had Intelligence of what had paſſed at *Thermopylæ*, reſolv'd upon what Courſe they were to take, without any farther Deliberation. They immediately ſailed away from *Artemiſa*, and advancing toward the Heart of *Greece*, they ſtopp'd at *Salamis*, a little Iſle, very near, and over-againſt *Attica*. Whilſt the Fleet was in this Retreat, *Themiſtocles* paſſed through all the Places, where it was neceſſary for the Enemies to come to Land, in order to take in freſh Water, or other Proviſions; and, in large Characters, engrav'd upon the Rocks, and the Stones, the following Words, which he addreſſed to the *Ionians*: *Be of our Side, ye People of* Ionia: *Come over to the Party of your Fathers; who expoſe their own Lives, for no other End, than to maintain your Liberty: Or, if you cannot poſſibly do that; at leaſt, do the* Perſians *all the Miſchief you can, when we are engaged with them; and put their Army into Diſorder and Confuſion.* By this Means *Themiſtocles* hoped, either to bring the *Ionians* really over to their Party; or, at leaſt, to render them ſuſpected to the *Barbarians*. We ſee, this General had his Thoughts always intent upon his Buſineſs; and neglected nothing, that could contribute to the Succeſs of his Deſigns.

In the meanWhile, *Xerxes* was enter'd into the Country of *Phocis*, by the Upper-Part of *Doris*; and was burning, and plundering the Cities of the *Phocians*; inſomuch, that the Inhabitants of the *Peloponneſus*, thinking upon nothing but the ſaving of their own Country, reſolv'd to abandon all the Reſt; and to bring all the *Grecian* Forces together within the *Iſthmus*; over which they intended to build a ſtrong Wall, that ſhould reach from one Sea to the other; which was a Space of near five Miles. The *Athenians*, and with good Reaſon, were highly provok'd at ſo baſe a Deſertion, ſeeing themſelves ready to fall into the Hands of the *Perſians*, and likely to bear the whole Weight of their Fury and Vengeance.

SomeTime before they had conſulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, which had given them for Anſwer;

That there would be no Way of saving the City but by Walls of Wood. The Sentiments of the People were much divided about this ambiguous Expreſſion: Some thought it was underſtood to mean the Citadel; becauſe that, heretofore, had been ſurrounded with Wooden Palliſadoes. But *Themiſtocles* gave another Senſe to the Words, which was much more natural; believing it to be Shipping, that was meant by the Oracle; and from thence endeavour'd to ſhew, that the only Meaſures they had to take, were to leave the City empty, and to embark all the Inhabitants. But this was a Reſolution the People would not give Ear to, as thinking themſelves inevitably loſt; and not even caring to conquer, when once they had abandon'd the Temples of their Gods, and the Tombs of their Anceſtors.

Here *Themiſtocles* had Occaſion for all his Addreſs, and all his Eloquence, to work upon the People: Wherefore, after he had repreſented to them, that *Athens* did not conſiſt, either of its Walls, or its Houſes, but its Citizens; and, that the ſaving of theſe was the Preſervation of the City; he endeavour'd to perſuade them, by the Argument, which was the moſt capable of making an Impreſſion upon them in that unhappy, afflicted, and dangerous Condition they were then in; we mean, the Argument and Motive of Divine Authority; giving them to underſtand, by the very Words of the Oracle, and by the Prodigies, that were come to paſs, that their removing, for a Time, from *Athens*, did plainly appear to be the Will of the Gods.

A Decree was, therefore, paſſed; by which, in order to ſoften what appear'd ſo hard in the Reſolution of deſerting the City, it was ordain'd, *That* Athens *ſhould be given up in Truſt into the Hands, and committed to the Keeping and Protection of* Minerva, *Patroneſs of the* Athenian *People; that all ſuch Inhabitants, as were able to bear Arms, ſhould go on Ship-board; and that every Citizen ſhould provide, as well as he could, for the Safety and Security of his Wife, Children, and Slaves.*

The extraordinary Behaviour of *Cimon*, who was at this Time but very young, was of great Weight on this ſingular Occaſion: He went publickly together with his Companions, with a gay and cheerful Countenance, along the Street of the *Ceramicus* to the Citadel; in order to conſecrate a Bit of a Bridle, which he carry'd in his Hand, in the Temple of *Minerva*; deſigning to make the People underſtand, by this religious, and afFecting Ceremony, that they had no farther Buſineſs with the Accoutrements appertaining to Land-Forces; and, that it behoved them now to betake themſelves entirely to the Sea. After he had made an Offering of this Bit, he took one of the Shields, that hung up on the Wall of the Temple, paid his Devotions to the Goddeſs, went down to the Water-Side, and was the firſt, who, by his Example, inſpir'd the greateſt Part of the People with Confidence and Reſolution, and encouraged them to embark.

The major Part of them ſent their Fathers and Mothers, who were old, together with their Wives and Children, to the City of *Trœzene*; whoſe Inhabitants receiv'd them with great Humanity and Generoſity. For, they made an Ordinance, that they ſhould be maintain'd at the Expence of the Publick; and aſſign'd for each Perſon's Subſiſtence, two *Oboli* a Day; which was Two Pence Half-Penny. Beſides this, they permitted the Children to gather Fruit, wherever they pleas'd, or whereever they came; and moreover, ſettled a Fund for the Payment of the Maſters, who had the Care of their Education. How generous, and worthy of Admiration was it, to ſee a City, expos'd, as this was, to the greateſt Dangers and Calamities, extend her Care and Generoſity in the the very Midſt of ſuch Alarms, even to the Education of the Children of other People!

When all the Citizens of *Athens* came to embark, ſo moving and melancholy a Spectacle drew Tears from the Eyes of all who were preſent; and, at the ſame Time, occaſion'd great Admiration, with Regard to the Steadineſs and Courage of thoſe Men, who ſent their Fathers and Mothers another Way, and to other Places; and who, without being mov'd, either at their Grief and Lamentations, or at the tender Embraces of their Wives and Children, paſſed over with ſo much Firmneſs and Reſolution to *Salamis*. But that, which extremely rais'd, and augmented the general Compaſſion, was the great Number of old Men, whom they were forced to leave in the City, on Account of their Age and Infirmities; and of which many voluntarily remained there, on a Motive of Religion, believing the Citadel to be the Thing meant by the Oracle, in the fore-mentioned ambiguous Expreſſion of Wooden Walls.

There was not a Creature (for Hiſtory has judg'd this Circumſtance worthy of being recorded) even to the domeſtick Animals, ſuch as Dogs and Cats, but who took Part in this publick Mourning; nor was it poſſible for a Man to ſee thoſe poor Creatures run howling and crying after their Maſters, who were going on Ship-board, without being touch'd and affected. Among the Reſt, particular Notice is taken of a Dog belonging to *Xanthippus*, the Father of *Pericles*; who, not being able to ſee himſelf abandon'd by his Maſter, jump'd into the Sea after him; and continued ſwimming, as near as he could to the Veſſel, his Maſter was on board of, till he landed at *Salamis*, and dy'd the Moment after upon the Shore. In the ſame Place, even in *Plutarch*'s Time, they us'd to ſhew the Spot, wherein they pretended this faithful Animal was bury'd; and it was known by the Name of the *Dog's Burying-Ground*.

Whilſt *Xerxes* was continuing his March, ſome Deſerters from *Arcadia* came and join'd his Army; and the King having ask'd them, what the *Grecians* were then doing, was extremely ſurpriz'd, when he was told, that they were employ'd in ſeeing the Games and Combats, that the People were then celebrating in *Olympia*: But, his Surprize was ſtill increas'd, when he underſtood, that the Victor's Reward in thoſe Engagements, was only a Crown of Olive. "What Men muſt they "be (cry'd one of the *Perſian* Nobles with great "Wonder and Aſtoniſhment) who are affected "only with mere Honour, and not with Mo-"ney!"

Xerxes had ſent off a conſiderable Detachment of his Army, to go and plunder the Temple at *Delphos*, in which he knew there was an immenſe Treaſure; being reſolv'd to treat *Apollo* with no more Favour than the other Gods, whoſe Temples he had pillaged: And, if we may believe *Herodotus*,

dotus, and *Diodorus Siculus*, aſſoon as ever this Detachment advanc'd near the Temple of *Minerva*, who was ſirnamed the *Provident*, the Air was fill'd with a ſudden Darkneſs; and a violent Tempeſt aroſe, accompany'd with impetuous Winds, Thunder and Lightning: And two huge Rocks having ſever'd themſelves from the Mountain, fell upon the *Perſian* Troops, and cruſh'd the greateſt Part of them.

The other Part of the Army march'd towards the City of *Athens*, which was deſerted by all its Inhabitants, except a ſmall Number of Citizens, who had retired into the Citadel; where they defended themſelves with an incredible Reſolution, till they were all kill'd, and would hearken to no Terms of Accommodation whatſoever. *Xerxes* entirely burnt the City, and all its Temples. *Pauſanias* informs us, that, in After-Times, the *Athenians* purpoſely left ſome of thoſe Temples in the Condition, to which the *Perſians* had reduc'd them, and would not rebuild them; to the End, that thoſe ſacred Ruins might ever remain, as perpetual and ſubſiſting Motives of the irreconcilable Hatred, that ought to be kept up between the *Grecks* and *Barbarians*.

Xerxes immediately diſpatch'd a Courier to *Suſa*, to carry the agreeable News of his Succeſs to *Artabanes*, his Uncle: And, at the ſame Time, ſent him a great Number of Pictures and Statues. Thoſe of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, the ancient Deliverers of *Athens*, were among the Reſt. One of the Kings of *Syria*, nam'd *Antiochus*, ſent back theſe two Pictures to the *Athenians*; being perſuaded he could not poſſibly make them a more acceptable Preſent.

At this Time, a Diviſion aroſe among the Commanders of the *Grecian* Fleet; and the Confederates, in a Council of War, which was held for that Purpoſe, were of very different Sentiments concerning the Place, that was to be reſolv'd upon, for engaging the Enemy. Some, and indeed, the major Part, at the Head of whom was *Eurybiades*, the Generaliſſimo of the Fleet, were for having them advance near the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*; to the End, that they might be nearer the Land-Army, which was poſted there, for the guarding of that Paſſage, under the Command of *Cleombrotus*, the Brother of *Leonidas*; and that they might likewiſe have it more in their Power to defend the *Peloponneſus*. Others, at the Head of whom was *Themiſtocles*, alledg'd, that it would be betraying their Country, to abandon ſo advantagious a Poſt, as that of *Salamis*. And, as the laſt mention'd General was ſpeaking with much Warmth in the Defence of his Opinion, *Eurybiades* lifted up his Cane over him in a menacing Manner. *Strike* (ſays the *Athenian*, unmov'd at the Inſult) *but hear me*: And, continuing his Diſcourſe, proceeded to ſhew of what Importance it was for the Fleet of the *Grecians*, whoſe Veſſels were lighter, and much fewer in Number, than thoſe of the *Perſians*, to give Battle in ſuch a Streight, as that of *Salamis*; which would render the Enemy incapable of uſing a great Part of their Forces. Hereupon, *Eurybiades*, who could not help being touch'd with this extraordinary Inſtance of Moderation in *Themiſtocles*, ſubmitted to his Reaſons; or, at leaſt, comply'd with his Opinion; for Fear the *Athenians*, whoſe Ships made above one Half of the Fleet, ſhould ſeparate themſelves from the Allies, as their General had taken Occaſion to inſinuate.

A Council of War was likewiſe held on the Side of the *Perſians*, in order to determine whether they ſhould hazard a naval Engagement: *Xerxes* himſelf being come to the Fleet, to take the Advice of his Captains and Officers; who were all unanimous in their Suffrages for giving Battle, becauſe they knew it was agreeable to the King's Inclination. Queen *Artemiſa* was the only Perſon, who oppos'd this Reſolution. She repreſented the dangerous Conſequences of engaging with a People, more converſant, and expert in maritime Affairs than the *Perſians*; alledging, that the Loſs of a Battle at Sea, would be attended with the Ruin of their Army at Land; whereas, by protracting the War, and by their advancing near the *Peloponneſus*, they ſhould create Jealouſies and Diviſions among their Enemies; or, rather, augment the Diviſions, that were already very great amongſt them; that the Confederates, in that Caſe, would not fail to ſeparate from one another, in order to go and defend, each of them, his own Country and Territory; and then the King, without Difficulty, and almoſt without ſtriking a Blow, might make himſelf Maſter of all *Greece*. This Advice, though exceeding prudent, was not follow'd: And the Reſolution taken, was to give Battle, and hazard a Sea-Engagement.

Xerxes, imputing the ill Succeſs of all the former Engagements they had at Sea, to his own Abſence, reſolv'd to be Witneſs of this from the Top of an Eminence, and caus'd a Throne to be erected for that Purpoſe. The King being thus plac'd in Sight of his Navy, might, perhaps, contribute, in ſome Meaſure, to animate his Forces: But, there is another Way of doing it, much more ſure and effectual, by the Prince's real Preſence, and Example, when he himſelf ſhares the Danger; and, by that Means, ſhews himſelf worthy of being the Soul and Head of a brave and numerous Body of Men, ready to die in his Service.

A Prince, not having this Sort of Courage and Firmneſs, which nothing can ſhake, and even riſes and increaſes by Danger; may, nevertheleſs, be endu'd with other excellent Qualities; but then he is by no Means proper to command an Army. No Qualification whatſoever can ſupply the Want of Courage in a General: And the more he labours to ſhew the Appearance of it, when he has not the Reality, the more he diſcovers his Cowardiſe and Fear. There is, it muſt be own'd, a vaſt Difference between a general Officer, and a ſimple Soldier. *Xerxes* ought not to have expos'd his Perſon otherwiſe than as becomes a Prince: That is to ſay, as the Head, not as the Hand: As he, whoſe Buſineſs it is to direct and give Orders, not as thoſe appointed to execute. But, to keep himſelf entirely at a Diſtance from Danger, and to act no other Part than that of a Spectator, was really renouncing the Quality and Office of a General.

In the mean While, *Themiſtocles*, knowing ſome Commanders in the *Grecian* Fleet ſtill entertain'd Thoughts of ſailing towards the *Iſthmus*, contriv'd to have Notice given under-hand to *Xerxes*, that, as the *Grecian* Allies were now aſſembled together in one Place, it would be an eaſy Matter for him to ſubdue, and deſtroy them all together; whereas,

as, if they once ſeparated from one another, as they were going to do, he might never meet with ſuch another Opportunity ſo favourable. The King gave into this Sentiment; and immediately commanded a great Number of his Veſſels to ſurround *Salamis* by Night; in order to make it impracticable for the *Greeks* to quit their Poſt.

No-body among the *Grecians* perceiv'd their Army was thus encompaſs'd; when *Ariſtides* ſail'd in the Night from *Ægina*, where he had ſome Forces under his Command, and with very great Danger croſſed through the whole Fleet of the Enemies. When he came up to the Tent of *Themiſtocles*, he took him aſide, and ſpoke to him in the following Manner: *If we are wiſe*, Themiſtocles, *we ſhall, from henceforward, lay aſide that vain and childiſh Diſſenſion, that has hitherto divided us, and ſhall ſtrive, with a more noble and uſeful Emulation, which of us ſhall render the beſt Service to his Country; you by commanding, and doing the Duty of a wiſe and able Captain; and I by obeying your Orders, and aſſiſting you with my Perſon and Advice.* He then inform'd him of the Army's being ſurrounded with the Ships of the *Perſians*, and warmly exhorted him to give them Battle without Delay.

Themiſtocles, extremely aſtoniſhed at ſuch a Greatneſs of Soul, and ſuch a noble and generous Frankneſs, was ſomewhat aſhamed, that he had ſuffered himſelf to be thus ſurpaſſed by his Rival; but bluſhing, he own'd it, and promis'd *Ariſtides*, he would, henceforward, imitate his Generoſity; and even exceed it, if it were poſſible, throughout the Reſt of his Conduct. Then, after having imparted to him the Stratagem he had form'd to deceive the *Barbarians*, he deſired him to go in Perſon to *Eurybiades*, in order to convince him, there was no other Means of Safety for them, than engaging the Enemy by Sea at *Salamis*; which Commiſſion *Ariſtides* executed with Pleaſure and Succeſs: For, he was in great Credit and Eſteem, in the Opinion of that General.

They begin then on both Sides to prepare for Battle: The *Grecian* Fleet conſiſted of three hundred and eighty Sail of Ships, which in every Thing follow'd the Direction and Orders of *Themiſtocles*. Now, as nothing eſcap'd this *Athenian*'s Foreſight; and, as he, like an able Commander, knew how to improve every Circumſtance and Incident to Advantage; before he would begin the Engagement, he waited till a certain Wind, that roſe regularly every Day at a certain Hour, and was entirely contrary to the Enemy, began to blow.

Aſſoon as this Wind roſe, the Signal was given for Battle; and the *Perſians* knowing their King had his Eyes upon them, advanc'd with ſuch Courage and Impetuoſity, as were capable of ſtriking an Enemy with Terror. But the Heat of the firſt Attack quickly abated, when they came to be engaged. Every Thing was contrary to, and diſadvantagious for them: The Wind blowing directly in their Faces; the Height, and Heavineſs of their Veſſels, which could not move and turn but with great Difficulty; and even the Number of their Ships likewiſe, which was ſo far from being advantagious, that it only ſerv'd to perplex them in a Place ſo ſtrait and narrow, as that they fought in: Whereas, on the Side of the *Grecians*, every Thing was done with Order and Regularity, without Hurry and Confuſion; becauſe every Thing was ſubject, and obedient to the Direction of one Commander.

In the mean While, the *Ionians*, whom *Themiſtocles* had advertis'd, by Characters engraven upon Stones along the Coaſts of *Eubœa*, to remember from whom they deriv'd their Original, were the firſt, who betook themſelves to Flight; and were quickly follow'd by the Reſt of the Fleet. But Queen *Artemiſa* diſtinguiſh'd herſelf by incredible Efforts of Reſolution and Courage; ſo that *Xerxes*, who ſaw in what Manner ſhe had behav'd herſelf, cry'd out, *That the Men had behaved like Women in this Engagement, and that the Women had ſhewn the Courage of Men.* Hereupon, the *Athenians* being enraged, that a Woman had dar'd to appear in Arms againſt them, promis'd a Reward of ten thouſand *Drachma* to any one, who ſhould be able to take her alive: But ſhe had the good Fortune to eſcape their Purſuits. But, if they had chanc'd to have taken her; ſurely, if they had judg'd impartially, ſhe muſt have deſerv'd the higheſt Commendations, and the moſt honourable and generous Treatment.

Such was the Succeſs of the Battle of *Salamis*; one of the moſt remarkable Actions we find recorded in ancient Hiſtory; and which has, and will render the Name, and Courage of the *Grecians*, famous through all Generations. There was a great Number of the *Perſian* Ships taken, and ſtill a much greater ſunk upon this Occaſion. Many of their Allies dreading the King's Cruelty no leſs than the Rage of the Enemy, made the beſt of their Way into their own Country.

When the Battle was over, *Themiſtocles*, in a ſecret Converſation he had with *Ariſtides*, propos'd to his Conſideration, in order to ſound him, and learn his true Sentiments, whether it would not be proper for them, to ſend ſome Veſſels to break down the Bridge, *Xerxes* caus'd to be built; to the End, ſays he, we may take *Aſia* into *Europe*: But, though he made this Propoſition, yet, in his Mind, he was far from approving it. However, *Ariſtides* believing him to be in Earneſt, argued very warmly and ſtrenuouſly againſt any ſuch Project; and repreſented to him, how dangerous it was, to reduce ſo powerful an Enemy to Deſpair; from whom it was their Buſineſs to deliver themſelves, as ſoon as poſſible. *Themiſtocles* then ſeem'd to be prevail'd upon by his Reaſons; and, in order to haſten the Departure of the King, he contriv'd to have him ſecretly advertis'd, that the *Grecians* deſign'd to break down the Bridge. The Point *Themiſtocles* ſeems to have had in View, by this falſe Confidence, was, to fortify himſelf with the Opinion of *Ariſtides*, which was of great Weight, againſt that of the other Generals, in caſe they were inclin'd to go and break down the Bridge. Perhaps too, he might aim at guarding himſelf, by this Means, againſt the Ill-Will of his Enemies; who might, one Day, accuſe him of Treaſon before the People, if ever they came to know he had been the Author of that ſecret Advice to *Xerxes*.

However it be, that Prince, being frightned at the hearing of ſuch News, made the beſt Uſe he could of his Time; and ſet out by Night, leaving *Mardonius* behind him with an Army of three hundred thouſand Men, in order to reduce *Greece*, if he was able; and the *Grecians*, who expected

expected that *Xerxes* would have come to another Engagement the next Day, having learnt that he was fled, purſued him as faſt as they could, but to no Purpoſe. They had deſtroy'd, in the fore-mention'd Battle, two hundred of the Enemy's Ships, beſides thoſe which they took from them. The Remainder of the *Perſian* Fleet, after having ſuffered extremely by the Winds in their Paſſage, retired towards the Coaſt of *Aſia*, and enter'd into the Port of *Cuma*, a City in *Eolia*; where they paſſed the Winter, and never ventured afterwards to return into *Greece*.

Xerxes took the other Part of the Army along with him, and went by the Way of the *Helleſpont*; but as no Proviſions had been prepared for them beforehand, they underwent great Hardſhips during their whole March, which laſted five and forty Days; and after having eaten up and conſumed all the Fruit they could meet with, the Soldiers were obliged to live upon Herbs, and even upon the Bark and Leaves of Trees; which occaſioned a great Sickneſs in the Army, and Numbers died of a Looſeneſs, and the Plague.

As for the King himſelf, through Eagerneſs and Impatience to make his Eſcape, he left his Army behind him, and travelled on before, with a ſmall Retinue, in order to reach the Bridge with the greater Expedition: But when he arrived at the Place, he found the Bridge broken down by the Violence of the Waves, which a great Tempeſt had occaſion'd, and was reduced to the Neceſſity of croſſing over in a Fiſhing-boat. What an inſtructive Spectacle was this, in order to ſhew Mankind the Mutability of all earthly Things, and the Inſtability of human Greatneſs! To ſee a Prince, whoſe Armies and Fleets the Land and Sea were ſcarce able to contain a little while before, now ſtealing away, in a poor ſmall Boat, almoſt without any Servants or Attendants! Such was the Iſſue and Succeſs of the Expedition of *Xerxes* againſt *Greece*.

If we compare this Prince with himſelf at different Times, and on different Occaſions, we ſhall ſcarcely know him to be the ſame Man. When Affairs were under Conſideration and Debate, no Perſon could ſhew more Courage and Intrepidity than he did; he is ſurprized, and even offended, if any one foreſees the leaſt Difficulty in the Execution of his Deſigns, or ſhews any Apprehenſion concerning Events. But when he comes to the Point of Execution, and to the Hour of Danger, he flies like a Coward, and thinks of nothing but ſaving his own Life and Perſon.

Here we have a ſenſible, and evident Proof, of the Difference that there is between true Courage, which is never deſtitute of Prudence; and Temerity, which is always blind and preſumptuous. A wiſe and great Prince weighs every Thing, and examines all Circumſtances, before he enters into a War; which is a Thing, he neither fears, nor deſires; but when the Time of Action is come, the Sight of Danger ſerves only to animate his Courage. This Order is quite changed and inverted by Preſumption; which having introduced Aſſurance and Bravery into the Place, where Wiſdom and Circumſpection ought to preſide, does in the ſame Manner place Fear and Deſpair, where Courage and Intrepidity ought to be exerted.

The firſt Thing the *Grecians* took Care of, after the Battle of *Salamis*, was to ſend the Firſt-fruits of the rich Spoil they had taken to *Delphos*: *Cimon*, who was then very young, ſignalized himſelf in a particular Manner in that Engagement, and performed Actions of ſuch a diſtinguiſhed and ſingular Valour, as procured him a great Reputation, and made him be conſider'd, from that Time, as a Citizen, that would be capable of rendering the moſt important Services to his Country, on future Occaſions.

But *Themiſtocles* was the Man that carried off almoſt all the Honour of this Victory, which was the moſt ſignal, that ever the *Grecians* obtained over the *Perſians*. The Force of Truth obliged even thoſe, who were the moſt envious of his Glory, to render him this Teſtimony. It was a Cuſtom in *Greece*, that after a Battle, the Commanding-Officers ſhould declare, who were the Perſons, that had the moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves therein, by ſetting down upon a Ticket the Name of the Man, who had merited the firſt Prize; and of him, who had merited the ſecond. On this Occaſion, by a Judgment which ſhews the good Opinion it is natural for every Man to have of himſelf, each Officer concerned, adjudged the firſt Rank of Merit to himſelf, and allowed the ſecond to *Themiſtocles*; which was a manifeſt Proof, that he deſerved the former, in Preference to them all.

Accordingly the *Lacedæmonians*, having carried him to *Sparta*, in order to pay him the Honours, that were due to his Merit, decreed to their General *Eurybiades*, the Prize of Valour; and to *Themiſtocles*, that of Wiſdom; which was a Crown of Olive, both for the one, and the other. They likewiſe made a Preſent to *Themiſtocles* of the fineſt Chariot they had in the City; and on his Departure ſent three hundred young Men of the moſt conſiderable Families, to wait upon him to the Frontiers of the Country: An Honour, which, before this Time, they had never ſhewed to any Perſon whatſoever.

But that which gave him the higheſt, and moſt exquiſite Pleaſure, were the publick Acclamations he received at the firſt *Olympic* Games, that were celebrated after the Battle of *Salamis*, where all the People of *Greece* were met together. Aſſoon as he appeared, the whole Aſſembly roſe up to do him Honour: No-body minded the Games, or the Combats; *Themiſtocles* was the only Spectacle. The Eyes of all the Company were fixed upon him, and every Body was eager to ſhew him, and point him out with the Hand to Strangers, that did not know him. He acknowledged afterwards to his Friends, that he looked upon that Day as the happieſt of his Life; that he had never taſted any Joy ſo ſenſible, and ſo tranſporting; and that this Recompenſe, which was the genuine Fruits of his Labours, had exceeded all his Deſires.

The Reader has undoubtedly obſerved in *Themiſtocles*, two or three principal Strokes of his Character, which entitle him to be rank'd amongſt the greateſt of Men. The Deſign, which he formed, and executed, of turning all the Force of *Athens* to cultivating maritime Affairs, ſhewed him to have a ſuperior Genius, capable of the largeſt Views, penetrating into Futurity, and able to diſcern the grand, and deciſive Point, on all occaſions.

caſions. As the territory belonging to *Athens* was but of a barren Nature, and a ſmall Extent, he rightly conceived, that the only Way that City had to enrich and aggrandize herſelf, was by Sea. And indeed, that Scheme may juſtly be look'd upon as the Source and Cauſe of all thoſe great Events, which raiſed the Republick of *Athens*, in the Sequel, to ſo flouriſhing a Condition.

But, in our Opinion, though this Wiſdom and Fore-ſight is a moſt excellent and valuable Talent, yet it is infinitely leſs meritorious than that uncommon Temper and Moderation, which *Themiſtocles* ſhewed on two critical Occaſions; when *Greece* had been utterly undone, if he had liſten'd to the Dictates of an ill judged Ambition, and had ſtood upon a falſe point of Honour, as is uſual among Perſons of his Age and Profeſſion. The firſt of theſe Occaſions was, when, notwithſtanding the crying Injuſtice, that was committed, both in Reference to the Republick, of which he was a Member, and to his Perſon, in appointing a *Lacedæmonian* for chief Admiral of the Fleet; when, notwithſtanding this, we ſay, he exhorted and prevailed with the *Athenians* to deſiſt from their Pretenſion, though never ſo juſtly founded, in order to prevent the fatal Effects, with which a Diviſion among the *Confederates* muſt have been neceſſarily attended. And what an admirable Inſtance did he give of his Preſence of Mind, and Coolneſs of Temper, when the ſame *Eurybiades* not only affronted him with harſh and offenſive Language, but lifted up his Cane at him, in a menacing Poſture! Let it be remember'd, at the ſame Time, that *Themiſtocles* was then but young; that he was full of an ardent Ambition for Glory; that he was Commander of a numerous Fleet; and that he had Right and Reaſon on his Side. How would our young Officers behave on the like Occaſion? *Themiſtocles* took all patiently, and the Victory of *Salamis* was the Fruits of his Patience.

As to *Ariſtides*, we ſhall have Occaſion, in the Sequel, to ſpeak more fully and largely upon his Character, and Merit. He was, properly ſpeaking, *the Man* of the Commonwealth: Provided that was well and faithfully ſerved, he was very little concerned by whom it was done. The Merit of others was far from offending him; and, inſtead of that, became his own, by the Approbation and Encouragement he gave it. We have ſeen him make his Way through the Enemy's Fleet, at the Peril of his Life, in order to give *Themiſtocles* good Intelligence and Advice: And *Plutarch* takes notice, that, during all the Time the latter had the Command, *Ariſtides* aſſiſted him, on all Occaſions, with his Council and Credit, notwithſtanding he had Reaſon to look upon him, not only as his Rival, but his Enemy.

Let us compare this Nobleneſs, and Greatneſs of Soul, with the little Spiritedneſs, and Meanneſs of thoſe Men, who are ſo nice, exceptious, and jealous upon the Point of Command; who can enter into no Meaſures with Colleagues; but uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to ſecure the Glory of every Thing to themſelves; always ready to ſacrifice the publick Welfare to their private Intereſts, or to ſuffer their Rivals to commit Blunders, that they themſelves may reap Advantage from them. On the very ſame Day as the Action of *Thermopylæ* happen'd, the formidable Army of *Carthaginians*, which conſiſted of three hundred thouſand Men, was entirely defeated by *Gelon*, Tyrant of *Syracuſe*. *Herodotus*, however, places this Battle on the Day, the Sea-Engagement at *Salamis* happen'd.

After the Battle of *Salamis*, the *Grecians* being returned from purſuing the *Perſians*, *Themiſtocles* ran through the Iſles, which had followed their Party, in order to raiſe Exactions, and to draw Money from them. The firſt he began with was that of *Andros*, from whoſe Inhabitants he required a conſiderable Sum, addreſſing them in this Manner: *I come to you accompanied with two powerful Divinities, Perſuaſion and Force.* The Anſwer they made him was: *We have likewiſe two other Divinities on our Side, which are no leſs powerful than yours, and which do not permit us to give the Money you demand of us, Poverty and Impotence.* Upon this Refuſal he made as if he would beſiege them, and threaten'd that he would entirely ruin their City. He dealt in the ſame Manner with ſeveral other Iſlands, which durſt not reſiſt him, as *Andros* had done, and drew great Sums of Money from them, without the Privity of the other Commanders: For he was eſteem'd to be a Lover of Money, and to be deſirous of encreaſing his Fortune.

In the mean while, *Mardonius*, who ſtaid in *Greece*, with a Body of three hundred thouſand Men, let his Troops paſs the Winter in *Theſſaly*, and in the Spring following led them into *Bœotia*.

There was a very famous Oracle in that Country, we mean that of *Lebadia*, which he thought proper to conſult, in order to know, what would be the Succeſs of that War. The Prieſt, in a Fit of Enthuſiaſm, which he was ſeized with, anſwered in a Language, which no Body that was preſent underſtood, as much as to inſinuate, that the Oracle would not deign to ſpeak intelligibly to a *Barbarian*. At the ſame Time, *Mardonius* ſent *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, together with ſeveral *Perſian* Noblemen to *Athens*, and by them, in the Name of his Maſter, made very advantagious Propoſals to the *Athenian* People, in order to draw them off from the reſt of their *Allies*.

The Offers he made them were, to rebuild their City, which had been burnt down; to give them a conſiderable Sum of Money; to ſuffer them live according to their own Laws and Cuſtoms; and to give them the Government and Command of all *Greece*. *Alexander*, as being their ancient Friend, exhorted them in his own Name, to lay hold on ſo favourable an Opportunity for reſettling of their Affairs; alledging to them, that they were not in a Condition to ſtand out againſt a Power, ſo formidable as that of the *Perſians*, and ſo much ſuperior to that of *Greece*. On the firſt Intelligence of this Embaſſy, the *Spartans* likewiſe on their Part, ſent Dputies to *Athens*, in order to hinder it from taking Effect.

Theſe were preſent, when the others had their Audience: where, aſſoon as *Alexander* had finiſh'd his Speech, they began, in their Turn, to addreſs themſelves to the *Athenians*, and warmly importuned them not to ſeparate themſelves from the Body of their *Allies*, nor to deſert the common Intereſt of their Country, repreſenting to them at the ſame Time, that their Union, in the preſent Situation of their Affairs, was their whole Strength, and the only Means that would render *Greece* invincible. They added farther, that the *Spartan* Commonwealth was very ſenſibly touched at the melan-

melancholy State, which the *Athenians* were in, who were deſtitute both of Houſes and Retreat; and who, for two Years together, had loſt all their Harveſts: That, in Conſideration of that Calamity, ſhe would engage herſelf, during the Continuance of the War, to maintain and ſupport their Wives, their Children, and their old Men, and to furniſh a plentiful Supply to all their Wants. They concluded by ſpeaking to what related to *Alexander*, whoſe Diſcourſe, they ſaid, was ſuch, as ought to be expected from one Tyrant, who ſpoke in favour of another; but that he ſeemed to have forgot, that the People to whom he addreſs'd himſelf, had ſhew'd themſelves, on all Occaſions, the moſt zealous Defenders of the common Liberty of their Coutry.

Ariſtides was at this Time in Office; that is, he was the firſt of the *Archontes*. As it was therefore his Buſineſs to anſwer, he ſaid, That as to the *Barbarians*, who made Silver and Gold the chief Objects of their Eſteem, he forgave them for thinking they could corrupt their Fidelity, by large Bounties and Promiſes: But, that he could not help being ſurprized, and affected, with ſome Sort of Indignation, to ſee that the *Lacedæmonians*, regarding only the preſent Diſtreſs and Neceſſity of the *Athenians*, and forgetting their Courage and Magnanimity, ſhould come to perſuade them to perſiſt ſtedfaſtly in the Defence of the common Liberty of *Greece*, by Arguments and Motives of Gain, and by propoſing to give them Victuals and Proviſion, as a Recompence: He deſired them therefore, to acquaint their Republick, that all the Gold in the World, was not capable of tempting the *Athenians*, or of making them deſert the Defence of the common Liberty: That they had ſuch a grateful Senſe, as they ought to have, of the kind Offers, which *Lacedæmon* had made them, but that they would endeavour to manage their Affairs ſo, as not to be burdenſome to any of their *Allies*.

Then turning himſelf towards the Ambaſſadors of *Mardonius*, and pointing with his Hand to the Sun: *Be aſſured*, ſays he to tham, *that as long as that Planet ſhall continue his Courſe, the* Athenians *will be mortal Enemies to the* Perſians, *and will not ceaſe to take Vengeance of them, for the Ravaging of their Lands, and the burning of their Houſes and Temples.* After which, he deſired the King of *Macedonia*, if he was inclined to be truly their Friend, that he would not make himſelf any more the Bearer of ſuch Propoſals to them, which would only ſerve to reflect Diſhonour upon him, without ever producing the intended Effect.

Ariſtides, notwithſtanding his having made this plain and peremptory Declaration, did not ſtop there: But, that he might ſtill imprint the greater Horror of ſuch like Propoſals, and that he might for ever prohibit all Manner of Commerce with the *Barbarians*, by a Principle of Religion, he ordained, that the *Athenian* Prieſts ſhould denounce Anathema's and Execrations upon any Perſon whatſoever, that ſhould ever preſume to propoſe the making of any Alliance with the *Perſians*, or the breaking of their Alliance with the reſt of the *Grecians*.

When *Mardonius* had learnt by the Anſwer, which the *Athenians* had ſent him, that they were not to be prevail'd upon by any Propoſitions, or Advantages whatſoever, to ſell their Liberty, he march'd with his whole Army towards *Attica*, waſting and deſtroying whatever he found in his Way. The *Athenians*, not being in a Condition to withſtand ſuch a Torrent, retired to *Salamis*, and for a ſecond Time abandoned their City. Hereupon, *Mardonius*, ſtill entertaining Hopes of bringing them to ſome Terms of Accommodation, ſent another Deputy to them, to make the ſame Propoſals as before; and a certain *Athenian*, called *Lycidas*, being of Opinion, that they ought to hearken to what he had to offer, was immediately ſtoned; whilſt the *Athenian* Women running at the ſame Time to his Houſe, did the ſame Execution upon his Wife and Children: So deteſtable a Crime did they think it to propoſe any Peace with the *Perſians*.

But, notwithſtanding this, being made wiſer by their former Fault, they had a Reſpect to the Character, wherewith the Deputy was inveſted, and ſent him back without offering him any Indignity or ill Treatment. *Mardonius* now found that there was no Peace to be expected with them. He therefore enter'd *Athens*, burnt and demoliſh'd every Thing, that had eſcaped the *Perſian* Fury the Year before, and left nothing ſtanding.

In the mean while, the *Spartans*, notwithſtanding all their Promiſes, inſtead of conducting their Troops into *Attica*, according to their Engagements, thought only of keeping themſelves ſhut up within the *Peloponneſus*, for their own Security, and with that View had begun to build a Wall over the *Iſthmus*, in order to hinder the Enemy from entering therein; by which Means, they reckon'd, they ſhould be ſafe themſelves, and have no farther Occaſion for the Aſſiſtance of the *Athenians*.

Hereupon, the latter, ſent Deputies to *Sparta*, in order to complain of the Slowneſs and Neglect of their *Allies*. But the *Ephori* did not ſeem to be much moved at their Remonſtrances; and as that Day was the Feaſt of *Hyacinthus*, they ſpent it in Mirth and Banqueting, and deferred giving the Deputies their Anſwer till the next Day. And ſtill procraſtinating the Affair, as much as they could, on various Pretences, they gained ten Days Time, during which the building of the Wall was compleated.

But as they were then juſt on the Point of diſmiſſing the *Athenian* Envoys in a ſcandalous Manner, a private Citizen expoſtulated with them, and repreſented to them, how baſe it would be to treat the *Athenians* in ſuch a Manner, after all the Calamities, and voluntary Loſſes, they had ſo generouſly ſuffered for the common Defence of Liberty, and all the important Services they had render'd to *Greece* in general. This opened their Eyes, and made them aſhamed of their perfidious Deſign; wherefore, the very next Night following, they ſent off, unknown to the *Athenian* Deputies, five thouſand *Spartans*, who had each of them ſeven *Helotæ*, or Slaves to attend him. In the Morning afterwards the Deputies renewed their Complaints with great Warmth and Reſentment, and were extremely ſurprized when they were told, that the *Spartan* Forces were on their March, and by thls Time were not far from *Attica*.

Mardonius had left *Attica*, by this Time, and was on his Return to the Country of *Bœotia*: As the latter was an open and flat Country, he thought it would be more convenient for him to fight there,

there, than in *Attica*, which was an uneven and rugged Country, full of Hills and narrow Paſſes; and which, for that Reaſon, would not allow him Space enough, for the ranging of his numerous Army in Battle-Array; nor give Room for his Cavalry to be of Uſe to him. When he came back into *Bœotia*, he encamp'd by the River *Aſopus*; and the *Grecians* follow'd him thither, under the Command of *Pauſanias*, King of *Sparta*, and *Ariſtides*, General of the *Athenians*. The *Perſian* Army, according to that of *Herodotus*, conſiſted of three hundred Thouſand; or, according to that of *Diodorus*, of five hundred Thouſand Men. That of the *Grecians* did not amount to ſeventy Thouſand; of which there were but five Thouſand *Spartans*: But, as theſe were accompany'd with thirty-five Thouſand of the *Helotæ*, *viz.* ſeven for each *Spartan*, they made up together forty Thouſand: The latter of theſe were light-arm'd Troops: The *Athenian* Forces conſiſted but of eight Thouſand, and the Troops of the Allies made up the Remainder. The Right Wing of the Army was commanded by the *Spartans*, and the Left by the *Athenians*; an Honour which the *Tegeatæ* pretended to, and diſputed with them, but in vain.

Whilſt all *Greece* were in Suſpence, expecting a Battle to determine their Fate, a ſecret Conſpiracy, form'd in the Midſt of the *Athenian* Camp, by ſome diſcontented Citizens, who had a Mind to overturn their popular Government, or deliver up *Greece* into the Hands of the *Perſians*, gave *Ariſtides* much Perplexity and Trouble.

On this Emergency, he had Occaſion for all his Prudence: Not knowing exactly how many People might be concern'd in this Conſpiracy, he contented himſelf with having eight of them taken up: And of thoſe eight, the only two, againſt whom he caus'd Indictments to be brought: becauſe they had the moſt laid to their Charge, made their Eſcape out of the Camp, whilſt their Trial was preparing: There is no Doubt to be made but *Ariſtides* favour'd their Eſcape, for Fear he ſhould be oblig'd to puniſh them; which might occaſion ſome Tumult and Diſorder.

He releaſed the Others, who were in Cuſtody; leaving them Room to believe, he had found nothing againſt them; ſaying, That the Battle with the Enemy ſhould be the Tribunal, where they might fully juſtify their Characters, and ſhew to the World, how unlikely it was, they had ever entertain'd a Thought of betraying their Country. This well-tim'd, and wiſe Diſſimulation, which open'd a Door for Repentance, and forbearing to drive the Offenders to Deſpair, appeas'd all the Commotion, and quaſh'd the whole Affair.

Before the Armies came to a general Engagement, *Mardonius*, in order to try the *Grecians*, ſent out his Cavalry, in which he was ſtrongeſt, to skirmiſh againſt them. The *Megarians*, who were encamp'd upon a Plain, ſuffer'd extremely by them; and, in Spite of all the Vigour and Reſolution, with which they reſiſted them, they were juſt going to give Way, when a Detachment of three hundred *Athenians*, together with a certain Number of Bow-men, advanc'd to their Succour. *Maſiſtius*, the General of the *Perſian* Horſe, and one of the moſt conſiderable Noblemen of his Country, ſeeing them advance towards him in good Order; made his Cavalry face about, and attack them. The *Athenians* ſtood their Ground, and waited to receive them. The Shock was very fierce and violent; both Sides endeavouring equally to ſhew, by the Iſſue of this Encounter, what would be the Succeſs of the general Engagement. The Victory was a long Time diſputed: But, at laſt, the Horſe of *Maſiſtius*, being wounded, threw his Maſter, who was quickly after kill'd; upon which, the *Perſians* immediately fled. Aſſoon as the News of his Death reach'd the *Barbarians*, it occaſion'd a general Sorrow and Conſternation. They cut off the Hair of their Heads, as alſo the Manes of their Horſes and Mules; filling the Camp with their Cries and Lamentations; having loſt, as they look'd upon him to be, the braveſt Man of their Army.

After this Encounter with the *Perſian* Cavalry, both Armies continued ſeveral Days without coming to any Action; becauſe the Sooth-ſayers and Diviners, upon their inſpecting the Entrails of their Victims, equally foretold both Parties, they ſhould be victorious, provided they acted only upon the Defenſive; whereas, on the other Hand, they threatned them equally with a total Overthrow, if they acted offenſively, or made the firſt Attack.

Thus did they ſpend the Space of ten Days, only in looking at one another. But *Mardonius*, who was of a fiery, impatient Nature, was very uneaſy at ſo long a Delay. Beſides, he had only Proviſions left his Army for a few Days; and beſides, the *Grecians* grew every Day ſtronger and ſtronger, by the Addition of new Troops, continually joining them. He, therefore, call'd a Council of War, in order to deliberate and determine, whether they ſhould give Battle.

Artabazes, a Nobleman of ſingular Merit, and great Experience, was of Opinion, that they ſhould not hazard a Battle; but retire under the Walls of *Thebes*, where they would be in a Condition to lay in Stores of Victuals and Forage. He alledg'd, that Delays alone would be capable of caſting a great Damp upon the Ardor of the Allies of the Enemies; that they would, thereby, have Time to tamper with them, and might be able to draw ſome of them off by Gold and Silver, which they would take Care to diſtribute among the Leaders; and among ſuch as had the greateſt Sway and Authority in every reſpective City; and that, in ſhort, this would be both the eaſieſt, and ſureſt Method of bringing *Greece* under their Subjection. This Opinion was very rational and prudent; but the contrary prevail'd; becauſe it was that to which *Mardonius* inclin'd; whom the Reſt had not Courage to contradict. The Reſult, therefore, of their Deliberations was, that they ſhould give Battle the next Day; and *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, who was on the Side of the *Grecians* in his Heart, came ſecretly, about Midnight, to their Camp, and inform'd *Ariſtides* of all that had paſſed.

Accordingly, *Pauſanias* forthwith gave Orders to the Officers to prepare themſelves for Battle; and imparted to *Ariſtides* the Deſign he had form'd of changing his Order of Battle, by placing the *Athenians* in the Right Wing, inſtead of the Left; in order to their oppoſing the *Perſians*, with whom they had been accuſtom'd to engage.

Whether it was Fear, or Prudence, that induc'd *Pauſanias* to propoſe this new Diſpoſition, the *Athe-*

thenians accepted it with Pleaſure; accordingly, nothing was heard among them but mutual Exhortations, to acquit themſelves bravely and courageouſly; bidding each other conſider, that neither they, nor their Enemies, were changed ſince the Battle of *Marathon*, unleſs it were, that Victory had increas'd the Courage of the *Athenians*, and diſpirited the *Perſians*. *We do not fight* (ſaid they) *as they do, for a Country only, or a City, but for the Trophies erected at* Marathon *and* Salamis, *that they may not appear to be the Work only of* Miltiades, *and of Fortune, but of the* Athenians. Thus reaſoning, and encouraging one another, they went with all the Alacrity imaginable to change their Poſt. But *Mardonius*, upon the Intelligence he receiv'd thereof, having made the like Change in his Order of Battle, the Project was of no Advantage, and ſo both Sides ranged their Troops again, according to their former Poſts and Diſpoſition. Thus did all that whole whole Day likewiſe paſs without their coming to any Action.

In the Evening the *Grecians* held a Council of War, in which it was reſolv'd, that they ſhould decamp from the Place where they were in, and ſeek another, more conveniently ſituated for Water: And Night being come on, the Officers endeavouring, at the Head of their Corps, to make more Haſte than ordinary to the Camp mark'd out for them, great Confuſion happen'd among the Troops; ſome going one Way, and ſome another, ithout obſerving any Order or Regularity in their March: At laſt, they ſtopp'd near the little City of *Plataæ*.

On the firſt hearing of the *Grecians* being gone, *Mardonius* di e. his hole Army into Order of Battle; and purſued the Enemy with an hideous ſhouting and howling of his *Barbarian* Forces; who thought they were marching, not ſo much in order to fight, as to ſtrip and plunder a flying Enemy: And their General likewiſe, making himſelf ſure of Victory, proudly inſulted *Artabazes*; reproaching him with his fearful and cowardly Prudence; and with the falſe Notion he had conceiv'd of the *Lacedæmonians*; who never fled, as he pretended, before an Enemy; whereas, here was an Inſtance of the contrary: But he quickly found, this was no falſe or ill-grounded Notion,

He happen'd to fall upon the *Lacedæmonians*; who were alone, and ſeparated from the Body of the *Grecian* Army, to the Number of fifty thouſand Men; together with three thouſand of the *Tegeatæ*. The Encounter was exceeding fierce and reſolute: On both Sides the Men fought with the Courage of Lions; and the *Barbarians* perceiv'd that they had to do with Soldiers, who were determin'd to conquer, or die in the Field. The *Athenian* Troops, to whom *Pauſanias* ſent an Officer, were already upon their March to come and ſuccour him: But thoſe *Grecians*, who had taken the Part of the *Perſians*, to the Number of fifty thouſand Men, advanc'd to meet them on their Way, and hindred them from proceeding any farther. However, *Ariſtides*, with his little Body of Men, bore up firmly againſt them, and withſtood their Attack; letting them ſee, how inſignificant a Superiority of Numbers is againſt true Courage and Bravery.

The Battle being thus divided into two, and fought in two different Places; the *Spartans* were the firſt, who broke in upon the *Perſian* Forces, and put them into Diſorder. *Mardonius*, their General, falling dead of a Wound he had receiv'd in the Engagement, all his Army betook themſelves to Flight; and thoſe *Grecians*, who were engaged againſt *Ariſtides*, did the ſame Thing, aſſoon as they underſtood the *Barbarians* were worſted. The latter ran away to their former Camp, which they had quitted, where they were ſhelter'd, and fortify'd with an Incloſure of Wood; and the *Lacedæmonians* purſu'd them thither, and attack'd them in their Intrenchments; but they did it poorly, and faintly, like People, who were not much accuſtom'd to lay Sieges, or to break down Walls and fortify'd Places. The *Athenians* having Advice of this, left off purſuing their *Grecian* Adverſaries, and came up to the Camp of the *Perſians*; which, after ſeveral Aſſaults, they carry'd; and made an horrible Slaughter of the Enemy.

In the mean While, *Artabazes*, who, from the imprudent Conduct of *Mardonius*, had but too well foreſeen the Misfortune that befel them, after having diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Engagement, and given all poſſible Proofs of Courage and Intrepidity, made a timely Retreat with the forty thouſand Men he commanded; and the Knowledge of his going off being prevented by the Quickneſs and Expedition of his March, he arriv'd ſafely at *Byzantium*, and from thence return'd into *Aſia*. Of all the reſt of the *Perſian* Army, there were not four thouſand Men, who eſcap'd alive from that Day's Slaughte: All were kill'd, and cut to Pieces by the *Grecians*; who, by that Means, deliver'd themſelves, at once, from all farther Invaſions from that Nation; no *Perſian* Army having ever appear'd, ſince that Time, on the *European* Side of the *Helleſpont*.

This Battle was fought on the fourth Day of the Month *Bædromion*, according to the *Athenian* Manner of reckoning, which anſwers to our eighth of *September*. Soon after, the Allies, as a Teſtimony of their Gratitude to Heaven, caus'd a Statue of *Jupiter* to be made at their joint and common Expences, and had it plac'd in his Temple at *Olympia*. The Names of all the ſeveral Nations of *Greece*, preſent in the Engagement, were engraven on the Right-ſide of the Pedeſtal of the Statue, the *Lacedæmonians* firſt, the *Athenians* next, and all the Reſt in Order.

After this, one of the principal Citizens of *Ægina* came, and addreſs'd himſelf to *Pauſanias*; deſiring him to revenge the Indignity, that *Mardonius* and *Xerxes* had ſhewn to *Leonidas*; whoſe dead Body was hung up on a Gallows by their Order, and urging him to uſe the Body of *Mardonius* after the ſame Manner. As a farther Motive to induce him thereto, he added; that, by thus ſatisfying the *Manes* of thoſe kill'd at *Thermopylæ*, he would be ſure to immortalize his own Name among all the *Grecian* Nations, and make his Memory precious to the lateſt Poſterity. *Carry thy baſe Counſel ſomewhere elſe* (reply'd *Pauſanias*) *thou muſt have a very wrong Notion of true Glory, to imagine, that the Way for me to acquire it is to make myſelf like the* Barbarians. *If the Eſteem of the People of* Ægina *is not to be purchaſed but by ſuch a Proceeding, I ſhall be content with preſerving that of the* Lacedæmonians *only; amongſt whom the baſe and ungenerous Pleaſure of Revenge*

is never put in Compariſon, with that of ſhewing Clemency and Moderation to their Enemies, and eſpecially to thoſe who are dead, and no longer able to defend themſelves againſt them. As for the Souls of my departed Countrymen, they are ſufficiently revenged by the Death of ſo many Thouſand Perſians, *as were ſlain upon the Spot in the laſt Engagement.*

In the mean While, a Diſpute, which aroſe between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, about determining, which of the two People ſhould have the Prize of Valour adjudg'd them; as alſo, which of them ſhould have the Privilege of erecting a Trophy, had like to have ſully'd all the Glory, and imbitter'd all the Joy, that their late Victory had procur'd them. They were juſt on the Point of carrying Things to the laſt Extremity; and would certainly have decided the Difference with their Swords, had not *Ariſtides* prevail'd upon them, by the Wiſdom of his Counſel and Reaſonings, to refer the Determination of the Matter to the Judgment of the *Grecians* in general.

This Propoſal being accepted by both Parties, and the *Greeks* being aſſembled in the very ſame Place, in order to decide the Conteſt, *Theogiton* of *Megara*, gave it as his Opinion, that the Prize of Valour ought to be adjudg'd neither to *Athens*, nor *Sparta*, but to ſome other City; unleſs they had a Mind to kindle a Civil War, which would be more miſchievous and fatal, than the War to which they had juſt put an End.

After he had finiſh'd his Speech, *Cleocritus* of *Corinth* roſe up to give his Sentiments, and nobody doubted, but he was going to require that Honour to be adjudg'd to the City, whereof he was a Member, and a Native; for, *Corinth* was the chief City of *Greece*, in Power and Dignity, after thoſe of *Athens* and *Sparta*: But every-body was agreeably deceiv'd, when they found all his Diſcourſe tended to the Praiſe of the *Platæans*, and the Concluſion he made from the Whole was, that, in order to extinguiſh ſo dangerous a Contention, they ought to adjudge the Prize to them only, againſt whom neither of the contending Parties could have any Grounds of Anger or Jealouſy. This Diſcourſe and Propoſal was receiv'd with an univerſal Applauſe by the whole Aſſembly: *Ariſtides* immediately aſſented to it, on the Part of the *Athenians*, and *Pauſanias* on the Part of the *Lacedæmonians*.

All Parties being thus agreed, before they began to divide the Spoil of the Enemy, they put fourſcore Talents aſide for the *Platæans*, who laid them out in building a Temple to *Minerva*, in erecting a Statue to her Honour, and in adorning the Temple with curious and valuable Paintings, which were ſtill in being in *Plutarch*'s Time; that is to ſay, above, above ſix hundred Years afterwards; and which were then as freſh, as if they were but juſt come out of the Hands of the Painters. As for the Trophy, which had been another Article of the Diſpute, the *Lacedæmonians* erected one for themſelves in particular, and the *Athenians* another.

The Spoil was immenſe: In the Camp of *Mardonius*, they found prodigious Sums of Money, in Gold and Silver, beſides Cups, Veſſels, Beds, Tables, Necklaces, and Bracelets of Gold and Silver, not to be valu'd, or number'd. It is obſerv'd by certain Hiſtorians, that theſe Spoils prov'd fatal to *Greece*; by becoming the Inſtruments of introducing Avarice and Luxury among her Inhabitants.

According to the religious Cuſtom of the *Grecians*, before they divided the Treaſure, they appropriated the Tythe, or tenth Part of the Whole, to the Uſe of the Gods: The Reſt was diſtributed equally amongſt the Cities and Nations, concern'd in furniſhing of Troops: And the chief Officers, who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves in the Field of Battle, were likewiſe diſtinguiſh'd in this Diſtribution. Amongſt the Reſt, they ſent a Preſent of a golden *Tripod* to *Delphos*, in the Inſcription upon which *Pauſanias* caus'd theſe Words to be inſerted; *That he had defeated the* Barbarians *at* Platæa, *and that in Acknowledgment of that Victory, he had made this Preſent to* Apollo.

This arrogant Inſcription, wherein he aſcrib'd the Honour both of Victory, and the Offering to himſelf only, offended the *Lacedæmonian* People; who, in order to puniſh his Pride, in the very Point, and Place, where he thought to exalt himſelf; as alſo, to do Juſtice to their Confederates, caus'd his Name to be raz'd out, and that of the Cities, which had contributed to the Victory, to be put inſtead of it. Too ardent a Thirſt after Glory, on this Occaſion, did not give him Leave to conſider, a Man loſes nothing by a diſcreet Modeſty, who forbears ſetting too high a Value upon one's own Services; and which, by ſcreening a Man from Envy, ſerves really to enhance his Reputation.

Pauſanias gave ſtill a farther Specimen of his *Spartan* Spirit and Humour, at a twofold Entertainment, which he order'd to be prepar'd, a few Days after the Engagement; one was coſtly and magnificent, wherein was ſerv'd all Variety of Delicacies and Dainties, that us'd to be ſerv'd at the Table of *Mardonius*; the other was plain and frugal, after the Manner of the *Spartans*. Then comparing both Entertainments together, and obſerving the Difference of them to his Officers, whom he had invited on Purpoſe; *What a Madneſs* (ſays he) *was it in* Mardonius, *who was accuſtomed to ſuch a luxurious Diet, to come and attack a People, like us, who know how to live without all Dainties and Superfluities, and are Maſters of our Appetites.*

All the *Grecians* ſent, in common, to *Delphos*, to conſult the Oracle, concerning the Sacrifice they intended to offer. The Anſwer they receiv'd from the Gods was, that they ſhould erect an Altar to *Jupiter Liberator*; but ſhould take Care not to offer any Sacrifice upon it, before they had extinguiſh'd all the Fire in the Country, becauſe it had been polluted and profan'd by the *Barbarians*; and that they ſhould come as far as *Delphos* to fetch pure Fire, which they were to take from the Altar, call'd, the common Altar.

This Anſwer being brought to the *Grecians* from the Oracle, the Generals immediately diſpers'd themſelves throughout the whole Country, and caus'd all the Fires to be extinguiſh'd: And *Euchidas*, who was a Citizen of *Platæa*, having taken upon himſelf, to go and fetch the ſacred Fire with all poſſible Speed and Expedition, made the beſt of his Way to *Delphos*.

On his Arrival there, he purify'd himſelf, ſprinkled his Body with conſecrated Water, put on a Crown of Laurel, and then approach'd the Altar,

Altar, from whence, with great Reverence, he took the holy Fire, and carry'd it with him to *Platææ*; where he arriv'd before the ſetting of the Sun, having travell'd a Thouſand *Stadia* (an hundred and twenty-five Miles) in one Day. Aſſoon as he came back, he ſaluted his Fellow-Citizens, deliver'd the Fire to them, fell down at their Feet, and dy'd in a Moment afterwards. His Countrymen carry'd away his Body, and bury'd it in the Temple of *Diana*, ſurnam'd, *Eucleia*, ſignifies, *of good Renown*; and put the following Epitaph upon his Tomb, in the Compaſs of one Verſe: *Here lyes* Euchidas, *who went from hence to* Delphos, *and returned back the ſame Day.*

In the next General Aſſembly of *Greece*, which was held not long after this Occurrence, *Ariſtides* propos'd the following Decree: That all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould ſend their reſpective Deputies yearly to *Platææ*, in order to offer Sacrifices to *Jupiter Liberator*, and to the Gods of the City; (this Aſſembly was ſtill regularly held in the Time of *Plutarch*) that every five Years there ſhould be Games celebrated, which ſhould be called *the Games of Liberty*; that the ſeveral States of *Greece* together ſhould raiſe a Body of Troops, conſiſting of ten Thouſand Foot, and a Thouſand Horſe; and ſhould equip a Fleet of an hundred Ships, which ſhould be conſtantly maintain'd for making War againſt the *Barbarians*; and that the Inhabitants of *Platææ*, entirely devoted to the Service of God, ſhould be look'd upon as ſacred and inviolable; and be concern'd in no other Function than that of offering Prayers and Sacrifices for the general Preſervation and Proſperity of *Greece*.

All theſe Articles being approved of, and paſſed into a Law, the Citizens of *Platææ* took upon them to ſolemnize, every Year, the Anniverſary Feſtival, in Honour of thoſe Perſons ſlain in the before-mentioned Engagement: The Order and Manner of performing this Sacrifice was as follows.

The ſixteenth Day of the Month *Maimacterion*, which anſwers to our Month of *December*, at the firſt Appearance of Day-break, they walk'd in a ſolemn Proceſſion, which was preceded by a Trumpet, that ſounded to Battle. Next to the Trumpet march'd ſeveral Chariots, fill'd with Crowns and Branches of Myrtle. After theſe Chariots was led a black Bull, behind which march'd a Company of young Men, carrying Pitchers in their Hands full of Wine and Milk, the ordinary Effuſions they offer'd to the Dead; and Phials of Oil and Eſſence. All theſe were Free-men; for, no Slave was allow'd to have any Part in this Ceremony, which was inſtituted for Men, who had loſt their Lives for Liberty.

In the Rear of this Pomp, follow'd the *Archon*, or chief Magiſtrate of the *Platæans*, for whom it was unlawful, at any other Time, even ſo much as to touch Iron, or to wear any other Garment than a white one: But, upon this Occaſion, being clad in Purple Raiment, having a Sword by his Side, and holding an Urn in his Hands; which he took from the Place, where they kept their publick Records, he march'd quite through the City to the Place, where the Tombs of his memorable Country-men were erected. Aſſoon as he came there, he drew out Water with his Urn from the Fountain, waſhed with his own Hands the little Columns, that ſtood by the Tombs; rubb'd them afterwards with Eſſence; and then kill'd the Bull upon a Pile of Wood prepar'd for that Purpoſe. Then, after having offer'd up certain Prayers to the terreſtrial *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, he invited thoſe valiant Souls deceaſed to come to their Feaſt, and partake of their Funeral-Effuſions; then taking a Cup in his Hand, and having fill'd it with Wine, he pour'd it out upon the Ground, and ſaid with a loud Voice: *I preſent this Cup to thoſe valiant Men, who died for the Liberty of the* Grecians. Theſe were the Ceremonies, annually obſerv'd on this Occaſion, even in the Time of *Plutarch*.

Diodorus adds, That the *Athenians*, in particular, embelliſhed the Monuments of their Citizens, who dy'd in the War with the *Perſians*, with magnificent Ornaments; inſtituted Funeral-Games to their Honour and Memory; and appointed a ſolemn Panegyric to be pronounced to the ſame End; which, in all Probability, was reiterated every Year.

Our Readers will be ſenſible, without our being obliged to apprize them thereof, how much theſe ſolemn Teſtimonies, and perpetual Demonſtrations of Honour, Eſteem, and Gratitude, towards the Soldiers, who had ſacrific'd their Lives in Defence of Liberty, conduc'd to raiſe the Merit of Valour, and the Services they render'd their Country, and to inſpire the Spectators with Emulation and Courage: And how exceeding proper all this was for cultivating and perpetuating a Spirit of Bravery in the People, and making their Troops victorious and invincible.

Our Readers will, likewiſe, no Doubt, be as much ſurpriz'd, on the other Hand, to ſee how wonderfully careful and exact theſe People were in acquitting themſelves, on all Occaſions, of the Duties of Religion. The great Event, which we have juſt been relating, *viz.* the Battle of *Platææ*, affords us very remarkable Proofs of this Particular, in the annual and perpetual Sacrifice they inſtituted to *Jupiter Liberator*, which was ſtill continued, and obſerv'd in the Time of *Plutarch*; in the Care they took to conſecrate the tenth Part of all their Spoil to the Gods; and in the Decree propos'd by *Ariſtides*, to eſtabliſh a ſolemn Feſtival for ever, as as anniverſary Commemoration of that Bleſſing. It is ſomething highly deſerving our Attention, in our Opinion, to ſee *Pagan* and Idolatrous Nations thus publickly confeſſing and declaring, that all their Expectations center in the Supreme Being; that they think themſelves obliged to aſcribe the Succeſs of all their Undertakings to him; that they look upon him as the Author of all their Victories and Proſperity; as the Sovereign Ruler and Diſpoſer of States and Empires; as the Source from whence all ſalutary Counſels, Wiſdom and Courage are deriv'd; and as entitled on all theſe Accounts, to the firſt, and beſt Part of their Spoils: and to their perpetual Acknowledgments and Thankſgivings, for ſuch diſtinguiſh'd Favours and Benefits, as he conferr'd upon them.

On the ſame Day, as the *Grecian* Land-Forces gain'd the Battle of *Platææ*, their Naval-Forces obtain'd, likewiſe, a memorable Victory in *Aſia*, over the Remainder of the Fleet belonging to the *Perſians*. For, whilſt the *Grecian* Fleet lay at *Ægina*, under the Command of *Leotychides*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, and of *Xanthippus* the

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Athenian, there came Ambaſſadors to thoſe Generals from the *Ionians*, to invite them into *Aſia*, to deliver the *Grecian* Cities from their Subjection to the *Barbarians*.

On this Invitation, they immediately ſet Sail, and ſteer'd their Courſe by *Delos*: Where, when they arriv'd, there came other Ambaſſadors from *Samos*, and brought Intelligence, that the *Perſian* Fleet, which had paſs'd the Winter at *Cumæ*, was then at *Samos*, where it would be an eaſy Matter to defeat and deſtroy it; earneſtly preſſing them, at the ſame Time, not to neglect ſo favourable an Opportunity.

The *Grecians*, hereupon, ſail'd away directly for *Samos*; but the *Perſians* receiving Intelligence of their Approach, retir'd to *Mycale*, a Promontory on the Continent of *Aſia*, where their Land-Army, conſiſting of an Hundred Thouſand Men, who were the Remainder of thoſe, whom *Xerxes* had carry'd back from *Greece* the Year before, was encamp'd. Here they drew their Veſſels aſhore, which was a common Practice among the Ancients, and encompaſs'd them round with a ſtrong Rampart. The *Grecians* follow'd them to the very Place; and, with the Help of the *Ionians*, defeated their Land Army, forc'd their Rampart, and burnt all their Veſſels.

The Battle of *Platææ* was fought in the Morning, and that of *Mycale* in the Afternoon on the ſame Day: And yet, all the *Greek* Writers pretend, the Victory of *Platææ* was known at *Mycale*, before the latter Engagement was begun; though the whole *Ægean* Sea, which requires ſeveral Days ſailing to croſs it, was between both thoſe Places. But *Diodorus Siculus* explains this Myſtery; and tells us, that *Leotychides*, obſerving his Soldiers to be much dejected, for Fear their Countrymen at *Platææ* ſhould ſink under the Numbers of the *Perſian* Army, had Recourſe to a Stratagem, in order to raiſe their Spirits and Courage; and therefore, when he was juſt upon the Point of making the firſt Attack, he caus'd a Rumour to be ſpread among his Troops, that the *Perſians* were defeated at *Platææ*; though at that Time, he had not the leaſt Knowledge of the Matter.

Xerxes, hearing the News of theſe two Overthrows, left *Sardis*, with as much Haſte and Hurry, as he had done *Athens* before, after the Battle of *Salamis*; and retir'd with great Precipitation into *Perſia*; in order to put himſelf, as far as he poſſibly could, out of the Reach of his victorious Enemies. But, before he ſet out, he gave Orders to his People, to burn and demoliſh all the Temples belonging to the *Grecian* Cities in *Aſia*: Which Order was ſo far executed, that there was not one ſpar'd, except the Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*.

This he was led to do, by the Inſtigation of the *Magi*; who were profeſs'd Enemies to Temples and Images. The ſecond *Zoroaſter* had thoroughly inſtructed him in their Religion, and made him a zealous Defender of it. *Pliny* informs us, that *Oſtanes*, Head of the *Magi*, and Patriarch of that Sect, who maintain'd its Maxims and Intereſts with the greateſt Violence, attended *Xerxes* in this Expedition againſt *Greece*. This Prince, as he paſs'd through *Babylon*, on his Return to *Suſa*, did likewiſe deſtroy all the Temples in that City, as he had done thoſe of *Greece* and *Aſia Minor*; doubtleſs, through the ſame Principle, and in Hatred to the Sect of the *Sabæans*, who made Uſe of Images in their divine Worſhip; which was a Thing extremely deteſted by the *Magi*.

It may be too, the Deſire of making himſelf Amends, for the Charges of his *Grecian* Expedition, by the Spoil and Plunder of thoſe Temples, might be another Motive, which indue'd him to deſtroy them: For, it is certain, he found immenſe Riches and Treaſure in them; which had been amaſs'd together, through the Superſtition of both Princes and People, during a long Series of Ages.

The *Grecian* Fleet, after the Battle of *Mycale*, ſet Sail towards the *Helleſpont*; in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the Bridges, which *Xerxes* had caus'd to be laid over that narrow Paſſage; and which they ſuppos'd were ſtill entire. But, finding them broken by tempeſtuous Weather, *Leotychides*, and his *Peloponneſian* Forces, turn'd their Courſe towards their own Country. As for *Xanthippus*, he ſtay'd with the *Athenians*, and their *Ionian Confederates*; and they made themſelves Maſters of *Seſtus*, and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*; in which Places they found a great Booty, and took a vaſt Number of Priſoners: After which, before Winter came on, they each of them return'd to their own Country.

From this Time, all the Cities of *Ionia* revolted from the *Perſians*; and, having enter'd into a Confederacy with the *Grecians*, they moſt of them preſerv'd their Liberty, during the Time that the *Perſian* Empire ſubſiſted.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

The outragious Cruelty of Ameſtris, *Wife to* Xerxes, *with its fatal Conſequences; The* Athenians *rebuild the Walls of their City; The Stratagem of* Themiſtocles, *to get the Wall compleated, in Spite of the Oppoſition of the* Lacedæmonians; *His black Deſign againſt the Fleet of the* Grecian *States, which is rejected; The Conſpiracy of* Pauſanias; Themiſtocles *flies to* Admetus *for Refuge; The Elogy of* Ariſtides; Xerxes *killed; His Character;* Artaxerxes *ſucceeds him;* Themiſtocles *flies to* Artaxerxes; Cimon *enters upon the Command of the* Athenian *Armies; His double Victory over the* Perſians; *The Death of* Themiſtocles; *The Revolt of the* Egyptians; *The Character of* Pericles; *He ſupplants* Cimon; Cimon *baniſhed.*

WHILST *Xerxes* reſided at *Sardis*, he conceiv'd a violent Paſſion for the Wife of his Brother, *Maſiſtes*; who was a Prince of extraordinary Merit; had always ſerv'd the King with great Zeal and Fidelity; and had never done any Thing to diſoblige him. The Virtue of this Lady, her great Affection, and Fidelity to her Husband, made her inexorable to all the King's Sollicitations. However, he ſtill flatter'd himſelf, that, by a Profuſion of Favour and Liberality, he might poſſibly gain upon her; and, among other kind Things he did to oblige her, he marry'd his eldeſt Son *Darius*, whom he intended for his Succeſſor, to *Artainta*, this Princeſs's Daughter; and order'd, that the Marriage ſhould be conſummated, aſſoon as he arriv'd at *Suſa*. But *Xerxes*, finding the Lady ſtill no leſs immoveable, notwithſtanding all his Temptations and Attacks, fell paſſionately in Love with her Daughter; and made her the Object of his Addreſſes, who did not imitate the glorious Example of her Mother's Firmneſs and Virtue.

Whilſt this Intrigue was carrying on, *Ameſtris*, Wife to *Xerxes*, made him a Preſent of a rich, and beautiful Robe, of her own making. *Xerxes*, being extremely pleas'd therewith, thought fit to put it on upon the firſt Viſit he afterwards made to *Artainta*; and, in the Converſation he had with her, he mightily preſs'd her to let him know what ſhe deſir'd of him; aſſuring her, at the ſame Time, with an Oath, that he would grant her whatever ſhe ask'd of him. *Artainta*, upon this, deſir'd him to give her the Robe he had on. *Xerxes*, foreſeeing the ill Conſequences, that would neceſſarily enſue, from his making her this Preſent, did all he could to diſſuade her from inſiſting upon it; and offer'd her any Thing in the World, in lieu of it. But, not being able to prevail upon her, and thinking himſelf bound, by the imprudent Promiſe and Oath he had made, gave it her; and the Lady no ſooner receiv'd it, but ſhe put it on, and wore it publickly, by Way of Trophy.

Ameſtris, being confirm'd in the Suſpicions ſhe had entertain'd, by this Action, was enraged to the laſt Degree: But, inſtead of letting her Vengeance fall upon the Daughter, who was the only Offender, ſhe reſolv'd to vent her Anger upon the Mother, whom ſhe look'd upon as the Author of the whole Intrigue, though ſhe was entirely innocent of the Matter. For the better executing of her Purpoſe, ſhe waited for the Time of the grand Feaſt, which was every Year celebrated on the King's Birth-Day, and which was not far off; on which Occaſion, the King, according to the eſtabliſh'd Cuſtom of the Country, was wont to grant her whatever ſhe demanded. This Day then being come, the Thing ſhe deſir'd of his Majeſty was, to have the Wife of *Maſiſtes* deliver'd into her Hands.

Xerxes, who apprehended the Queen's Deſign, and who was ſtruck with Horror at the Thoughts of it, as well in Regard to his Brother, as on Account of the Innocence of the Lady, againſt whom he perceiv'd his Wife was violently exaſperated, at firſt, refuſed her Requeſt; and endeavoured all he could to diſſuade her from it. But, not being able, either to prevail upon her, or to act with Steadineſs and Reſolution himſelf, he, at laſt, yielded; and was guilty of the weakeſt, and cruelleſt Piece of Complaiſance, ever heard of; making the inviolable Obligations of Juſtice and Humanity give Way to the arbitrary Laws of a Cuſtom, eſtabliſhed only to give Occaſion for doing Good, and for Acts of Beneficence and Generoſity.

In Conſequence of this Compliance, the Lady was apprehended by the King's Guards, and deliver'd to *Ameſtris*, who cauſed her Breaſts, Tongue, Noſe, Ears, and Lips, to be be cut off, ordered them to be caſt to the Dogs in her own Preſence, and then ſent her home to her Husband's Houſe, in that mutilated and miſerable Condition. In the mean Time, *Xerxes* had ſent for his Brother; and, in order to prepare him for this melancholy and tragical Adventure, he firſt gave him to underſtand, he ſhould be glad if he would put away his Wife; and, to induce him thereto, offer'd to give him one of his Daughters in her Stead: But, *Maſiſtes*, who was paſſionately fond of his Wife, could not prevail upon himſelf to divorce her:

Whereupon *Xerxes*, in great Wrath told him, that ſince he refuſed his Daughter, he ſhould neither have her nor his Wife; and that he would teach him not to reject the Offers his Maſter made him; and, with this inhuman Reply, he diſmiſs'd him.

This ſtrange Procedure threw *Maſiſtes* into the greateſt Anxiety; who, thinking he had Reaſon to apprehend the worſt of Accidents, made all the Haſte he could home, to ſee what had paſſed there during his Abſence. On his Arrival there, he found his Wife in that deplorable Condition we have juſt been deſcribing. Being enraged thereat, to the Degree we may naturally imagine, he aſſembled his Family, his Servants, and Dependants, and ſet out with all poſſible Expedition for *Bactria*, whereof he was Governor; determined, aſſoon as he arrived there, to raiſe an Army, and make War againſt the King, in order to avenge himſelf of this barbarous Treatment. But *Xerxes*, being inform'd of his haſty Departure, and from thence ſuſpecting the Deſign he had conceived againſt him, ſent a Party of Horſe after him, to purſue him; which having overtaken him, cut him in Pieces, together with his Children, and all his Retinue.

There is ſtill another Action, no leſs cruel or impious than the former, related of *Ameſtris*. She cauſed fourteen Children of the beſt Families in *Perſia* to be burnt alive, as a Sacrifice to the infernal Gods; in Compliance with a ſuperſtitious Cuſtom, that was practiſed by the *Perſians*.

Maſiſtes being thus murder'd, *Xerxes* gave the Government of *Bactria* to his ſecond Son *Hyſtaſpes*; who being by that Means obliged to live at a Diſtance from the Court, gave his younger Brother *Artaxerxes* the Opportunity of mounting the Throne, to his Diſadvantage, after the Death of their Father, as will be ſeen in the Sequel.

The War, commonly called the War of *Media*, which had laſted but two Years, being terminated in the Manner we have mention'd, the *Athenians* returned to their own Country, ſent for their Wives and Children, whom they had committed to the Care of their Friends during the War, and began to think of rebuilding their City, which was almoſt entirely deſtroy'd by the *Perſians*, and to ſurround it with good ſtrong Walls, in order to ſecure it from farther Violence. The *Lacedæmonians*, having got Intelligence thereof, grew jealous and uneaſy at that Enterprize; and began to apprehend, that *Athens*, which was already very powerful by Sea, if ſhe ſhould go on to encreaſe her Strength by Land likewiſe, might take upon her in Time to give Law to *Sparta*; and to deprive her of that Authority and Pre-eminence, which ſhe had hitherto exerciſed over the reſt of *Greece*.

They ſent, therefore, an Embaſſy to the *Athenians*; the Purport of which was, to repreſent to them that the common Intereſt and Safety required, that there ſhould be no fortify'd City out of *Peloponneſus*; leſt, in Caſe of a ſecond Irruption, it ſhould ſerve for a Place of Arms for the *Perſians*, who would be ſure to ſettle themſelves therein; and who, from thence, would be able to infeſt the whole Country, and to make themſelves Maſters of it very ſpeedily.

However, *Themiſtocles*, who, ſince the Battle of *Salamis*, was greatly regarded and reſpected at *Athens*, eaſily penetrated into the true Deſign of the *Lacedæmonians*, though it was gilded over with the ſpecious Pretext of publick Good: But, as the latter were able, with the Aſſiſtance of their *Allies*, to hinder the *Athenians* by Force, from carrying on the Work, in caſe they ſhould poſitively, and abſolutely, refuſe to comply with their Demands, he adviſed the Senate to make uſe of Cunning, and Diſſimulation, as well as them. The Anſwer, therefore, they made their Envoys was, that they would ſend an Embaſſy to *Sparta*, to ſatisfy the Commonwealth concerning their Jealouſies and Apprehenſions.

Themiſtocles, then, got himſelf to be nominated, as one of the Ambaſſadors, and perſuaded the Senate not to let his Colleagues ſet out along with *him*, but to ſend them one after another, to the End that they might thereby gain Time, and carry on the Work in the Interim. Every Thing was executed purſuant to his Advice; and he, accordingly, went ſingly to *Lacedæmon*, where he let a great many Days paſs without waiting upon the Magiſtrates, or being conducted to the Senate: And, upon their preſſing him to do it, and asking the Reaſon why he deferred it ſo long, he made Anſwer, that he waited for the Arrival of his Colleagues, that they might all have their Audience of the Senate together; and ſeemed to be very much ſurprized, that they were ſo long in coming. At length they arrived: But all came ſingly, and at a good Diſtance of Time from one another.

All this while, the Work was carried on at *Athens* with the utmoſt Induſtry and Vigour. The Women, Children, Strangers, and Slaves, were all employ'd in it; nor was it interrupted Night or Day. The *Spartans* were not ignorant of this Matter, but made great Complaints of it to *Themiſtocles*, who poſitively denied the Fact, and preſſed them to ſend other Meſſengers to *Athens*, in order to inform themſelves truly, how far it was from being true; deſiring them not to give Credit to looſe and flying Reports, which had no Foundation. At the ſame Time he ſecretly adviſed the *Athenians* to detain the *Spartan* Envoys, as ſo many Hoſtages till he and his Colleagues were returned from their Embaſſy; fearing, not without good Reaſon, that they themſelves might be ſo ſerved at *Sparta*.

At laſt, when all his Fellow-Ambaſſadors were arrived, he deſired an Audience, and declared, in full Senate, that it was really true, the *Athenians* had reſolved to environ and fortify their City with ſtrong Wall; that the Work was almoſt compleated; that they had judged it to be abſolutely neceſſary for their own Security, and for the publick Good of the *Allies*; telling them at the ſame Time, that, after all the Experience they had had of the *Athenian* People's Behaviour, they could not well ſuſpect them of being wanting in their Zeal for the common Intereſt of their Country; that, as the Condition and Privileges of all the *Allies* ought to be equal, it was juſt the *Athenians* ſhould provide for their own Safety, by all ſuch Methods, as they judged neceſſary, as well as the other *Confederates*; that they had done this in a Manner they thought expedient, and were in a Condition to defend their City againſt any one, that ſhould preſume to attack it; and that as for the *Lacedæmonians*, it was not much for their Ho-

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nour, that they ſhould deſire to eſtabliſh their Power and Superiority, not ſo much upon their own Strength and Courage, as upon the weak, and defenceleſs Condition of the *Allies*.

The *Lacedæmonians* were extremely diſpleaſed with this Diſcourſe; but, either through a Senſe of Gratitude, and Eſteem for the *Athenians*, who had done ſuch ſignal Service for their Country; or, out of a Conviction, that they were not able to defeat their Enterprize, they diſſembled their Reſentment; and the Ambaſſadors on both Sides, having all ſuitable Honours paid to them, returned to their reſpective Cities.

However, *Themiſtocles*, who had always his Thoughts fix'd, upon raiſing and augmenting the Power and Glory of the *Athenian* Commonwealth, did not confine his Views to the Walls of the City: He went on, with the ſame vigorous Application, to finiſh the building and fortifying of the *Piræus*; for, from the Time he enter'd into Office, he had begun that great Work. Before his Time, they had no other Port at *Athens*, but that of *Phalærus*, which was neither very large, nor commodious, and conſequently not capable of anſwering his great Deſigns. For this Reaſon he caſt his Eye upon the *Piræus*, which ſeem'd to invite him thereto, by its advantagious Situation, and by the Conveniency of its three ſpacious Havens, which were able to contain above four hundred Veſſels. This Undertaking was proſecuted with ſo much Diligence and Alacrity, that the Work was conſiderably advanced in a very little Time.

Themiſtocles likewiſe procured a Decree, that every Year they ſhould build twenty Veſſels, for the Augmentation of their Fleet: And, in order to engage the greater Number of Workmen and Sailors to reſort to *Athens*, he cauſed particular Privileges and Immunities to be granted in their Favour. His Deſign was, as we have already obſerved, to turn the whole Force of *Athens* to maritime Affairs; in which he follow'd a very different Scheme of Politicks from what had been purſued by their ancient Kings; who, endeavouring all they could, to alienate the Minds of the Citizens from ſeafaring Buſineſs, and from War; and to make them apply themſelves wholly to Agriculture, and to peaceable Employments, had Recourſe to this Fable: "That, as *Minerva* was "one Day pleading againſt *Neptune*, in order to "have it determined, which of them two ſhould "be declared Patron of *Attica*, and give their "Name to the City newly built, ſhe gained her "Cauſe by ſhewing her Judges the Branch of an "Olive-tree, (happy Symbol of Peace and Plenty) "which ſhe had made ſpring up out of the Earth; "whereas *Neptune* brought up a fiery prancing "Horſe, which was an Image of War and De"vaſtation."

In the mean while, *Themiſtocles*, who had form'd in his Breaſt the Deſign of ſupplanting the *Lacedæmons*, and of taking the Government of *Greece* out of their Hands, in order to get it into the Hands of the *Athenians*, kept his Eye, and his Thoughts, continually fix'd upon that great Deſign: And, as he was not very nice or ſcrupulous in the Choice of the Means, whatever tended towards the accompliſhing of the End he had in View, he looked upon as juſt and lawful.

To this End, upon a certain Day, he declared in a full Aſſembly of the People, that he had a very important Deſign in his Head, but that he could not communicate it to the People; becauſe, in order to its ſucceeding, it was neceſſary it ſhould be carried on with the greateſt Secreſy; he therefore deſired they would name a Perſon, with whom he might explain himſelf upon that Head. *Ariſtides* was the Perſon, unanimouſly pitch'd upon by the whole Aſſembly, who all referred themſelves entirely to his Opinion in the Matter; ſo great a Confidence had they, both in his Probity, and Prudence. *Themiſtocles*, therefore, having taken him aſide, told him, that the Deſign he had conceived was, to burn the Fleet, belonging to the reſt of the *Grecian* States, which was then lying in a neighbouring Port; and that, by this Means, *Athens* would certainly become Miſtreſs of all *Greece*. *Ariſtides* hereupon return'd to the Aſſembly, and only declared to them, that indeed nothing could be more beneficial to the Commonwealth, than the Deſign of *Themiſtocles*; but that, at the ſame Time, nothing in the World could be more unjuſt: Whereupon, all the People, with one unanimous Voice, ordain'd, that *Themiſtocles* ſhould entirely deſiſt from it.

It is much to be queſtion'd, whether all the Records of Hiſtory can afford us a Fact more worthy of Admiration, than this. It is not a Company of Philoſophers (to whom it coſts nothing to eſtabliſh fine Maxims and ſublime Notions of Morality in their Schools) who determine on this Occaſion, that the Conſideration of Profit or Advantage ought never to prevail over our Regard to what is honeſt and juſt: It is an intire People, who are intereſted in the Propoſition, that is made to them, and who are convinced, that it may be of the higheſt Importance for the Welfare of the State, and who yet reject it with an unanimous Conſent, and without a Moment's Heſitation, and that for this only Reaſon, that it is contrary to Juſtice.

How black and perfidious, on the other Hand, was the Deſign, which *Themiſtocles* propoſed to them, of burning the Fleet of their *Grecian* Confederates, when they had no Quarrel or Miſunderſtanding with them, only in order to agrandize the Power of the *Athenians!* Had he an hundred Times the Merit, that is aſcrib'd to him, this ſingle Action would be ſufficient to tarniſh all its Glory and Luſtre. For it is in the Heart, that is to ſay, in Uprightneſs and Probity alone, that true Merit conſiſts.

We are ſorry that *Plutarch*, who generally judges of Things with great Juſtneſs, does not ſeem, on this Occaſion, to condemn *Themiſtocles*. After having mentioned the Works he had effected in the *Piræus*, he paſſes on to the Thing we are conſidering, and ſpeaks of it in this Manner: Themiſtocles *projected ſomething ſtill greater, in order to increaſe their maritime Power.*

At this Time, the *Lacedæmonians* having propoſed in the Couſel of the *Amphictyones*, that all the Cities, which had not taken Arms againſt *Xerxes*, ſhould be excluded from that Aſſembly, *Themiſtocles*, who apprehended, that if the *Theſſalians*, the *Argians*, and the *Thebans*, were excluded that Council, the *Spartans* would by that Means become Maſters of the Votes, and would conſequently determine all Affairs according to their Pleaſure, made a Speech in Behalf thoſe Cities, which the other had a Mind to exclude, and brought the Deputies, that compoſed the Aſſembly, over to his Sentiments.

To

To this End, he repreſented to them; that the greateſt Part of the Cities, that had enter'd into the Confederacy, and of which there were but one and thirty in the whole, were very ſmall and inconſiderable; that it would therefore be a very ſtrange Proceeding, as well as very dangerous, to deprive all the other Cities of *Greece*, of their Votes and Places, in the grand Aſſembly of the Nation, and by that Means ſuffer the auguſt Council of the *Amphictyones* to fall under the Direction and Influence of two or three of the moſt Powerful; which, for the future, would give Law to all the reſt; and would ſubvert and aboliſh that Equality of Power, which was juſtly regarded, as the Baſis and Soul of all republican Governments. By this plain, and open Declaration of his Opinion, he brought upon himſelf the Hatred of the *Lacedæmonians*; who, from that Time, became his profeſs'd Enemies: He had likewiſe incurred the Diſpleaſure of the reſt of the *Allies*, by his having exacted Contributions from them, in too rigorous and rapacious a Manner.

When the City of *Athens* was entirely rebuilt, the People finding themſelves in a State of Peace and Tranquillity, endeavour'd, by all Sorts of Methods, to get the Government into their own Hands; and to make the *Athenian* State entirely popular. This Deſign of theirs, though kept as ſecret as poſſible, did not eſcape the Vigilance and Penetration of *Ariſtides*, who ſaw all the Conſequences that would enſue from ſuch an Innovation. But, as he conſider'd on one Hand, that the People were entitled to ſome Regard, on Account of the Valour they had ſhewn, in all the late Battles they had won; and, on the other Hand, that it would be no eaſy Matter to curb and reſtrain a People, who ſtill had their Arms in their Hands, as it were, and who were grown more inſolent than ever by their Victories, on theſe Conſiderations he thought it proper to keep Meaſures with them, and to find out ſome Medium to ſatisfy and appeaſe them.

He, therefore, made a Decree, which ordained that the Government ſhould be inveſted in all the Citizens in general, and that the *Archontes*, who were the chief Magiſtrates of the Commonwealth, and who were uſed to be choſen only out of the richeſt of its Members, *viz.* from among thoſe only, who received at leaſt five hundred *Medimna* of Grain, out of the Product of their Lands, ſhould for the future be elected indifferently out of all the *Athenians* without Diſtinction. By this prudent yielding, and giving up ſomething to the People, he prevented all Diſſentions and Commotions, which might have proved fatal, not only to the *Athenian* State, but to all *Greece*.

At the ſame Time, the *Grecians*, encouraged by the happy Succeſs, which had every where attended their victorious Arms, determined to ſend a Fleet to Sea, in order to reſcue ſuch of their *Allies*, as were ſtill under the Yoke of the *Perſians*, out of their Hands. *Pauſanias* was the Commander of this Fleet, for the *Lacedæmonians*; and *Ariſtides*, and *Cimon* the Son of *Miltiades*, for the *Athenians*. They firſt directed their Courſe to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, where they reſtored all the Cities to their Liberty: Then ſteering towards the *Helleſpont*, they attack'd the City of *Byzantium*, of which they made themſelves Maſters, and took a vaſt Number of Priſoners; a great Part of whom were of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Families of *Perſia*.

But *Pauſanias*, who from this Time had begun to think of betraying his Country, judged it proper to make uſe of this Opportunity to gain the Favour of *Xerxes*. To this End he cauſed a Report to be ſpread among his Troops, that the *Perſian* Noblemen, whom he had committed to the Guard, and Care of one of his Officers, had made their Eſcape by Night, and were fled: Whereas he had ſet them at Liberty himſelf, and ſent a Letter by them to *Xerxes*, wherein he offered to deliver the City of *Sparta*, and all *Greece*, into his Hands, on Condition he would give him his Daughter in Marriage.

Accordingly, that Prince did not fail to give him a favourable Anſwer, and to ſend him very large Sums of Money likewiſe, in order to gain over, as many of the *Grecians*, as he ſhould find diſpoſed to enter into his Deſigns. The Perſon he appointed to to manage this Intrigue with him, was *Artabazes*; and, to the End that he might have it in his Power, to tranſact the Matter with the greater Eaſe and Security, he made him Governor of all the Sea-coaſts of *Aſia Minor*.

Hereupon, *Pauſanias*, who was already intoxicated with the Proſpect of his future Greatneſs, began, from that Moment, to change his whole Conduct and Behaviour. The poor, modeſt, and frugal Way of living at *Sparta*; their Subjection to a Set of rigid and auſtere Laws, which neither ſpared, nor reſpected any Man's Perſon, but were altogether as inexorable and inflexible to the greateſt, as to thoſe of the meaneſt Condition, became inſupportable to Him; he could not bear the Thoughts of going back to *Sparta*, after having poſſeſſed ſuch high Commands and Employments, to return to a State of Equality, which would confound him with the loweſt of the Citizens; and this was the Cauſe of his entering into a traiterous Correſpondence with the *Barbarians*.

Having proceeded thus far, he entirely laid aſide the Manners and Behaviour of his own Country; aſſumed both the Dreſs and the Pride of the *Perſians*, and imitated them in all their expenſive Luxury and Magnificence. He likewiſe treated the *Allies* with an inſufferable Rudeneſs and Inſolence; never ſpoke to the Officers but with Menaces and Arrogance; required extraordinary and unuſual Honours to be paid him, and by his whole Behaviour, render'd the *Spartan* Dominion odious to all the *Confederates*.

On the other Hand, the courteous, affable, and obliging Deportment of *Ariſtides* and *Cimon*; a Way and Manner ſo entirely void of all imperious and haughty Airs, which only tend to alienate our Minds from thoſe, that uſe them; a gentle, kind, and beneficent Diſpoſition, which ſhewed itſelf in all their Actions, and which ſerved to temper the Authority their Command gave them, and to render it both eaſy and amiable; the Juſtice and Humanity, that were conſpicuous in every Thing they did; the great Care they took to offend no Perſon whatſoever; and to do kind Offices and Services to all, that were about them: In ſhort, the whole Tenor of their Behaviour was infinitely prejudicial to *Pauſanias*, and made a Contraſt very much to his Diſadvantage, which greatly increaſed the Diſſatisfaction, the whole Fleet had conceived againſt him.

At last, this Dissatisfaction publickly broke out; and all the *Allies* deserted him, and put themselves under the Command and Protection of the *Athenians*. Thus did *Aristides*, says *Plutarch*, by the Prevalence of that Humanity and Gentleness, which he opposed to the Arrogance and Rudeness of *Pausanias*, and by infusing the same Sentiments into *Cimon*, his Colleague, insensibly draw off the Minds of the *Allies*, from the *Lacedæmonians*, without their perceiving it; and, at length, carry away the Command and Superiority from them; not by open Force, or by sending out Armies and Fleets against them, and still less by making use of any Tricks or perfidious Practices; but only by the Wisdom and Moderation of his Conduct, and by rendering the Government of the *Athenians* desirable.

It must be confessed at the same Time, that the *Spartan* People, on this Occasion, shewed a Greatness of Soul, and a Spirit of Moderation, that can never be sufficiently admired. For when they were convinced, that their Commanders grew haughty and insolent, by the too great Authority with which they were invested, they willingly relinquish'd the Superiority, which they had till then exercised over the rest of the *Grecians*; and forbore sending any more of their Generals to command the *Grecian* Armies; choosing rather, as *Plutarch* justly observes, to have wise, modest, and submissive Citizens, that would live in a perfect conformity to the Discipline and Laws of the Commonwealth, than to maintain their Preeminence and Superiority over all the *Grecian* Nations.

At last, upon the repeated Complaints the *Spartan* Commonwealth received on all Hands against *Pausanias*, they recalled him home, to give an Account of his Conduct. But not having sufficient Evidence to convict him of having carried on a Correspondence with *Xerxes*, they were obliged to acquit him on his first Trial; after which he return'd, of his own private Authority, and without the Consent and Approbation of the Republick, to the City of *Byzantium*; from whence, he continued to carry on his secret Practices with *Artabazes*. But, as he was still guilty of many violent and unjust Proceedings, whilst he resided there, the *Athenians* obliged him to leave the Town; from whence he retired to *Colonæ*, a small City of *Troas*. Being there, he received an Order from the *Ephori* to return to *Sparta*, on Pain of being declared, a publick Enemy, and Traitor to his Country, in Case of Disobedience.

Hereupon he thought fit to comply with the Summons, and went home, hoping he should still be able to bring himself off by Dint of Money; and on his Arrival was committed to Prison, and soon afterwards brought again upon his Trial before the Judges. The Crimes alledged against him were supported by many suspicious Circumstances and strong Presumptions: Several of his own Slaves confessed, that he had promised to give them their Liberty, in case they would enter into his Designs, and serve him with Fidelity and Zeal, in the Execution of them. But, as it was the Custom of the *Ephori*, never to pronounce Sentence of Death against a *Spartan*, without a full and direct Proof, of the Crime laid to his Charge, they looked upon the Evidence, produced against him, as insufficient; and the more so, as he was one of the royal Family, and was actually invested with the Administration of the regal Power; for *Pausanias* exercised the Function of King, as being Guardian and nearest Relation to *Pistarchus*, the Son of *Leonidas*, who was then in his Minority: He was therefore acquitted a second Time, and set at Liberty.

Whilst the *Ephori* were thus perplexed, for want of clear and plain Evidence against the Offender, a certain Slave, who was called the *Argilian*, came to them, and brought them a Letter, written by *Pausanias* himself, to the King of *Persia*; which the Slave was to have carried, and delivered to *Artabazes*.

It ought to have been premised, that this *Persian* Governor, and *Pausanias*, had agreed together, immediately to put to Death all the Couriers, they mutually sent to one another, assoon as their Packets, or Messages were delivered; that there might be no Possibility left of tracing out, or discovering their Correspondence. This having been punctually performed; the seeing none of his Fellow-servants, who were sent with Expresses, return back, created some Suspicion in the *Argilian*; and accordingly, when it came to his Turn to go, he opened the Letter he was entrusted with, in which *Artabazes* was desired to kill him, pursuant to their Agreement. This was the Letter that Slave had put into the Hands of the *Ephori*; who still thought even this Proof insufficient, in the Eye of the Law, and therefore endeavour'd to corroborate it, by the Testimony of *Pausanias* himself.

To this End, in Concert with them, he withdrew to the Temple of *Neptune*, in *Tenaros*, as to a secure *Asylum*; where two small Closets had been made, wherein the *Ephori* concealed themselves, together with some other *Spartans*. The Instant that *Pausanias* was inform'd that the *Argilian* had fled to this Temple, he hastned thither, to enquire the Reason; and the Slave confessed that he had opened the Letter, and that, finding by the Contents of it, he was to be put to Death, he had fled to that Temple to save his Life. Hereupon, as *Pausanias* could not deny the Fact, he made the best Excuse he could; promised the Slave a great Reward; obliged him to give his Word, not to mention what had passed between them, to any Person whatsoever; and then left him.

As the Guilt of *Pausanias* was now but too evident, the Moment he returned to the City, the *Ephori* were resolved to seize him; insomuch that, by the Looks only of one of those Magistrates, the Criminal plainly perceived, that some evil Design was hatching against him; and therefore ran, with the utmost Speed, to the Temple of *Pallas*, called *Chalcioecos*, near that Place, and got into it, before the Pursuers could overtake him. Immediately the Entrance to it was stopt up with great Stones; and History informs us, that the Criminal's Mother set the first Example on this Occasion. But, as the *Ephori* did not dare to take him out of it by Force, because this would have been a Violation of that sacred Asylum, they resolved to leave him exposed to the Inclemencies of the Weather, and accordingly they tore off the Roof, and he was starved to Death, with Hunger and Cold. His Corps was buried not far from that Place; but the Oracle of *Delphi*, whom they consulted soon after, declared, that to appease

the Anger of the Goddeſs, who was juſtly offended, on Account of the Violatſon of her Temple, two Statues muſt be ſet up there in Honour of *Pauſanias*, which was done accordingly.

Such was the End of this General, whoſe wild and inconſiderate Ambition had erazed all Sentiments of Probity, of Honour, and of his Country's Love; had ſtifled in him the noble Paſſion for Liberty, and of Hatred and Averſion to the *Barbarians*: Sentiments which, in ſome Meaſure, were inherent in all the *Greeks*, but more particularly the *Lacedæmonians*.

Themiſtocles was alſo charged with being an Accomplice with *Pauſanias*: He was then in Exile: A paſſionate Thirſt of Glory, and a ſtrong Deſire to command arbitrarily over the Citizens, had made him very odious to them. He had built, very near his Houſe, a Temple in Honour of *Diana*, under this Tittle, *To* Diana, *Goddeſs of good Counſel*; thereby reminding the *Athenians*, that he had given good Council to their City, and to all *Greece*; and he alſo had placed his Statue in it, which was ſtanding in *Plutarch*'s Time. It appeared, ſays he, from this Statue, that the Air of his Face was full as heroic as his Mind. Finding that Men liſtned with Pleaſure to all the Slanders his Enemies publiſh'd of him, in order to ſuppreſs them, he was for ever expatiating, in all publick Aſſemblies, on the Services he had done his Country.

As they at laſt grew quite tired, to hear him repeat this ſo often, *How!* ſays he, *are you weary of having had ſo many good Offices done you by the ſame Perſon?* He did not conſider, that in thus putting them ſo often in mind of the Services he had done them, 'twas reproaching them with their having forgot them, which was no great Compliment; and he ſeem'd not to know, that the ſureſt Way to get Applauſe, is to leave the beſtowing of it to others, and to reſolve to do ſuch Things only as are Praiſe-worth; and that a frequent Repetition of one's own Virtue, and exalted Actions, is ſo far from huſhing the Clamours of Envy, that it adds double Strength to them.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd, *Themiſtocles*, after having been baniſh'd from *Athens* by the Oſtraeiſm, withdrew to *Argos*; and he was there at the Time, when *Pauſanias* was proſecuted as a Traitor, who had conſpired againſt his Country. He had, at firſt, concealed his Machinations from *Themiſtocles*, though he was one of his beſt Friends; but aſſoon as he was drove from his Country, and *Pauſanias* ſaw that he ſtrongly reſented the Inſult, he diſcloſed his Projects to him, and conjured him to join in them.

To encourage him to engage therein, he ſhew'd him the Letters which the King of *Perſia* had written to him; and endeavour'd to animate him againſt the *Athenians*, by painting their Injuſtice and Ingratitude in the ſtrongeſt Colours. However, *Themiſtocles* rejected, with Indignation, the Propoſals made him by *Pauſanias*, and refuſed peremptorily to engage, in any Manner, in his Schemes: But then he did not reveal the Secret to any Perſon, nor the Enterprize he had formed; whether it was that he imagined, that the good Senſe of *Pauſanias*, would prompt him to lay it aſide, or was perſuaded, that it would be diſcovered ſome other Way; it not being poſſible for ſo hazardous and ill-contrived a Plot, ever to meet with Succeſs.

After his Death, in the Manner before-mention'd, ſeveral Letters and other Things were found among his Papers, which raiſed a violent Suſpicion of *Themiſtocles*; and accordingly the *Lacedæmonians* ſent Deputies to *Athens* to impeach, and pronounce Sentence of Death on him; and ſuch of the Citizens who envied him, joined theſe Accuſers. *Ariſtides* had now a fair Opportunity of revenging himſelf on his Rival, for the injurious Treatment he had met with from him, had his Soul been abject enough, to be affected with ſo cruel a Pleaſure. But he refuſed abſolutely to join in ſo horrid a Plot; being as little inclin'd to delight in the Misfortunes of his Adverſary, as he had before been, to be diſpleaſed at his Succeſs. In the mean while, *Themiſtocles* refuted by Letters, all the Calumnies with which he was charged; and repreſented to the *Athenians*, that as he had ever been fond of ruling, and his Temper ſuch, as would not ſuffer him to be lorded over by others; it was no ways probable that he ſhould have a Deſign to deliver up himſelf, and all *Greece*, to Enemies and *Barbarians*.

However, the People, too ſtrongly wrought upon by his Accuſers, ſent ſome Perſons to ſeize and carry him off, in order that he might be judged by the Council of *Greece*; of which *Themiſtocles*, having timely Notice, went into the Iſland of *Corcyra*, to whoſe Inhabitants he formerly had done ſome Service: However, not thinking himſelf ſafe there, he fled to *Epirus*; and finding himſelf purſued alſo thither, by the *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, being reduced almoſt to Deſpair, he reſolved on a dangerous Attempt, which was, to fly to *Admetus*, King of the *Moloſſi*, for Shelter.

This Prince, having formerly deſir'd the Aid of the *Athenians*, and been refuſed, with Ignominy, by *Themiſtocles*, who at that Time preſided in the Government, had harboured the deepeſt Reſentment on that Account; and declared that he would take the firſt Opportunity of revenging himſelf. But *Themiſtocles*, imagining that in the unhappy State of his Affairs, the recent Envy of his Fellow-citizens might be of worſe Conſequence to him than the paſt Animoſity of that King, was reſolved to run the Hazard of it. On his Arrival at the Palace of that Monarch, he was told he was abſent, upon which he addreſſed the Queen, who received him very graciouſly, and inſtructed him in the Manner how to preſent his Petition.

Accordingly, when *Admetus* was return'd, *Themiſtocles* took that Prince's Son in his Arms, ſat himſelf down on his Hearth, in the midſt of the King's houſhold Gods, and there, telling him who he was, and the Cauſe why he fled to him for Refuge, he implores his Clemency; owns that his Life is in his Hands; intreats him to obliterate paſt Offences; and repreſents to him, that no Action can be more worthy a great King, than to exerciſe Clemency. Whereupon *Admetus*, ſurprized and moved to Pity, at ſeeing at his Feet, in ſo humble a Poſture, the greateſt Man of all *Greece*, and the Conqueror of all *Aſia*, raiſed him from the Ground, and promiſed to protect him againſt all his Enemies. Accordingly, when the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* came and demanded him, he refuſed abſolutely to deliver up to them a Man, who had made his Palace his Aſylum, in the firm Perſuaſion that it would be ſacred and inviolable.

Whilſt

Whilſt he was at the Court of this Prince, one of his Friends found an Opportunity to carry off his Wife and Children from *Athens*, and ſend them to him; for which Piece of Humanity, the generous Man was ſeiz'd ſome Time after, and ſentenc'd to dye: So rigid were the ungrateful *Athenians* to their great Deliverer, that common Humanity to him was become a capital Offence. As to the Effects, however, of *Themiſtocles*, his Friends ſecured the greateſt Part of them for him; which they afterwards found Opportunity to remit him; but all that the Government could diſcover, which amounted to an hundred Talents, or about twenty-five thouſand Pound, was carry'd to the publick Treaſury; though at the Time he was raiſed to the Adminiſtration, he was not worth three.

We have before obſerv'd, that the Government, and the Command of the *Grecian* Armies, by the Miſmanagement, and Inſolence of *Pauſanias*, had been transferr'd from the *Spartans* to the *Athenians*. At firſt, the Cities and Nations of *Greece* uſed to contribute certain Sums of Money, towards carrying on the Expence of the War againſt the *Barbarians*; but this Repartition, or Diviſion, had always occaſioned great Feuds, becauſe it was not made in a juſt, or equal Proportion. It was thought proper, therefore, under the Government of the *Athenians*, to lodge in the Iſland of *Delos*, the common Treaſure of *Greece*; to fix new Regulations with Regard to the publick Monies; and to lay ſuch a Tax, as might be regulated, in Proportion to the Revenue of every particular City and Nation; in order that the Expences, being equally born by the ſeveral Individuals, who compoſed the Body of the *Allies*, no one might have Reaſon to murmur. The Difficulty was, to find a Perſon of ſo honeſt, and incorrupt a Mind, as to diſcharge faithfully an Employment of ſo delicate, and dangerous a Kind; the due Adminiſtration of which ſo nearly concern'd the publick Welfare. On this Occaſion, all the *Allies* caſt their Eyes on *Ariſtides*; accordingly, they inveſted him with full Powers, and appointed him to levy a Tax on every Individual, relying entirely on his Wiſdom and Juſtice.

They had no Cauſe to repent their Choice. He preſided over the Treaſury, with the Fidelity and Diſintereſtedneſs of a Man, who looks upon it as a capital Crime, to embezzle the ſmalleſt Portion of another's Poſſeſſions; with the Care and Activity of a Father of a Family, who ſuperintends his own Eſtate; and with the Caution, and Integrity of a Perſon, who conſiders the publick Monies as ſacred. In ſhort, he ſucceeded in a very rare Circumſtance, *viz.* to win the Love of all in an Office, in which, that Man, who even ſecures himſelf from the publick *Odium*, gains a great Point. Such is the glorious Character, which *Seneca* gives of a Perſon poſſeſſed of much the ſame Employment; and the nobleſt *Elogium*, that can be beſtow'd on a Treaſurer; and this Encomium is the juſt Due of *Ariſtides*. He diſcover'd ſo much Probity and Wiſdom in the Exerciſe of this Office, that no Man complain'd; and theſe Times were conſider'd ever after as the *golden Age*; that is, the Period in which *Greece* had attain'd its higheſt Pitch of Virtue and Happineſs.

In Effect, the Tax, which he had fix'd, in the Whole, to four hundred and ſixty Talents, was raiſed, by *Pericles*, to ſix hundred; and ſoon after, to thirteen hundred Talents: This was not becauſe the Expences of the War were increaſed, but the Treaſure was employ'd to very uſeleſs Purpoſes; as in diſtributing Monies, ſeverally, to the *Athenians*; in the ſolemnizing Games and Feſtivals; in the building Temples, and publick Edifices; not to mention, that the Hands of thoſe who ſuperintended the Treaſury, were not always as clean as thoſe of *Ariſtides*. This wiſe and equitable Conduct, ſecured him, to lateſt Poſterity, the glorious Sirname of *The Juſt*.

Nevertheleſs, *Plutarch* relates an Action of this great Man, which ſhows, that the *Greeks* (the ſame may be ſaid of the *Romans*) had a very narrow, and imperfect Idea of Juſtice. They confin'd the Exerciſe of it to the Interior, as it were, of civil Society; and acknowledg'd, that the Individuals were bound to obſerve ſtrictly its ſeveral Maxims: But, with Regard to their Country, to the Republick (their mighty Idol, to which they thought all other Things ought to be made ſubſervient) they acted in a quite different Manner; and imagin'd themſelves eſſentially obliged to ſacrifice to it, not only their Lives and Poſſeſſions, but even their Religion, and the moſt ſacred Engagements, in Oppoſition to, and Contempt of, the moſt ſolemn Oaths. This will appear evidently in what follows.

After the Diviſion had been made of the Tributes above-mentioned, *Ariſtides*, having ſettled the ſeveral Articles of the Alliance, obliged the *Confederates* to take an Oath, to obſerve them punctually; and he himſelf ſwore the ſame, in the Name of the *Athenians*: And in denouncing the Curſes, which always accompany'd theſe Oaths, he threw into the Sea, purſuant to the uſual Cuſtom, large Bars of red-hot Iron. But the ill State of the Affairs of the *Athenians*, forcing them afterwards to infringe ſome of theſe Articles, and to govern a little more arbitrarily, he intreated them to vent thoſe Curſes on him; and ſo diſcharge themſelves of the Puniſhment due to ſuch as had foreſworn themſelves; and who had been forced to it by the unhappy Situation of their Affairs.

Theophraſtus tells us, that, in general, *Ariſtides*, who executed all Matters relating to himſelf, or the Publick, with the moſt impartial and rigorous Juſtice; uſed to enact, in his Adminiſtration, ſeveral Laws, according as the Exigency of Things, and the Welfare of his Country, might require: It being his Opinion, that a Government, in order to ſupport itſelf, is, on ſome Occaſions, obliged to have Recourſe to Injuſtice, of which he gives the following Example. One Day, as the *Athenians* were debating in their Council, about bringing to their City, in Oppoſition to the Articles of the Treaty, the common Treaſures of *Greece*, which were lodg'd in *Delos*: The *Samians* having open'd the Debate; when it was the Turn of *Ariſtides* to ſpeak, he ſaid, that the diſlodging of the Treaſure was an unjuſt Action, but uſeful; and he gain'd over the Voices to his Opinion. How can this be reconcil'd with his Conduct, on another Occaſion! When he diſapprov'd of the Deſign of *Themiſtocles*, to ſet the Ships of the other *Grecians* on Fire; ſince that was likewiſe uſeful! This ſhews alſo how unequal the Conduct of the ſame Man may be, at different Times. This Incident proves, that the

the pretended Wiſdom of the *Heathens*, was overſpread with a thick Miſt of Error.

It was ſcarce poſſible for any Man to have a greater Contempt of Riches, than *Ariſtides*. This made *Themiſtocles*, who never was pleaſed with hearing other Men extoll'd, and was nettled at hearing *Ariſtides* applauded, for the noble diſintereſted Integrity, with which he managed the publick Treaſure (a Virtue, of which he was by no Means Maſter himſelf) endeavour to turn it into Ridicule; and ſay, the Virtue ſo much extoll'd in *Ariſtides*, ſhow'd no greater Merit or Virtue, than what was equally poſſeſſed by a ſtrong Cheſt, which faithfully preſerved all the Money depoſited therein, and embezzled none.

This low Sneer, which had nothing juſt in it, and was founded on a very wrong, and mean Way of thinking, was intended, in Return of an Anſwer made him by *Ariſtides*, which had ſtung him to the Quick; becauſe it reproach'd him with a Vice, whereof he knew himſelf *guilty*.

Themiſtocles had happen'd, one Day, to ſay, that, in his Opinion, the greateſt Talent, of which a General could be Maſter, was to be able to foreſee the Deſigns of the Enemy, and diſappoint them; to which *Ariſtides* anſwer'd, "That was a "Qualification very neceſſary, but there was one, "which was yet more noble, and truly worthy "of a General; which was, for him to have clean "Hands, and a Soul ſuperior to all venal and "ſelf intereſted Views!" *Ariſtides* might very juſtly anſwer *Themiſtocles* in this Manner, ſince he was really very poor, though he had poſſeſſed the higheſt Employments in the State. He ſeem'd to have an innate Love for Poverty; and ſo far from being aſham'd of it, he thought it reflected as much Glory on him, as all the Lawrels and Victories he had won; of which, Hiſtory gives us a ſhining Inſtance,

Callias, who was a near Relation of *Ariſtides* and the moſt wealthy Citizen in *Athens*, was cited, on ſome Occaſion, to appear before the Judges; when the Accuſer, laying very little Streſs on the Cauſe itſelf, endeavour'd chiefly to blacken him, by reproaching him, with ſuffering *Ariſtides*, and his whole Family, to live in the greateſt Poverty, whilſt he himſelf wallow'd in Riches. Hereupon, *Callias*, perceiving that theſe Reproaches made a ſtrong Impreſſion on the Judges, ſummon'd *Ariſtides* to declare before them, whether he had not often preſſed him to accept large Sums of Money, and whether he had not obſtinately refuſed to accept of his Offer; ſaying, That he had more Reaſon to boaſt of his Poverty, than *Callias* of his Riches: That many Perſons were found, who made a good Uſe of their Wealth; but that few were to be met with, who bore their Poverty with Magnanimity, and even Joy; and that none had Cauſe to bluſh at their abject Condition, but ſuch as had reduc'd themſelves to it by their Idleneſs, their Intemperance, their Profuſion, or diſſolute Conduct. Accordingly, *Ariſtides* declar'd, that his Kinſman had told nothing but the Truth; and added, That a Man, whoſe Frame of Mind is ſuch, as to ſuppreſs a Deſire of ſuperfluous Things, and who confines the Wants of Life within the narroweſt Limits; beſides its freeing the virtuous Man from a Thouſand importunate Cares, and leaving him ſo much Maſter of his Time, as to devote it entirely to the Publick; it alſo approaches him, in ſome Meaſure, to the Deity, who is wholly unperplex'd with Cares or Wants. In Effect, there was not a Man in the Aſſembly, but, at his leaving it, would have choſen to be *Ariſtides*, though ſo poor, rather than *Callias* with all his Riches.

Plutarch acquaints us, in few Words, with the glorious Teſtimony, which *Plato* gave of the Virtue of *Ariſtides*; for which he looks upon him as infinitely ſuperior to all his illuſtrious Cotemporaries. "*Themiſtocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles* (ſays "he) fill'd, indeed, their City with ſplendid E-"difices, with Portico's, Statues, rich Ornaments, "and other Superfluities of that Kind; but *Ariſ-*"*tides* did all that lay in his Power to enrich "every Part of it with Virtue: Now, to raiſe a "City to true Happineſs, it muſt be made vir-"tuous, not rich." *Plutarch* likewiſe takes Notice of another Circumſtance in the Life of *Ariſtides*, which, though of the ſimpleſt Kind, reflects the greateſt Honour on him, and may ſerve as an excellent Leſſon. It is in the beautiful Treatiſe, in which he enquires, whether it is proper for old Men to concern themſelves with Affairs of Government; and where he points out admirably well, the various Services they may do the State, even in an advanced Age.

"We are not to fancy (ſays he) that all pub-"lick Services require great Motion and Hurry; "ſuch as, to harangue the People, to preſide in "the Government, or to head Armies: An old "Man, whoſe Mind is inform'd with Wiſdom, "may, without going abroad, exerciſe a Kind of "magiſterial Office in it; which, though it be "ſecret and obſcure, is not, therefore, the leſs "important; and that is, in training up Youth "by good Counſel, teaching them the various "Springs of Politicks, and how to conduct pub-"lick Affairs." *Ariſtides* was ſo far from being a Burthen to his Country, that he was of the greateſt Benefit to it. His Houſe was a publick School of Virtue, Wiſdom, and Politicks. It was open to all young *Athenians* (and to *Cimon* in particular) who had a Love for Virtue; and they uſed to conſult him as an Oracle. He gave them the kindeſt Acceſs, liſtned to them with Patience, taught them with the utmoſt Eaſe and Familiarity; and endeavour'd, above all Things, to animate their Courage, and inſpire them with Confidence.

Accordingly, *Plutarch* divided the Life of Stateſmen into three Ages: In the firſt, he would have them learn the Principles of Government; in the ſecond, he requires them to apply them to Practice; and in the third, to inſtruct others.

Hiſtory does not inform us of the exact Time, nor the Place, where *Ariſtides* dy'd; but then it pays a glorious Teſtimony to his Memory, when it aſſures us, that this great Man, who had poſſeſſed the higheſt Employments in the Commonwealth, and had the abſolute Diſpoſal of the Treaſury, dy'd poor, and did not leave Money enough to defray the Expences of his Funeral; ſo that the Government was obliged to bear the Charge of it, and to maintain his Family. His Daughters were marry'd, and *Lyſimachus*, his Son, was ſubſiſted at the Expence of the State; which, likewiſe, gave the Daughter of the latter, after his Death, the Penſion with which thoſe were honour'd, who had come off victorious at the *Olym-*

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pic Games. *Plutarch* takes Notice, on this Occaſion, of the Liberality, which the *Athenians* exerted, in Favour of the Poſterity of *Ariſtogiton*, their Deliverer, who was fallen to Decay; and he adds, that, even in his Time (almoſt ſix hundred Years after) this Kindneſs and Liberality were ſtill continued.

It was glorious for a City, to have preſerv'd, for ſo many Centuries, its Generoſity and Gratitude; and a ſtrong Motive to fire the Courage of the ſeveral Individuals, when they were ſure that their Children would enjoy the Rewards, which Death had prevented them from receiving! It was delightful to ſee the diſtant Poſterity of the Defenders and Deliverers of the Common-wealth, who had inherited nothing from their Anceſtors; but the Glory of their Actions, maintain'd, for ſo many Ages, at the Expence of the Publick, in Conſideration of the Services their Families had done the Government. They liv'd in this Manner with much more Honour, and kept alive the Remembrance of their Anceſtors with much greater Splendor, than a Multitude of Citizens, whoſe Fathers had been ſtudious only of leaving them great Eſtates, which generally do not long ſurvive thoſe who raiſed them; and often leave their Poſterity nothing but the odious Remembrance of the Injuſtice and Oppreſſion by which they were acquired.

The greateſt Honour which the Antients have done *Ariſtides*, is in beſtowing on him the glorious Title of *The Juſt*. He gain'd it, not by one particular Action, but by the whole Tenor of his Conduct, and a conſtant Series of great Actions. *Putarch* makes a Reflection on this Occaſion, which being very remarkable, and well-grounded, we ſhall introduce here.

"Among the ſeveral Virtues of *Ariſtides* (ſays "this judicious Author) that for which he was "moſt renown'd, was his *Juſtice*; becauſe this "Virtue is of moſt general Uſe; its Benefits be"ing extended to a greater Number of Perſons; "as it is the Foundation, the Soul, as it were, "of every Employment, as well as publick Ad"miniſtration. Hence it was, that *Ariſtides*, though "in low Circumſtances, and of mean Extracton, "nevertheleſs, merited the Title of *Juſt*; a Title "truly royal, or rather truly divine; and which "is, nevertheleſs, ſeldom coveted by Princes, be"cauſe they are unacquainted with its Beauty "and Excellency. They chuſe rather to be cal"led the Conquerors of Cities, the Thunder-bolts "of War; and ſometimes, even Eagles and Li"ons: Thus preferring the vain Honour of theſe "pompous Titles, which convey no other Idea "but wild Havock and Slaughter, to the ſolid "Glory of thoſe which are expreſſive of Goodneſs "and Virtue. They don't know, that of the "three chief Attributes of the Deity, of whom "Kings boaſt themſelves the Image; we mean, "Immortality, Power, and Juſtice: The firſt of "which excites our Admiration and Deſire; the "ſecond fills us with Dread and Terror; and the "third inſpires us with Awe and Love: This laſt "only, is truly and perſonally communicated to "Man; and can only conduct him to the other "two; it being impoſſible for Man to become "truly immortal, and powerful, without Juſ"tice."

Before we reſume the Sequel of this Hiſtory, it may not be improper to obſerve, that it was about this Period, the Fame of the *Greeks*, ſtill more renown'd for their Wiſdom in governing, than the Splendor of their Victories, prompted the *Romans* to have Recourſe to their Lights and Knowledge. *Rome*, raiſed under Kings, was in want of ſuch Laws, as were neceſſary for the good Government of a Common-wealth. For this Purpoſe, the *Romans* ſent Deputies to copy the Laws of the Cities of *Greece*; and particularly of *Athens*, which were ſtill better adapted to the popular Government, that had been eſtabliſh'd ſince the Expulſion of the Kings. On this Model, the ten Magiſtrates, call'd *Decemviri*, and who were inveſted with an abſolute Authority, were created: Theſe digeſted the Laws of the twelve Tables, which are the Baſis of the *Roman* Law.

The ill Succeſs of *Xerxes*, in his Expedition againſt the *Greeks*, and which continued afterwards, at laſt, entirely diſhearten'd him; wherefore, laying aſide all Thoughts of War and Conqueſt, he abandon'd himſelf entirely to Eaſe and Luxury; and was ſtudious of nothing but his Pleaſures. *Artabanus*, a Native of *Hyrcania*, Captain of his Guards, and who had long been one of his chief Favourites, found, that this diſſolute Conduct had drawn upon him the Contempt of his Subjects. He, therefore, imagin'd, that this would be a favourable Opportunity for him to conſpire againſt his Sovereign; and his Ambition was ſo vaſt, that he flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes of ſucceeding him in the Throne.

It is very likely, nevertheleſs, that he was excited to the Commiſſion of this Crime, from another Motive. *Xerxes* had commanded him to murder *Darius*, his eldeſt Son; but for what Cauſe is not known. As this Order had been given at a Banquet, when the Company were heated with Wine, he did not doubt but *Xerxes* would forget it; and therefore, was not in Haſte to obey it: However, he was miſtaken; for the King let fall ſome Words upon that Head, which made *Artabanus* dread his Reſentment; and therefore, he reſolv'd to get the Start of him. Accordingly, he prevail'd upon *Mithridates*, one of the Eunuchs of the Palace, and Lord Chamberlain, to engage in his Conſpiracy; and this Officer letting him into the Chamber where *Xerxes* lay, *Artabanus* murder'd him in his Sleep.

Then going to *Artaxerxes*, the King's third Son, he informed him of the Murder which had been committed, and charged his eldeſt Brother, *Darius*, therewith; as though a ſtrong Deſire of aſcending the Throne, had prompted him to that execrable Deed. He declared farther, that, to ſecure the Crown to himſelf, he was reſolved to murder him alſo; for which Reaſon, it would be abſolutely neceſſary for him, to guard againſt all Dangers. Theſe Words having made ſuch an Impreſſion on *Artaxerxes* (then a Youth) as *Artabanus* deſired, he went immediately into his Brother's Apartment; where, being aſſiſted by *Artabanus*, and his Guards, he murder'd him.

Hyſtaſpes, ſecond Son to *Xerxes*, was next Heir to the Crown after *Darius*; but, as he was then in *Baſtria*, of which he was Governor, *Artabanus* placed *Artaxerxes* on the Throne; but did not deſign to ſuffer him to enjoy it, any longer than till ſuch Time, as he had made a Faction ſtrong enough to drive him from it, and aſcend

it himſelf. His once great Authority had gained him a Multitude of Creatures; beſides this, he had ſeven Sons, who were of a very tall Stature, handſome, ſtrong, courageous, and raiſed to the higheſt Employments in the Empire. The Aid he hoped to receive from them, was the chief Motive of his raiſing his Views ſo high. But, whilſt he was attempting to compleat his Deſign, *Artaxerxes* being informed of this Plot by *Megabyzus*, who had married one of his Siſters, endeavoured to prevent him; and killed him, before he had an Opportunity, of putting his traiterous Deſign in Execution: His Death ſecured this Prince in the Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom, for the preſent.

Thus we have ſeen the End of *Xerxes*; who was one of the moſt powerful Princes that ever liv'd, whether we conſider his Riches, or the Extent of his Dominions, and Numbers of his Subjects. Notwithſtanding all this, it is almoſt needleſs to anticipate our Readers, with Reſpect to the Judgment they ought to form of him. Around him was diffus'd whatever is greateſt and moſt auguſt, in the Opinion of Mankind: The moſt extenſive Empire, at that Time, in the World; immenſe Treaſures, and an incredible Number of Land, as well as Naval Forces. But this external Pomp and Power, with which he was ſurrounded, could not properly be call'd his own, as it might have been taken from him; neither did it confer any real Merit on him. No, it is a Man's intrinſick Worth, and the Virtues inherent in him; and of which he can't be depriv'd by Adverſity, which only are valuable; and of this intrinſick Worth *Xerxes* was entirely deſtitute; for, by a Blindneſs, which is too often found in Princes, and great Men, born in the Midſt of all terreſtrial Bleſſings; Heir to a boundleſs Power, and ſurrounded with a Splendor which his Anceſtors reflected on him; he had accuſtom'd himſelf to judge of his own Talents, and perſonal Merit, from the ſervile Adoration paid him by his Courtiers (or rather Slaves) and that Pomp and Pageantry, which were only the accidental Appendages of his exalted Station and Rank.

Accordingly, he diſregards the wiſe Counſels of *Artabanus*, his Uncle, and of *Demaratus*, who only had Courage enough to ſpeak the real Truth; and he abandons himſelf to Courtiers, who worſhipp'd his Fortune, and made it their whole Study to ſooth his Paſſions. He proportions, and pretends to regulate the Succeſs of his Enterprizes, by the Extent of his Power. The ſlaviſh Submiſſion of ſo many Nations no longer ſooths his Ambition; and, not being affected with too eaſy an Obedience, he takes a Pleaſure in exerciſing his Power over the Elements; in cutting his Way through Mountains, and making them navigable; in chaſtizing the Sea, for having broken down his Bridge; and in fooliſhly attempting to ſhackle the Waves, by throwing Chains into them.

Elate with a childiſh Vanity, and a ridiculous Pride, he looks upon himſelf as the Arbiter of Nature: He imagines, that not a Nation in the World will dare to wait his Arrival; and he fondly and preſumptuouſly relies on the Millions of Men and Ships which he drags after him. But when, after the Battle of *Salamis*, he beheld the ſad Ruins, the ſhameful Remains of his numberleſs Troops ſcatter'd over all *Greece*; he then was ſenſible of the wide Difference there is between an Army, and a Crowd of Men. In a Word, to make a right Judgment of *Xerxes*, we need only form a Contraſt, between him, and one of the eminent Citizens of *Athens*; as, *Miltiades*, *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides*, or *Cimon*. In the latter we find good Senſe, Prudence, Skill in War, Courage, and Greatneſs of Soul; in the former, Vanity, Pride, Obſtinacy; the meaneſt and moſt groveling Sentiments; and ſometimes the moſt horrid Barbarity.

We have already ſeen how *Artaxerxes*, the third Son of this Monarch, ſucceeded him in the Kingdom, by the Treachery of *Artabanus*: The *Greek* Hiſtorians give him the Sirname of *Longimanus*; and *Strabo* ſays, it was, becauſe his Hands were ſo long, that, when he ſtood upright, he could touch his Knees with them; but, according to *Plutarch*, it was, becauſe his Right-Hand was longer than his Left. Had it not been for this Blemiſh, he would have been the moſt graceful Man of his Age; and he was ſtill more remarkable for his Goodeeſs and Generoſity on moſt Occaſions: He reign'd about forty-nine Years.

Although *Artaxerxes*, by the Death of *Artabanus*, was deliver'd from a dangerous Competitor, there ſtill were two Obſtacles in his Way, before he could get the quiet Poſſeſſion of his Throne; one was, his Brother *Hyſtaſpes*, Governor of *Bactria*; and the other, the Faction of *Artabanus*. He began by quelling the Latter.

Artabanus had left ſeven Sons, and a great Number of Partiſans, who ſoon met together to revenge his Death; and theſe, and the Adherents of *Artaxerxes*, fought a bloody Battle, in which a great Number of *Perſian* Nobles loſt their Lives; hereupon, *Artaxerxes*, having, at laſt, quite defeated his Enemies, put to Death all who had engaged in this Plot. He likewiſe took an exemplary Vengeance of thoſe, who were concern'd in his Father's Murder; and particularly of *Mithridates* the Eunuch, who had betray'd him; and who was executed in the following Manner.

He was laid on his Back in a Kind of Horſe-Trough, and ſtrongly faſtned to the four Corners of it; then every Part of him, except his Head, Hands and Feet, which came out at Holes made for that Purpoſe, was cover'd with another Trough. In this horrid Situation Victuals were given him, from Time to Time; and in Caſe of his Refuſal to eat it, they forced it down his Throat: Honey mixed with Milk was given him to drink, and all his Face was ſmeared with it, which, by that Means, attracted a numberleſs Multitude of Flies; eſpecially, as he was for ever expoſed to the ſcorching Rays of the Sun. In the mean While, the Worms, which bred in his Excrements, prey'd upon his Bowels. This Way of Execution was common amongſt the *Perſians*, for extraordinary Crimes; and the Criminal generally liv'd fifteen, or twenty Days, in inexpreſſible Torture.

When *Artaxerxes* had thus cruſh'd the Faction of *Artabanus*, he was powerful enough to ſend an Army into *Bactria*, which had declared in Favour of his Brother; but he was not ſucceſsful, at firſt, on this Occaſion. The two Armies engaging, *Hyſtaſpes* ſtood his Ground ſo well, that, if he did not gain the Victory, he, at leaſt, ſuſtained no Loſs; ſo that both Armies ſeparated with equal Succeſs, and each retired, to prepare for

for a ſecond Battle. But, *Artaxerxes* having raiſed a greater Army than his Brother (not to mention that the whole Empire declared in his Favour) defeated him in a ſecond Engagement, and quite cruſh'd all his Adverſaries; by which Victory, he ſecured to himſelf the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Empire.

To maintain himſelf in the Throne, he remov'd all ſuch Governors of Cities and Provinces from their Employments, as he ſuſpected held Correſpondence with either of the Parties he had overcome, and filled them with Others, whom he could ſafely truſt. He afterwards apply'd himſelf to reform the Abuſes and Diſorders, which had crept into the Government; inſomuch that, by his prudent Conduct, which was entirely calculated for the Welfare of his People, he ſoon acquired great Reputation and Authority, and won the Love of his Subjects; this being the ſtrongeſt Baſis on which the Power of Sovereigns can be founded.

According to *Thucydides*, *Themiſtocles* fled to this Prince, in the Beginning of his Reign; but other Authors, as *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, fix this Incident under *Xerxes*, his Predeceſſor. However, Dr. *Prideaux* is of the latter Opinion; he likewiſe thinks, that this *Artaxerxes* is the ſame with him, who is called *Ahaſuerus* in Scripture; and who marry'd *Eſther*: Though others ſuppoſe, with the learned Archbiſhop *Uſher*, that it was *Darius*, the Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, who made this illuſtrious *Jeweſs* his Conſort in the Throne. We ſhall not pretend to determine which of them are in the Right; but, without engaging in Controverſies of this Kind, ſhall follow the Opinion of the learned *Uſher*, with Regard to the Flight of *Themiſtocles* into *Perſia*.

We have before related how that great Man fled to *Admetus*, King of the *Moloſſi*, and had met with a gracious Reception from him; we muſt add, that that Prince continued treating him in the ſame Manner, as long as he could do ſo with Safety to himſelf and his Subjects: But the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* would not ſuffer him to live in Peace, and required that Prince to deliver him up; threatning, in Caſe of his Refuſal, to carry their Arms into his Country. Hereupon, *Admetus*, who was unwilling to draw ſuch formidable Enemies upon himſelf; and much more, to deliver up a Man, who had fled to him for Refuge; inform'd him of the great Danger to which he was expoſed, and favour'd his Flight. *Themiſtocles* went as far by Land as *Pydna*, a City of *Macedonia*, and there embark'd on board of a Merchant-Man, which was ſailing to *Ionia*. None of the Paſſengers knew him; but a Storm having carry'd this Veſſel near the Iſland of *Naxos*, then beſieged by the *Athenians*; the imminent Danger to which *Themiſtocles* was expoſed, obliged him to diſcover himſelf to the Pilot, and Maſter of the Ship; after which he, by Intreaties and Menaces, forced them to ſail towards *Aſia*.

Themiſtocles might, on this Occaſion, have called to Mind the Advice his Father had given him, when a Child, *viz.* to lay very little Streſs on the Favour of the common People. They were then walking together in the Harbour; and his Father pointing to ſome rotten Gallies that lay neglected on the Strand; *Behold there*, ſays he, *Son* (pointing to them) *thus do the People treat their Governors, when they can do them no further Service.*

He was now arrived at *Cumæ*, a City of *Æolia* in *Aſia Minor*; and the King of *Perſia* had ſet a Price upon his Head, promiſing two hundred Talents (about fifty thouſand Pound) to any Man who ſhould deliver him up. Whereupon, the whole Coaſt was cover'd with People, who were looking for him. To avoid this Danger, he fled to *Ægæ*, a little City of *Æolia*; where no one knew him, except *Nicogenes*, who was his particular Friend, and at whoſe Houſe he lodg'd. He was the moſt wealthy Man in that Country, and very intimate with all the Lords of the *Perſian* Court. *Themiſtocles* was forced to lye conceal'd ſome Days in his Houſe, till *Nicogenes* bethought himſelf of ſending him, under a ſtrong Guard, to *Suſa*, in one of thoſe cover'd Chariots, in which the *Perſians*, who were extremely jealous, uſed to carry their Wives; thoſe who carry'd him, told every one they met, that they were carrying a young *Greek* Lady, to a Courtier of great Diſtinction.

Themiſtocles being thus ſafely arriv'd at the *Perſian* Court, waited upon the Captain of the Guards, telling him, that he was a *Grecian* by Birth, and begg'd the King to admit him to Audience, having ſome Matters of great Importance to communicate to him. Hereupon, that Officer inform'd him of a Ceremony, which he knew was inſupportable to ſome *Greeks*; but, without which, none were allow'd to ſpeak to the King; and this was, to fall proſtrate before him. "Our Laws (ſays he) command us, to "honour the King in that Manner; and to wor- "him as the Image of the Immortal God, who "maintains and preſerves all Things."

As his Caſe was, in a Manner, deſperate, *Themiſtocles* promiſed to comply; and being admitted to Audience, he fell on his Face before the King, and worſhipp'd him; after which, riſing up, "Mighty Monarch (ſays he by an Interpreter) "I am *Themiſtocles*, the *Athenian*, who, having "been baniſh'd by the *Greeks*, am come to your "Court, in Hopes of meeting with an *Aſylum* in "it. I have brought, indeed, many Calamities "on the *Perſians*; but, on the other Hand, I have "done them as many Services, in Proportion, by "the ſalutary Advices I have given them more "than once; and I now am able to do them more "important Services than ever. My Life is in "your Hands: You may now exert your Cle- "mency, or diſplay your Vengeance, as you ſhall "think fit: By the former, you will ſerve an "humble Petitioner; by the latter, you will de- "ſtroy the greateſt Enemy to *Greece*."

The King made him no Anſwer at this Audience; though he was filled with Admiration at his great Senſe and Boldneſs; but Hiſtory informs us, he told his Friends, that he look'd upon the Arrival of *Themiſtocles*, as a very great Happineſs; and pray'd his God *Arimanius*, always to incite his Enemies, to behave in the ſame Manner; and to prompt them to baniſh, and make away with, their moſt illuſtrious Perſonages. It is added, that when he was aſleep, he ſtarted up through Exceſs of Joy, and cry'd thrice, *I have got* Themiſtocles, *the* Athenian!

Next Morning, at Day-break, *Artaxerxes* ſent for the greateſt Lords of his Court, and commanded *Themiſtocles* to be brought before him; who now

now expected the Worſt; eſpecially when one of his Guards, after hearing his Name, had ſaid to him, the Night before, even in the Preſence Chamber, juſt as he had left the King, *Thou Serpent of* Greece; *thou Compound of Artifice and Malice; the good Genius of our Prince brings thee hither!* However, the Serenity, which was diffuſed over the Face of *Artaxerxes*, made *Themiſtocles* hope for a favourable Reception.

Accordingly, he was not miſtaken, for the King began, by making him a Preſent of two hundred Talents; which Sum he had promiſed to any one who ſhould deliver him up; and which, conſequently, was his Due, ſince *Themiſtocles* had brought him his Head, by ſurrendering himſelf to him. He afterwards deſir'd him to give an Account of the Affairs of *Greece*. But, as *Themiſtocles* could not expreſs his Thoughts to the King, without the Aſſiſtance of an Interpreter, he deſir'd Leave might be allow'd him to learn the *Perſian* Tongue; hoping he then ſhould be able, to explain himſelf thoſe Things, he was deſirous of communicating to him, better than by the Aid of a third Perſon. *It is the ſame* (ſays he) *with the Speech of Man, as with a Piece of Tapeſtry, which muſt be laid open and unfolded, to ſhow the Figures, and other Beauties wrought in it.* His Deſire being granted, *Themiſtocles* ſtudy'd the *Perſian* Tongue a Year, and in that Time, made ſo great a Progreſs, that he ſpoke it with greater Elegance than the *Perſians* themſelves; and conſequently, could converſe with the King without the Help of an Interpreter. Accordingly, this Prince was ſo highly pleaſed with him, that he gave him uncommon Marks of Friendſhip and Eſteem; he made him marry a Lady, who was deſcended from one of the nobleſt Families in *Perſia*; he gave him a Palace, and an Equipage ſuitable to it, and ſettled a noble Penſion on him. He uſed to take him in his Parties of Hunting, and in every Banquet and Entertainment; nay, ſometimes converſed privately with him, inſomuch that the great Lords of the Court grew jealous, and uneaſy upon that Account. He even preſented him to the Princeſſes, who honour'd him with their Eſteem, and allow'd him Acceſs to them. It is obſerv'd, as a Proof of the peculiar Favour, which was ſhewn *Themiſtocles*, that, by the King's ſpecial Order, he was admitted to hear the Lectures and Diſcourſes of the *Magi*, and was inſtructed by them in all the Secrets of their Philoſophy.

Another Proof is given of the great Credit he enjoy'd: *Demaratus*, King of *Sparta*, who was then at Court, being commanded by *Artaxerxes*, to ask any Thing of him; he deſir'd that he might be ſuffer'd to make his Entry on Horſe-back, into the City of *Sardis*, with the Royal *Tiara* on his Head: A ridiculous Vanity! equally unworthy of the *Grecian* Grandeur, and the Simplicity of a *Lacedæmonian!* Hereupon, the King, exaſperated at the Inſolence of his Demand, expreſs'd his Diſguſt in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and ſeem'd reſolv'd not to pardon him; but *Themiſtocles* having interceeded for him, *Artaxerxes* reſtor'd him to Favour.

In ſhort, *Themiſtocles* was in ſuch great Credit, that under the ſucceeding Reigns, in which the Affairs of *Perſia* were ſtill more blended with thoſe of *Greece*; whenever the Kings were deſirous of drawing over ſome *Greek* to their Intereſt, they uſed to declare expreſly in their Letters, that he ſhould be in greater Favour with them, than *Themiſtocles* had been, with King *Artaxerxes*.

We are alſo told, that *Themiſtocles*, when in his moſt flouriſhing State in *Perſia*, when he was honour'd and eſteem'd by all Men, who were emulous in making their Court to him, ſaid one Day, when his Table was cover'd with the moſt ſumptuous Dainties of every Kind: *Children*; our Ruin *would have been inevitable, had we not been ruin'd.*

But, at laſt, it was judg'd neceſſary for the King's Intereſt, that *Themiſtocles* ſhould reſide in ſome City of *Aſia Minor*; that he might be ready, on any Occaſion which ſhould preſent itſelf; accordingly, he was ſent to *Magneſia*, ſituated on the *Meander*; and there was aſſign'd for his Subſiſtence (beſides the whole Revenues of this City, which amounted to fifty Talents every Year) thoſe of *Myunte* and *Lampſachus*. One of the Cities was to furniſh him with Bread, another with Wine, and a third with Viands. Some Authors add two more, *viz.* for his Furniture and Cloaths. Such was the Cuſtom of the ancient Kings of the *Eaſt*: Inſtead of ſettling Penſions on Perſons they were deſirous of rewarding, they beſtow'd Cities, and ſometimes even Provinces; which, under the Name of Bread, Wine, *&c.* were to furniſh them abundantly, with all Things neceſſary, for ſupporting in a magnificent Manner their Family and Equipage. *Themiſtocles* liv'd for ſome Years in *Magneſia*, in the utmoſt Splendor; till he came to his End in the Manner which will be related hereafter.

The *Athenians*, having loſt one of their moſt diſtinguiſh'd Citizens, as well as ableſt Generals, by the Baniſhment of *Themiſtocles*; endeavour'd to make Amends for this Loſs, by beſtowing the Command of their Armies upon *Cimon*, who was no Ways inferior to him in Merit.

He ſpent his Youth, however, in ſuch Exceſſes, as were no Ways honourable to him; and promiſed no Good, with Regard to his future Conduct. The Example of this illuſtrious *Athenian*, who paſſed his juvenile Years in ſo diſſolute a Manner; and afterwards roſe to ſo exalted a Pitch of Glory, ſhow, that Parents muſt not always deſpair of the Happineſs of their Children, when they are Libertines in their Youth; eſpecially, when Nature has endu'd them with Senſe, Good-Nature, a Rectitude of Mind, and an Eſteem for Perſons of Merit: Such was the Character of *Cimon*.

The ill Reputation he had drawn upon himſelf, having prejudic'd the People againſt him; he, at firſt, was very ill-receiv'd by them; when, being dejected at this Repulſe, he was reſolv'd to lay aſide all Thoughts, of concerning himſelf with State-Affairs. But *Ariſtides*, perceiving that his diſſolute Turn of Mind was blended with many many fine Qualities, he comforted him; inſpir'd him with Hope, pointed out the Path he ſhould ſtrike into, inſtill'd good Principles into him; and did not a little contribute, by the excellent Inſtructions he gave him, and the Affection wherewith he indulged him on all Occaſions, to make him the Man he afterwards appear'd: What more important Service could he have done his Country?

Plutarch obſerves, that after *Cimon* had laid aſide his juvenile Flights, his Conduct was in all Things great and noble; and that he was not inferior to his Father *Miltiades*, either in Courage

or

or Intrepidity; nor to *Themiſtocles* in Prudence and Senſe; but that he was more juſt and virtuous than either of them; and that, not being inferior to them, in the Exerciſe of the military Virtues, he ſurpaſſed them very much in the Practice of the moral Virtues.

It muſt, neceſſarily, be of great Advantage to a Government, would thoſe, who excel in Profeſſions of every Kind, take a Pleaſure, and make it their Duty, to faſhion and inſtruct ſuch Youths, as are born with good Diſpoſitions. Hereby they would have an Opportunity of ſerving their Country, even after their Death; and of perpetuating in it, in the Perſon of their Pupils, a Taſte and Inclination for true Merit, and the Practice of the wiſeſt Maxims.

The *Athenians*, a little after *Themiſtocles* had left his Country, put to Sea a Fleet under the Command of *Cimon*, and took *Eion*, ſtanding on the Banks of the River *Strymon*, *Amphipolis*, and other Places of *Thrace*: And, as this was a very fruitful Country, *Cimon* planted a Colony therein, and ſent ten Thouſand *Athenians* for that Purpoſe.

The Fate of *Eion* was ſo very ſingular, that we cannot but take Notice of it here. *Boges* was Governor of it, under the King of *Perſia*; and he diſplay'd ſuch a Zeal and Fidelity for his Sovereign, as is rarely found. When beſieged by *Cimon* and his *Athenians*, it was in his Power to have capitulated upon honourable Terms; and he might have retired to *Aſia* with his Family, and all his Effects. However, being perſuaded he could not do this with Honour, he reſolv'd to die, rather than ſurrender; and thereupon, the City was aſſaulted with the utmoſt Fury, and he defended it with incredible Bravery. Being, at laſt, in the utmoſt Want of Proviſions, he threw into the River *Strymon* all the Gold, Silver, and valuable Effects, in the City; and then cauſing Fire to be ſet to a Pile, and, having murder'd his Wife, Children, and whole Family, he threw them into the Midſt of the Flames, and afterwards ruſh'd into them himſelf. *Xerxes* could not but admire, and at the ſame Time bewail, ſo ſurprizing an Example of Generoſity, as it was then reckon'd; and the *Heathens*, indeed, might give it that Name; but it muſt, certainly, be deem'd a more than ſavage Cruelty, by all *Chriſtians*.

Cimon alſo conquer'd the Iſland of *Scyros*; where he found the Bones of *Theſeus*, the Son of *Ægeus*, who had fled from *Athens* to that City, and there ended his Days. An Oracle had commanded, that Search ſhould be made after his Bones; wherefore, *Cimon* put them on board his Galley, adorn'd them richly, and carry'd them to his native Country, near eight hundred Years after *Theſeus* had left it. The People receiv'd them with the higheſt Teſtimonies of Joy; and, to perpetuate the Remembrance of this Event, founded a Diſputation, or Conteſt, for Tragic Writers; which became very famous, and contributed much to the Improvement of the *Drama*, by the wonderful Emulation it excited in the Tragic Poets, whoſe Pieces were exhibited therein. For, *Sophocles* having, in his Youth, brought his firſt Play on the Stage; the *Archon*, or chief Magiſtrate, who preſided at theſe Games, obſerving there was a ſtrong Faction among the Spectators, prevail'd with *Cimon*, and the reſt of the Generals, his Collegues (who were ten in Number, and choſen out of each Tribe) to ſit as Judges. They did ſo, and the Prize was decreed to *Sophocles*, which ſo deeply afflicted *Æſchylus*, who, till then, had been look'd upon as the beſt Tragic Writer, that *Athens* became inſupportable to him; and therefore, he withdrew to *Sicily*, where he ended his Days.

The *Confederates* had taken a vaſt Number of *Barbarian* Priſoners in *Seſtus* and *Byzantium*; and, as a Proof of the high Reſpect they had for *Cimon*, intreated him to make a Diſtribution of the Booty. Accordingly, he plac'd all the Captives (ſtark naked) on one Side; and, on the other, all their Riches and Spoils. Hereupon, the *Allies* complain'd of this Partition, as too unequal; but *Cimon* giving them their Choice, they immediately took the Riches which had belong'd to the *Perſians*, and left the Priſoners for the *Athenians*. He was thought, therefore, a Perſon no Ways qualify'd to ſettle the Diſtribution of Prizes: For the *Allies* carry'd off a vaſt Number of Chains, Necklaces, and Bracelets of Gold; a large Quantity of rich Dreſſes, and fine Purple Cloaths; whilſt the *Athenians*, for their Share, had got a Multitude of human Creatures quite naked, and unfit for Labour. However, they were ſoon convinc'd of the contrary, when the Relations, and Friends of theſe Captives, coming from *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, purchaſed them all at a very high Price; ſo that, with the Money ariſing from their Ranſom, *Cimon* had wherewithal to maintain his Fleet four Months; beſides a great Sum, which was put into the Exchequer; not to mention what he himſelf had for his own Share. He afterwards uſed to take much Pleaſure, in relating this Incident to his Friends.

He made the beſt Uſe of his Riches; as *Gorgias*, the Rhetorician, has happily expreſſed it in few, but ſtrong, and elegant Words. *Cimon* (ſays he) *amaſſed Riches, purely to make Uſe of them; and he employ'd them to no other Uſe, but to acquire Eſteem and Honour.* We may here perceive (by the Way) what was the Scope and Aim of the moſt exalted Actions of the *Heathens*; and with what Juſtice *Tertullian* term'd a *Pagan*, how perfect ſoever he might appear, a vain glorious Animal; *Animal Gloriæ*. The Gardens and Orchards of *Cimon* were always open to the Citizens in general; who were allow'd to gather whatever Fruits they might want. His Table was daily cover'd in a frugal, but polite Manner. It was entirely different from thoſe delicate and ſumptuous Tables, to which only a few Perſons of Diſtinction are admitted; and which are ſpread, meerly to make a vain Parade of Magnificence, or Elegance of Taſte: For, it was plain, but abundant; and all the poor Citizens were allow'd Acceſs to it. In thus baniſhing from his Entertainments, whatever had the leaſt Air of Oſtentation and Luxury, he reſerv'd to himſelf an inexhauſtible Fund, not only for the Expences of his Houſe, but alſo for the Wants of his Friends, his Domeſticks, and a great Number of Citizens; proving, by this Conduct, that he knew much better than moſt rich Men, the true Uſe of Wealth; and the Deſign for which it is beſtow'd by Providence.

He was always follow'd by Servants, who were order'd to ſlip privately ſome Pieces of Silver into the Hand of ſuch Poor as they met; and to give Cloaths to thoſe who were in Want of them. He often

often bury'd such Persons, as had not left Money enough behind them, to defray the Expences of their Funeral; and a noble Circumstance, as *Plutarch* observes, is, that he did not exert these Acts of Charity, to gain Credit among the People, nor to purchase their Voices; since we find him, on all Occasions, ever declaring for the contrary Faction; that is, in Favour of such Citizens, as were most remarkable for their Wealth, or Authority.

Although he saw all the Rest of the Governors, of his Time, enrich themselves by the Plunder and Oppression of the Publick, he was for ever incorruptible; and his Hands never stain'd with Extortion, or the smallest Present; and he continued, during his whole Life, not only to speak, but also to act voluntarily, and without the least View of Interest, whatever he thought might be of Advantage to the Common-wealth.

Besides many other excellent Qualities, wherewith *Cimon* was endued, he possessed the finest Sense; an uncommon Prudence; and a profound Knowledge of the Genius and Disposition of Men; of which this is a remarkable and shining Instance: The *Allies*, besides the Sums which each of them was tax'd, were to furnish a certain Number of Men and Ships: But, several among them, who, since the Retreat of *Xerxes*, consulted nothing but their Ease, and apply'd themselves entirely to tilling and cultivating their Lands, in order to free themselves from the Toils and Dangers of War, chose to furnish their *Quota* in Money rather than in Men; and left the *Athenians* the Care of manning with Soldiers and Rowers, those Ships they had agreed to furnish. Hereupon, the other Generals, who had no Forecast, and did not extend their Views to Futurity, gave that People some Uneasiness, at first; and would oblige them to observe the Treaty literally.

But *Cimon*, when in Power, acted in a quite different Manner; not once disturbing their Repose; rightly judging, that the *Allies*, though before so brave in the Field, would insensibly lose their martial Spirit, and be fit for nothing but Husbandry and Trade; whilst the *Athenians*, by their exercising the Oar perpetually, would be more and more inured to Hardships, and increase daily in Power. It fell out exactly as *Cimon* had foreseen; those very People purchased themselves Masters at their own Expence; so that they, who before had been Companions and *Allies*, became, in some Measure, the Subjects and Tributaries of the *Athenians*.

No *Grecian* General ever gave so great a Blow, to the Pride and Haughtiness of the *Persian* Monarch, as *Cimon*. After the *Barbarians* had been driven out of *Greece*, he did not give them Time to take Breath; but sail'd swiftly after them, with a Fleet of more than two hundred Ships, took their strongest Cities, and brib'd all their *Allies*; so that the King of *Persia* had not one Soldier left in all *Asia Minor*, from *Ionia* to *Pamphylia*: Pushing still forward, he bravely attack'd the Enemy's Fleet, though much stronger than his own. It lay near the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*, and consisted of three hundred and fifty Sail of Ships, sustain'd by the Land-Army, which was encamp'd on the Shore. However, it was soon put to Flight, and two hundred Sail taken, besides those that were sunk; but a great Number of the *Persians* had left their Ships, and leap'd into the Sea, in order to join their Land-Army, which lay on the Shore.

It was very hazardous to attempt a Descent in Sight of the Enemy; and to lead on Troops, quite harrassed by their late Battle, against fresh Forces, who were much superior in Number. However, *Cimon*, finding that the whole Army were eager to engage the *Barbarians*, thought proper to take Advantage of this Ardour of the Soldiers, who were greatly animated with their first Success. Accordingly, he landed, and march'd them directly against the *Barbarians*; who waited impatiently for their coming up, and sustain'd the first Onset with prodigious Valour; however, being at last obliged to retire, they were broken, and put to Flight; a great Slaughter being made, and an innumerable Multitude of Prisoners, and immensly rich Spoils taken. *Cimon* having thus, in one Day, gain'd two Victories, which almost equall'd those of *Salamis* and *Plataæ*, to crown all, sail'd out to meet a Reinforcement of eighty-four *Phœnician* Ships, which were come from *Cyprus*, to join the *Persian* Fleet, knowing nothing of what had passed; these he likewise engaged, and defeated, insomuch that they were all either taken, or sunk; and most of the Soldiers were kill'd, or drowned.

After so many so glorious, and successful Exploits, *Cimon* return'd in Triumph to *Athens*; and employ'd Part of the Spoils in fortifying the Harbour, and in beautifying the City. The Riches which a General amasses in his Campaign, are put to the noblest Uses, when they are disposed of in this Manner; and must reflect infinitely greater Honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent Palaces for himself, which must, one Time or other, devolve upon Strangers; whereas Works, built for publick Use, are his Property, in some Measure, for ever; and transmit his Name to the latest Posterity. It is well known, that such Embellishments in a City, give infinite Pleasure to the People, who are always struck with Ornaments of this Nature; and this, as *Plutarch* observes, in the Life of *Cimon*, is one of the surest, and, at the same Time, the most lawful, Methods of gaining their Friendship and Esteem.

Next Year, this General sail'd towards the *Hellespont*; and, having driven the *Persians* out of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, of which they had possessed themselves, subdued it in the Name of the *Athenians*: though he himself had more Right to it, as *Miltiades*, his Father, had enjoy'd the Sovereignty thereof. He afterwards fought the People of the Island of *Thasus*, who had revolted from the *Athenians*, and defeated their Fleet.

Never did Men carry on their Rebellion, with a more unparallell'd Obstinacy and Fury; as if they had been to engage the most cruel and barbarous of Mankind, from whom they had the worst of Evils to fear, if defeated, they made a Law, that the first Man, who should only mention the concluding a Treaty with the *Athenians*, should be put to Death. Accordingly, the Siege was carry'd on three Years, during which the Inhabitants suffer'd all the Calamities of War, and yet would not yield. The Women were as inflexibly brave as the Men; for, the Besieged wanting Ropes for their military Engines, all the Women cut off their

Hair

Hair with a ſeeming Tranſport, and accordingly employ'd it as Ropes.

But a grievous Famine likewiſe breaking out out in the City, which ſwept away a great Number of the Inhabitants, *Hegetorides*, the *Thaſian*, deeply afflicted at the Death of ſuch Multitudes of his Fellow-citizens, reſolutely determined to ſacrifice his Life to ſave the reſt of his Countrymen. Accordingly he put a Halter round his Neck, and, in that Manner, preſenting himſelf to the Aſſembly, "Countrymen, ſays he, do with "me as you pleaſe, and don't ſpare me if you "judge proper; but, let my Death ſave the reſt "of the People; and prevail with you to aboliſh "the cruel Law you have enacted, ſo contrary "to your Welfare." An Action highly deſerving a Statue of Gold! The *Thaſians*, ſtruck with theſe Words, aboliſhed the Law, but would not ſuffer ſo generous a Citizen to give up his Life; for they ſurrender'd themſelves to the *Athenians*, who ſpared their Lives, and only diſmantled their City.

After *Cimon* had landed his Troops on the Shore oppoſite to *Thrace*, he ſeized on all the Gold Mines of thoſe Coaſts, and ſubdued every Part of that Country as far as *Macedonia*. He might alſo have attempted the Conqueſt thereof; and, in all Probability, might eaſily have poſſeſſed himſelf of Part of that Kingdom, had he laid Hold on that Opportunity; but, whatever was the Reaſon, he let it ſlip, and for his Neglect in that Particular, at his Return to *Athens*, he was proſecuted, and charged with being brib'd by the Money of the *Macedonians*, and of *Alexander* their King: But *Cimon* had a Soul ſuperiour to all Temptations of that kind, and fully proved his Innocence in the cleareſt Light.

The Conqueſts of *Cimon*, and the Power of the *Athenians*, which increaſed every Day, gave *Artaxerxes* great Uneaſineſs; to prevent the ill Conſequences of which, he reſolved to ſend *Themiſtocles* into *Attica*, with a great Army, and accordingly propoſed it to him. Now was that General in the greateſt Perplexity; on one Hand, the Remembrance of the Favours that Prince had laviſh'd on him; the poſitive Aſſurances he had given him, to ſerve him with the utmoſt Zeal on all Occaſions; the urgent Order ſent by the King who claim'd his Promiſe; all theſe Conſiderations would not permit him to refuſe the Commiſſion. On the other Hand, his Love to his Country, which the Injuſtice and ill Treatment he had met with, from his Fellow citizens, could not eraze from his Mind; the ſtrong Reluctance he had to ſully the Luſtre of his former Laurels, and his mighty Atchievements, by ſo ignominious a Step; perhaps too, the Fear of being unſucceſsful in a War, in which he would be oppoſed by excellent Generals, and particularly *Cimon*, who ſeemed to be as ſucceſsful as valiant; all theſe Reflections would not ſuffer him to declare againſt his Country, eſpecially in an Enterprize, which, whether it was ſucceſsful or not, would crown him with Shame.

To rid himſelf therefore, at once, of all theſe inward Struggles, he reſolved to put an End to his Life; thinking this the only Method for him not be wanting in the Duty he owed his Country, nor to the Promiſes he had made that Prince. He therefore prepared a ſolemn Sacrifice, to which he invited all his Friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a laſt Farewel of them, he drank ſome Bullock's Blood; or, according to others, ſwallowed a Doſe of Poyſon, which did immediate Execution; and died in this Manner at *Magneſia*, aged threeſcore and five Years; the greateſt Part of which he had ſpent either at the Head of the Commonwealth, or of the Armies.

When the King was told the Cauſe, and Manner of his Death, he eſteem'd and admir'd him ſtill the more; ſo that he continued his Favour to his Friends and Domeſticks. But the unexpected Death of *Themiſtocles*, proved an Obſtacle, to the Deſign he meditated, of attacking the *Greeks*. The *Magneſians* erected a ſplendid Monument to the Memory of that General, in the publick Square; and granted peculiar Priviledges and Honours to his Deſcendants. They ſtill enjoy'd them in *Plutarch*'s Time; that is, near ſix hundred Years after, and the *Mauſolæum* was then ſtanding.

Atticus, in the beautiful Dialogue of *Cicero*, entitled *Brutus*, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious Manner, the Story of the tragical End, which, ſome Writers aſſure us, *Themiſtocles* came to, as related above; pretending that the whole is a Fiction, invented by Rhetoricians, who, on the bare Rumour which was ſpread, that this great Man had poiſoned himſelf, had added all the other Particulars to embelliſh the Story, which otherwiſe would have been very dry and jejune. He appeals for this to *Thucydides*, that judicious Hiſtorian, who was of *Athens*, and almoſt Co-temporary with *Themiſtocles*. This Author indeed owns, that a Report had prevail'd, that this General had poiſon'd himſelf; however, his Opinion was, that he died a natural Death; and that his Friends convey'd his Bones ſecretly to *Athens*, where, in the Time of *Pauſanias*, his *Mauſolæum* was ſtanding, near the great Harbour: This Account ſeems much more probable than the other.

Themiſtocles was certainly one of the greateſt Men that *Greece* ever produced: He was endued with a magnanimous Soul, and an invincible Courage, which Danger always increaſed; was fired with an incredible Thirſt for Glory, which ſometimes the Love he had for his Country could temper and allay, though, at other Times, it prompted him to puſh Things too far; he poſſeſs'd ſo great a Preſence of Mind, that it ſuggeſted to him, at once, how to act: In fine, he was Maſter of a Sagacity and Penetration with regard to Futurity, which reveal'd to him, in the cleareſt Light, the moſt ſecret Deſigns of his Enemies; pointed out to him, from far, the ſeveral Meaſures he ſhould take to diſappoint them; and inſpired him with great, noble, bold, and extenteniive Views, for the Welfare, and Honour of his Country. But then he was not bleſſed with the moſt eſſential Qualities of the Miud; we mean, with Probity, Sincerity, and Integrity: Nor was he altogether free from Suſpicions of Avarice, which is a great Blemiſh to a Stateſman.

Nevertheleſs, a noble Thought as well as Action, are related of him, which ſpeak a great and diſintereſted Soul: When his Daughter was ſought in Marriage by two different Suitors, the one a Man of great Honeſty, but poor; and the other of but an indifferent Character, but very wealthy; he preferr'd the former, and gave this Reaſon for ſo doing; *That, in the Choice of a Son-in-Law, he would*

would give the Preference to Merit *without* Riches, *much ſooner than to* Riches *without* Merit.

In the mean Time, the *Egyptians*, to free themſelves from a foreign Yoke, which was inſupportable to them, revolted from *Artaxerxes*, and made *Inarus*, Prince of the *Lybians*, their King. They invoked the Aid of the *Athenians*, who having, at that Time, a Fleet of two hundred Ships lying off the Iſland of *Cyprus*, accepted the Invitation with Pleaſure, and immediately ſet ſail for *Egypt*; looking on this as a very favourable Opportunity for them to weaken the Power of the *Perſians*, by by driving them from ſo great a Kingdom.

Advice being brought *Artaxerxes* of this Revolt, he raiſed an Army of three hundred thouſand Men, and reſolved to march in Perſon againſt the Rebels: But his Friends adviſing him not to venture himſelf in that Expedition, he gave the Command of it to *Achæmenes*, one of his Brothers. The latter being arrived in *Egypt*, encamped his great Army on the Banks of the *Nile*. During this Interval, the *Athenians*, having defeated the *Perſian* Fleet, and either deſtroy'd or taken fifty of their Ships; ſailed again up that River, landed their Forces under the Command of *Charitimis* their General; and having joined *Inarus* and his *Egyptians*, they all charged *Achæmenes*, and defeated him in a mighty Battle, in which that *Perſian* General, and an hundred thouſand of his Soldiers were ſlain.

Thoſe who eſcaped fled to *Memphis*, whither the Conquerors purſued them, and immediately made themſelves Maſters of two Quarters or Diviſions of that City; but the *Perſians* having fortify'd themſelves in the third, called the *White Wall*, which was the largeſt and ſtrongeſt of the three, were beſieged in it near three Years; during which they made a moſt vigorous Defence, till they were at laſt delivered by the Forces that were ſent to their Relief.

In the mean while, *Artaxerxes* hearing of the Defeat of his Army, and how much the *Athenians* had contributed to it; to make a Diverſion of their Forces, and oblige them to turn their Arms another Way, ſent Ambaſſadors to the *Lacedæmonians*, with a large Sum of Money, to induce them to break with thoſe their Competitors in Glory and Power. The *Spartans*, however, generouſly rejected his Offer, notwithſtanding which their Refuſal, being firmly reſolved to reduce the *Egyptian* Rebels, he inveſted *Megabyſus* and *Artabazus* with the Command of the Forces deſigned againſt them.

Theſe Generals immediately raiſed an Army of three hundred thouſand Men, in *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*; but were obliged to wait till the Fleet was equipped, which ſpun out the Time till the next Year. *Artabazus* then aſſum'd the Command of it, and ſailed towards the *Nile*; whilſt *Megabyſus*, at the Head of the Land Army, marched towards *Memphis*. Being arrived there, he ſoon raiſed the Siege of that City, and afterwards fought *Inarus*. All the Forces, on both Sides, engaged in this Battle, in which *Inarus* was entirely defeated: But the *Egyptians*, who had rebelled, ſuffered moſt in this Slaughter. After this Defeat, however, *Inarus*, though wounded by *Megabyſus*, retreated with the *Athenians*, and ſuch *Egyptians* as were willing to follow him: and reaching *Byblos*, a City in the Iſland of *Proſopis*, which is ſurrounded by two Arms of the *Nile*, both navigable, the *Athenians* ran their Fleet into one of theſe Arms, where it was ſecured from the Attacks of the Enemy; and held out a Siege during a Year and a half in this Iſland.

After the Defeat of the *Egyptians* at *Memphis*, the whole Country ſubmitted to the Conqueror, and was all reunited to the Empire of *Artaxerxes*; except *Amyrtea*, which had ſtill a ſmall Party in the Fens, whence they could not be diſlodg'd for a long Time, becauſe of the Difficulties the *Perſians* met with in croſſing over to them.

The Siege of *Proſopis* was ſtill carrying on; and the *Perſians*, finding that they made no Advances, in attacking it after the uſual Methods, becauſe of the Stratagems and Intrpidity of the Beſieged, had Recourſe to an extraordinary Expedient, which ſoonbrought about what Force had not been able to effect. They quite emptied, by different Canals, the Arm of the *Nile* in which the *Athenian* Fleet lay; and by that Means opened themſelves a Paſſage, for their whole Army to enter that Iſland: Wereupon, *Inarus*, ſeeing all was loſt, compounded with *Megabyſus* for himſelf, for all his *Egyptians*, and about fifty *Athenians*; and ſurrender'd upon Condition that all their Lives ſhould be ſpared.

The Remainder of the auxiliary Forces, which formed a Body of ſix thouſand Men, reſolved to hold out longer; and for this Purpoſe, they ſet Fire to their Ships; when, drawing up in Order of Battle, they reſolved to die Sword in Hand, and ſell their Lives at the deareſt Rate; in Imitation of the *Lacedæmonians*, who refuſed to yield, and were all cut to Pieces at the Battle of *Thermopylæ*. The *Perſians*, hearing they had taken this deſperate Reſolution, did not think it adviſeable to attack them. A Peace was therefore offered them, with a Promiſe that they ſhould all be permitted to leave *Egypt*; for which Purpoſe a free Paſſage to their native Country ſhould be allow'd them, either by Sea or Land. They accepted the Conditions; put the Conquerors in Poſſeſſion of *Byblos*, and of the whole Iſland, and went by Sea to *Cyrene*, where they embarked for *Greece*.

But this was not the only Loſs the *Athenians* ſuſtain'd on this Occaſion: Another Fleet of fifty Ships, which they ſent to the Relief of their Countrymen who were beſieged, ſailed up one of the Arms of the *Nile*, (juſt after the *Athenians* had ſurrender'd) in order to diſengage them; not knowing what had happen'd. But, the Inſtant they were got in, the *Perſian* Fleet, which was out at Sea, attack'd them in the Rear, whilſt the Land-Forces diſcharged their Arrows at them from the Banks of the River; inſomuch that only a few Ships eſcaped, which broke quite through the Enemy's Fleet, and all the reſt were loſt. Thus ended the fatal War, which the *Athenians* had carried on ſix Years in *Egypt*; and that Kingdom was united again to the *Perſian* Empire, and continued ſo during the reſt of the Reign of *Artaxerxes*; it being then the twentieth Year thereof. But the Priſoners who were taken in this War met with a moſt cruel Fate, in this Manner.

The Mother of *Artaxerxes* had, for five Years together, been daily importuning him to deliver to her *Inarus*, and his *Athenians*; in order that ſhe might ſacrifice them to the *Manes* of *Achæmenes*,

mones, her Son; and he had continually refuſed to gratify her in her Requeſt; but at laſt yielded to her Sollicitations; upon which, this inhuman Princeſs, in Defiance of the Conditions which had been ſo ſolemnly ratified, cauſed *Inarus* to be crucified, and beheaded all the reſt.

Megabyſus, infinitely afflicted and incenſed at this Barbarity, ſince, as he had promiſed that no Injury ſhould be done them, the Affront recoiled principally on him, left the Court, and withdrew to *Syria*, of which he was Governour; and his Diſcontent was ſo great, that he raiſed an Army, and revolted openly.

Hereupon the King ſent *Oſiris*, who was one of the greateſt Lords of the Court, againſt him, with an Army of two hundred thouſand Men. *Megabyſus* engaged *Oſiris*, wounded him, took him Priſoner, and put his Army to Flight. *Artaxerxes* ſending to demand *Oſiris*, *Megabyſus* gave him generouſly back, aſſoon as his Wounds were healed. Next Year *Artaxerxes* ſent another Army againſt him, the Command of which he gave to *Menoſtanes*, Son to *Artarius*, his Brother, and Governor of *Babylon*. This General, however, was not more fortunate than the former; he alſo was defeated and put to Flight, and *Megabyſus* gained as ſignal a Victory as the former.

Hereupon *Artaxerxes* finding he could not ſubdue him by Force of Arms, ſent his Brother *Artarius*, and *Amytis* his Siſter, who was Wife to *Megabyſus*, with ſeveral other Perſons of the firſt Quality, to perſuade the latter to return to his Allegiance: They ſucceeded in their Negotiation; the King pardon'd him, and he returned to Court.

But, one Day as they were hunting, a Lion raiſing himſelf on his hinder Feet, was going to ruſh upon *Artaxerxes*; when *Megabyſus*, ſeeing the Danger he was in, and fired with Zeal and Affection for his Sovereign, hurled a Dart at the Lion, which kill'd him, and ſaved his Prince. However, *Artaxerxes*, upon Pretence that *Megabyſus* had affronted him, in darting at the Lion firſt, commanded his Head to be ſtruck off: And, it was with the utmoſt Difficulty, that *Amytis* his Siſter, and *Ameſtris* his Mother, prevail'd with the King, to change this Sentence to perpetual Baniſhment.

Megabyſus was therefore ſent to *Cyrta*, a City ſtanding on the *Red-ſea*, and ſentenced to end his Days in it: However, five Years after, diſguiſing himſelf like a Leper, he fled from thence, and returned to *Suſa*; where, by the Aſſiſtance of his Wife, and Mother-in-Law, he was reſtored to Favour, and enjoy'd it till his Death, which happen'd ſome Years after, in the ſeventy-ſixth Year of his Age. *Megabyſus* was extremely regretted by the King and the whole Court: He was Maſter of the greateſt Abilities of any Man in the Kingdom, and at the ſame Time was the beſt General: *Artaxerxes* owed both his Crown and Life to him; but it is of dangerous Conſequence to a Subject, when his Sovereign is bound to him by too many Obligations: This was the Cauſe of all the Calamities which befel *Megabyſus*.

It is ſurprizing, that ſo judicious a Prince as *Artaxerxes*, ſhould have been ſo imprudent, as to be fired with Jealouſy againſt a Nobleman of his Court, merely becauſe, in a Party of Hunting, he had firſt darted at the Beaſt that was chaſed. Could any Thing be ſo weak; or, was this placing the Point of Honour, as a great Prince ought to have done? Nevertheleſs, Hiſtory furniſhes us with many Inſtances of this: But we are inclin'd to believe, from ſome Expreſſions of *Plutarch*, that *Artaxerxes* was aſham'd of the wild Fury to which this falſe Idea of Glory had raiſed him, and that he made a Sort of publick Atonement for it: For, according to this Author, he publiſh'd a Decree, importing, that any Man who was hunting with the King, ſhould be allow'd to hurl the Javelin firſt at the Beaſt, if an Opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that Purpoſe; and, according to *Plutarch*, he was the firſt Monarch who granted ſuch a Permiſſion.

Before we proceed any farther in the Hiſtory of the *Perſians*, and *Greeks*, we ſhall relate ſuccinctly what happen'd to the *Jewiſh* Nation, during the firſt twenty Years of the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, ſince this makes an eſſential Part of the Hiſtory of that Prince.

In the ſeventh Year of the Reign of this Monarch, *Eſdras* obtain'd of the King, and his ſeven Counſellors, an ample Commiſſion, impowering him to return to *Jeruſalem*, with all ſuch *Jews* as would follow him thither, in order to ſettle the *Jewiſh* Government and Religion, agreeably to their own Laws. This *Eſdras* was deſcended from *Saraias*, who was High-prieſt of *Jeruſalem*, at the Time that it was deſtroy'd by *Nabuchodonoſor*, and was put to Death by his Command; and was a very learn'd and pious Man, who was chiefly diſtinguiſh'd from the Reſt of the *Jews*, by his great Knowledge in the Scriptures; it being ſaid of him, *That he was very ready in the Law of* Moſes, *that was given by the God of* Iſrael.

Having obtained this Permiſſion, he ſet out from *Babylon*, with the Gifts and Offerings which the King, his Courtiers, and ſuch *Iſraelites* as had ſtaid in *Babylon*, had put into his Hands for the Service of the Temple, and which he gave to the Prieſts, immediately upon his Arrival in *Jeruſalem*. It appears by the Commiſſion which *Artaxerxes* gave him, that this Prince had a high Veneration for the *God* of *Iſrael*; ſince, in commanding his Officers to furniſh the *Jews* with all Things neceſſary for their Worſhip, he adds, *Let all Things be perform'd after the Law of* God *diligently, unto the Moſt High* God, *that Wrath come not upon the Kingdom of the King and his Son.*

This Commiſſion, as has been obſerved, impower'd him to ſettle the Religion and Government of the *Jews*, purſuant to the Law of *Moſes*; to appoint Magiſtrates and Judges, to puniſh Evildoers, not only by impriſoning their Perſons, and confiſcating their Poſſeſſions, but alſo by ſending them into Baniſhment, and even ſentencing them to Death, according to the Crimes they ſhould commit. Such was the Power with which *Eſdras* was inveſted, and which he exerciſed faithfully during thirteen Years, till *Nehemiah* brought a new Commiſſion from the *Perſian* Court.

Nehemiah was alſo a *Jew* of diſtinguiſh'd Merit and Piety, and one of the Cup-bearers to King *Artaxerxes*; which was a very conſiderable Employment in the *Perſian* Court, becauſe of the Privilege annex'd to it, *viz.* of being often near the King's Perſon, and of being likewiſe allow'd to ſpeak to him in the moſt auſpicious Moments. However, neither his exalted Station, nor the

Settlement of his Family in that Land of Captivity, could obliterate from his Mind, the Country of his Anceſtors, nor their Religion: Neither his Love for the one, nor his Zeal for the other, were abated; and his Heart was ſtill on *Zion*. Accordingly, ſome *Jews* who were come from *Jeruſalem*, having inform'd him of the ſad State of this City; that its Walls lay in Ruin; its Gates burnt down; and the Inhabitants thereby expoſed to the Inſults of their Enemies; and made the Scorn of all their Neighbours: This News of the Affliction of his Brethren. and the Dangers with which they were menaced, made ſuch an Impreſſion on his Mind as might naturally have been expected from the pious *Nehemiah*.

Hereupon one Day as he was waiting upon the King, the latter obſerving that an unuſual Melancholy was diffuſed over *Nehemiah*'s Countenance, ask'd him the Cauſe of it; a Proof that this Monarch was endued with a Tenderneſs that is rarely found in Kings; and which is nevertheleſs much more valuable than the moſt ſhining Qualities. *Nehemiah* took this Opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous State of his Country; owned that this was the Subject of his Grief; and humbly intreated that Leave might be given him to go to *Jeruſalem*, in order to repair the Fortifications. The Kings of *Perſia*, his Predeceſſors, had permitted the *Jews* to rebuild the Temple, but not to reſtore the Walls of *Jeruſalem*: But *Artaxerxes* permitted this, and *Nehemiah*, as Governor of *Judea*, was not only appointed to put this Decree in Execution, but the King, to do him the greater Honour, ordered a Body of Horſe, commanded by a conſiderable Officer, to eſcort him thither. He likewiſe writ to all the Governors of the Provinces on that Side the *Euphrates*, to give him all the Aſſiſtance poſſible, in forwarding the Work for which he was ſent. This pious *Jew* executed every Part of his Commiſſion, with incredible Zeal and Activity.

It is from this Decree enacted by *Artaxerxes*, in the twentieth Year of his Reign, for the rebuilding the Walls of *Jeruſalem*, that we date the Beginning of the *Seventy Weeks*, mentioned in the famous Prophecy of *Daniel*; after which the *Meſſiah* was to appear, and to be put to Death.

When *Eſdras* was in Power, as his chief View was to reſtore Religion to its ancient Purity, he ranged the Books of Scripture into their proper Order; reviſed them all very carefully, and collected the Incidents relating to the People of *God* in ancient Times; in order to compoſe of them the two Books of *Chronicles*; to which he added the Hiſtory of his own Times, which was finiſh'd by *Nehemiah*. It is their Books that end the long Hiſtory which *Moſes* had begun, and which the Writers, who came after them, continued in a direct Series, till the repairing of *Jeruſalem*. The reſt of the ſacred Hiſtory is not written in that uninterrupted Order.

Whilſt *Eſdras* and *Nehemiah* were compiling the latter Part of this great Work, *Herodotus*, whom profane Authors call the Father of Hiſtory, began to write. Thus we find that the lateſt Authors of the Books of Scripture, flouriſh'd about the ſame Time with the firſt Authors of the *Grecian* Hiſtory; and when it began, that of *God*'s People, to compute only from *Abraham*, included already fifteen Centuries. *Herodotus* made no Mention of the *Jews* in his Hiſtory; for the *Greeks*, were deſirous only of being informed of ſuch Nations, as were famous for their Wars, their Traffick, or their conſpicuous Figure; ſo that as *Judea* was then but juſt riſing from its Ruins, it did not excite the Attention of that People.

We ſhall now return to *Greece*: Ever ſince the Baniſhment of *Themiſtocles*, and the Death of *Ariſtides*, (the exact Time of which is not known) two Citizens, *Cimon* and *Pericles*, ſhared the Credit and Authority over the People of *Athens*. *Pericles* was much younger than *Cimon*, and of a quite different Character. As he will make a very conſiderable Figure in the following Hiſtory, it is of Importance to the Reader to know who he was; in what Manner he had been educated, and his Plans and Method of Government.

Pericles was deſcended, by the Mother's, as well as Father's Side, from the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious Families in *Athens*. His Father *Xanthippus*, who defeated the King of *Perſia*'s Lieutenants at *Mycale*, married *Agariſta*, Niece to *Clyſthenes*, who drove out the *Piſiſtradides*, or Deſcendants of *Piſiſtratus*, the Tyrant, and eſtabliſh'd a popular Government in *Athens*. *Pericles* had long prepared himſelf for the Deſign he formed of engaging in State Affairs.

He was brought up under the moſt learned Men of his Age, and particularly *Anaxagoras* of *Clazomeze*; ſirnam'd the *Intelligence*, from his being the firſt, as we are told, who aſcribed human Events, as well as the Formation and Government of the Univerſe, not to Chance, as ſome Philoſophers, nor to a fatal Neceſſity, but to a ſuperior Intelligence, who regulated and conducted the whole with Wiſdom. This Tenet, or Opinion, was, nevertheleſs, believed long before his Time; but he, perhaps, ſet it in a ſtronger Light than any Man before him, and taught it methodically, and from Principles.

Anaxagoras inſtructed his Pupil perfectly in that Part of Philoſophy that relates to Nature, and which is therefore called *Phyſicks*. This Study endued him with a Strength and Greatneſs of Soul, which raiſed him above a numberleſs Multitude of popular Prejudices, and vain Practices, that were generally obſerved in his Time; and which, in Affairs of Government and military Enterprizes, frequently baffled and fruſtrated the wiſeſt and moſt neceſſary Meaſures, by ſcrupulous Delays, authorized and covered with the ſpecious Veil of Religion. Such were ſometimes Dreams or Auguries, at other Times uncommon *Phænomena*, as Eclipſes of the Sun or Moon, or elſe Omens and Preſages; not to mention the wild Chimeras of judicial Aſtrology. The Knowledge of Nature, free from the groveling and weak Superſtitions to which Ignorance gives Birth, inſpired him, ſays *Plutarch*, with a well-grounded Piety towards the Gods, join'd to a Fortitude of Mind that was immoveable, and a calm Hope of the Bleſſings we may expect from them. Although he found infinite Charms in his Study, he yet did not devote himſelf to it as a Philoſopher, but as a Politician; and he had ſo much Power over himſelf (a very difficult Thing) as to preſcribe Limits to his Purſuit of Knowledge.

But the Talent he cultivated with the greateſt Care, becauſe he looked upon it as the moſt neceſſary, for a Man who is deſirous of ſhining,

and

and bearing Sway, in a popular Government, was *Eloquence*. And indeed, thoſe who poſſeſſed this Talent, in a free State like that of *Athens*, were ſure of moulding the Minds of the People into what Shapes they pleaſed, of gaining the Voices, of riſing to Poſts and Preferments, and ruling the Minds of Men with a deſpotic Sway. He, therefore, made this his chief Aim, and the Mark to which all his other Acquirements, as well as the ſeveral Sciences he had learn'd from *Anaxagoras*, were directed.

He had no Cauſe to repent his having beſtow'd ſo much Time in his Study, ſince he ſucceeded in it far beyond his Hopes. The Poets, his Cotemporaries, uſed to ſay, that his Eloquence was ſo powerful, that he lighten'd, thunder'd, and put all *Greece* in a Ferment. He was Maſter of thoſe piercing and lively Touches which ſtrike the Soul; and his Speeches left always Stings, or ſharp Points, as it were, in the Minds of his Auditors. He had the Art of uniting Beauty to Strength; and *Cicero* obſerves, that at the very Time he combated, with the greateſt Reſolution, the Inclinations and Deſires of the *Athenians*; he had the Art to make even Severity itſelf, and the Kind of Moroſeneſs with which he ſpoke againſt the Flatterers of the People, popular.

There was no reſiſting the Solidity of his Arguments, or the Sweetneſs of his Words; whence it was ſaid, that the Goddeſs of Perſuaſion, with all her Attendant Graces, reſided on his Lips. And indeed, as *Thucydides*, his Rival and Adverſary, was one Day ask'd, whether he or *Pericles* was the beſt Wreſtler: *Whenever* (ſays he) *I have given him a Fall, he affirms the contrary, in ſuch ſtrong and forcible Terms, that he perſuades all the Spectators I did not throw him, though they themſelves ſaw him on the Ground.* Nor was he leſs prudent and reſerv'd, than ſtrong and vehement in his Speeches; and it is related, that he never ſpoke in publick, till after he had beſought the Gods, not to ſuffer any Expreſſion to drop from him, either incongruous to his Subject, or offenſive to the People. Whenever he purpoſed to go to the Aſſembly; before he came out of his Houſe, he uſed to ſay to himſelf, *Remember*, Pericles, *that thou art going to ſpeak to Men born in Liberty*; *to* Greeks, *to* Athenians.

The uncommon Endeavours, which *Pericles*, according to Hiſtorians, uſed, in order to improve his Mind in Knowledge, and to attain to a Perfection in Eloquence, is an excellent Leſſon to ſuch Perſons as are, one Day, deſign'd to fill the weighty Employments of State; and a juſt Cenſure of thoſe, who, diſregarding whatever is call'd Study and Learning, bring into thoſe Poſts (to which they aſcend quite uninform'd with Knowledge or Experience) nothing but a ridiculous Self-Sufficiency, and a raſh Boldneſs in giving their Deciſions. *Plutarch*, in a Treatiſe, where he ſhows, that it is to Stateſmen a Philoſopher ought chiefly to attach himſelf, preferably to any other Claſs of Men; (becauſe in inſtructing theſe, he, at at the ſame Time, teaches whole Cities and Republicks) verifies his Aſſertion from the Example of the greateſt Men both of *Greece* and *Italy*, who borrow'd this Aid from Philoſophy. *Pericles*, of whom we now write, was taught by *Anaxagoras*; *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſa* by *Plato*; many Princes of *Italy* by *Pythagoras*; nay, *Cato*, the famous Cenſor, travell'd to the Place where *Athenodorus* liv'd, purpoſely to be taught by him; and the famous *Scipio*, the Deſtroyer of *Carthage*, always kept *Panetius*, the Philoſopher, near him.

One of the chief Endeavours of *Pericles* alſo was, to ſtudy thoroughly the Genius and Diſpoſition of the *Athenians*, that he might diſcover the ſecret Springs which were to be employ'd, in order to ſet them in Motion; and the Manner how he ſhould conduct himſelf, to win their Favour and Eſteem; for, it was in this Circumſtance chiefly, that the Great Men among the Ancients, uſed to make their Skill and Politicks conſiſt. He found, by the Reflections he had made on the ſeveral Tranſactions of his Time, that the predominant Paſſions of this People were, a violent Averſion to Tyranny, and a ſtrong Love of Liberty, which inſpir'd them with Sentiments of Fear, Jealouſy, and Suſpicion, of all ſuch Citizens, as were too conſpicuous for their Birth, their perſonal Merit, their own Credit and Authority, or that of their Friends.

He not only was very like *Piſiſtratus*, with Regard to the Sweetneſs of his Voice, and his Fluency of Expreſſion, but he alſo reſembled him very much in his Features, and his whole Air and Manner; and he obſerv'd, that the moſt ancient *Athenians*, who had ſeen that Tyrant, were prodigiouſly ſtruck at the Reſemblance. Beſides, he was very wealthy; was deſcended from an illuſtrious Family, and had very powerful Friends. To prevent, therefore, raiſing the Suſpicion and Jealouſy of the People, he, at firſt, ſhunn'd all Affairs of Government, which require a conſtant Attendance in the City; and reſolv'd only to diſtinguiſh himſelf in the moſt hazardous Dangers, and in the Field.

Seeing *Ariſtides* dead, *Themiſtocles* driven from his Country, and *Cimon* engaged almoſt continually in foreign Wars, and abſent from *Greece*; he began to appear in publick with greater Confidence than before, and apply'd himſelf entirely to gain the Affections of the People; but not out of Inclination, for he was not of a popular Turn of Mind, but to remove all Suſpicion of aſpiring to Tyranny; and ſtill more, to raiſe a ſtrong Bulwark againſt the Credit and Authority of *Cimon*, who had join'd with the Nobles.

At the ſame Time, he quite changed his Conduct, and Way of Life; and aſſum'd, in every Thing, the Character of a Stateſman, who is wholly buſy'd in Affairs of Government, and entirely devoted to the Service of his Country. He was never ſeen in the Streets, except when he was going either to the Aſſembly of the People, or to the Council. He immediately left off going to Banquets, Aſſemblies, and other Diverſions of that Kind, which he had uſed to frequent; and during the many Years that he preſided in the Adminiſtration, he was never ſeen to go and ſup with his Friends, except once at the Nuptials of a near Relation.

He knew that the People, who are naturally fickle and inconſtant, commonly increaſe their Diſregard for thoſe who are ever in their Sight; and that too ſtrong a Deſire to pleaſe them, grows at laſt tireſome and importunate; and it had been obſerv'd, that ſuch a Behaviour did great Prejudice to *Themiſtocles*. To avoid this Error, he uſed to go very rarely to the Aſſemblies; and never appear'd

appear'd before the People but at Intervals, in order to make himſelf be wiſh'd for; and to preſerve a conſtant Aſcendant over them; wiſely reſerving himſelf for great and important Affairs. Hence it was ſaid, that he imitated *Jupiter*, who, in the Government of the World, according to ſome Philoſophers, buſy'd himſelf in great Events only; and left the Direction of thoſe of leſs Importance to inferior Deities. And indeed, *Pericles* uſed to tranſact all petty Affairs, by his Friends, and certain Orators entirely devoted to him, among whom was *Ephialtes*.

We have already obſerv'd, that *Pericles* employ'd his whole Induſtry and Application to win the Favour and Eſteem of the People, in order to counter-balance the Fame and Credit of *Cimon*. However, he could not equal the Magnificence and Liberality of his Rival, whoſe immenſe Riches gave him an Opportunity of beſtowing ſuch Preſents, as appear to us almoſt incredible, ſo much they differ from our Cuſtoms. Finding it impoſſible, therefore, for him to rival *Cimon* in this Particular, he had Recourſe to another Expedient (in order to gain the Love of the Populace) which, if not leſs efficacious, was certainly not ſo lawful and honourable.

He was the firſt Man, who divided the conquer'd Lands among the Citizens, who diſtributed among them the publick Money for exhibiting of their Games and Shows; and annex'd Penſions to all publick Employments; ſo that certain Sums were beſtow'd on them regularly, to purchaſe Seats at the Games, in the Courts of Juſtice, and the Debates on publick Affairs. It is impoſſible to ſay, how fatal theſe unhappy Politicks were to the Republick, and the many Evils they drew after them. For, theſe new Regulations, beſides their dreining the publick Treaſury, gave the People a luxurious and diſſolute Turn of Mind; whereas, before they were ſober and modeſt, and were contented to gain a Livelihood by their Sweat and Labour.

By ſuch Arts as theſe, *Pericles* had gain'd ſuch an Aſcendant over the Minds of the People, that it may be affirm'd, he had raiſed himſelf to a Monarchical Power, under a Republican Form of Government; moulding the Citizens into what Shape he pleaſed, and preſiding, with deſpotick Sway, in all their Aſſemblies. And indeed, *Valerius Maximus* makes ſcarce any other Difference between *Piſiſtratus* and *Pericles*, except that the one exerciſed a tyrannical Power by Force of Arms, and the other by the Strength of his Eloquence, in which (as has been obſerv'd before) he had made a very great Progreſs under *Anaxagoras*.

This Credit and Authority, though carry'd to ſo enormous a Height, could not yet reſtrain the Comic Writers from laſhing him very ſeverely in the Theatres; and it does not appear, that any of the Poets, who cenſur'd *Pericles* ſo very boldly, were ever puniſh'd, or even call'd to Account for it by the People. Perhaps, it was prudent and political in that *Grecian*, not to attempt to curb this Licentiouſneſs of the Stage; nor to ſilence the Poets, in order that he might amuſe and content the People, by this vain Shadow of Liberty, and prevent their diſcovering, that they really were enſlav'd.

But *Pericles* did not ſtop here: He boldly reſolv'd, if poſſible, to weaken the Authority of the Tribunal of the *Areopagus*; of which he was not a Member; becauſe he had never been elected either *Archon*, *Theſmotheta*, *King* of the *Sacrifices*, nor *Polemarchus*. Theſe were different Employments in the Republick, which, from Time immemorial, had been given by Lot; and none but thoſe who had behav'd uprightly in them, were allow'd a Seat in the *Areopagus*.

Pericles therefore, taking Advantage of the Abſence of *Cimon*, ſet *Ephialtes*, who was his Creature, at Work clandeſtinely; and, at laſt, leſſen'd the Power of that illuſtrious Body, in which the chief Strength of the Nobles conſiſted. The People embolden'd, and ſupported by ſo powerful a Faction, overturn'd all the fundamental Laws and ancient Uſages; took from the Senate of the *Areopagus*, the Cognizance of moſt Cauſes that uſed to be brought before it; leaving it very few, and ſuch only as were of little Conſequence, and made themſelves Maſters of all the Tribunals.

Soon after, *Cimon*, being return'd to *Athens*, was griev'd to ſee the Dignity of the Senate trampled under Foot; and, therefore, ſet every Engine at Work to reſtore it to its priſtine Authority; and to revive the Ariſtocracy, in the ſame Form as it had been eſtabliſh'd under *Cliſthenes*. Hereupon, his Enemies began to exclaim and excite the People againſt him; reproaching him, among many other Particulars, for his ſtrong Attachment to the *Lacedæmonians*. *Cimon* had himſelf given ſome Room for this Reproach, by his not paying Regard enough to the jealous Temper of the *Athenians*: For, in ſpeaking to them, he would for ever extol *Lacedæmon*; and whenever he cenſur'd their Conduct on any Occaſion, he uſed always to cry, *The* Spartans *do not act in that Manner*. Such Expreſſions as theſe, drew upon him the Envy and Hatred of his Fellow-Citizens; but an Event, in which he, nevertheleſs, had no Share, made him the Object of their utmoſt Deteſtation.

In the fourth Year of the Reign of *Archidamus*, there happen'd the moſt dreadful Earthquake in *Sparta* that had ever been known. In ſeveral Places, the Country was entirely ſwallow'd up; *Taygete*, and other Mountains, were ſhaken to their Foundations; many of their Summits being torn away, came tumbling down; and the whole City was overturn'd, five Houſes excepted, which were left ſtanding amidſt the dreadful Ruins. To heighten the Calamity, the *Helotes*, who were Slaves to the *Lacedæmonians*, looking upon this as a favourable Opportunity to recover their Liberty; flew up and down every Part of the City, to murder all thoſe who had eſcap'd the Earthquake: But, finding them under Arms, and drawn up in Battle Array, by the prudent Foreſight of *Archidamus*, who had aſſembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring Cities, and began that very Day to carry on an open War; concluding an Alliance with ſeveral of the neighbouring Nations, and they were ſtrengthned by the *Meſſenians*, who at that Time were engaged in a War againſt the *Spartans*.

The *Lacedæmonians* being in this Extremity, ſent to *Athens* to implore Relief; but this was oppoſed by *Ephialtes*, who declared, that it would be no Way adviſeable to aſſiſt them, nor to rebuild a City, that was the Rival of *Athens*, which, he ſaid, ought, on the contrary, to be bury'd in its

its Ruins; inſiſting ſtrenuouſly, that the Pride of *Sparta* muſt be humbled. But *Cimon*, being ſtruck with Horror at theſe Politicks, did not heſitate a Moment to prefer the Welfare of the *Lacedæmonians* to the aggrandizing his Country upon ſuch baſe Terms; wherefore, he declared in the ſtrongeſt Manner, that it would not be prudent in any Manner *to leave* Greece *in a tottering Condition*, *nor* Athens *without a Counterpoiſe*, he gain'd over the People to his Opinion; and accordingly, it was reſolv'd to relieve them.

Sparta and *Athens* might, indeed, be conſider'd as the two Columns on which *Greece* ſtood; ſo that, if one of them was to fall, the other muſt neceſſarily totter. It is likewiſe certain, that the *Athenians*, elate with their Grandeur, were become ſo proud and enterprizing, that they wanted a Curb; and none could be better for that Purpoſe than *Sparta*, as this State was alone capable of being a Counterpoize to the head-ſtrong Diſpoſition of the *Athenians*: *Cimon*, therefore, march'd to the Relief of the *Lacedæmonians* with four thouſand Men.

We have here an Example of the prodigious Influence, which a Man of fine Talents and Abilities has in a State or Commonwealth; when, to a great Fund of Merit, he adds a well-eſtabliſh'd Fame, with Regard to his Probity, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Love of his Country. *Cimon*, with very little Difficulty, prevails ſo far, as to inſpire the *Athenians* with noble and magnanimous Sentiments, which, in outward Appearance, interfered with their Intereſt; and this in Spite of the Suggeſtions of a ſecret Jealouſy, which is always ſtrongly felt on theſe Occaſions. By the Aſcendant and Authority, which his Virtue gives him, he raiſes them above the groveling and unjuſt (the too common) political Views, that prompt a People to conſider the Calamities of their Neighbour as an Advantage, which the Intereſt of their own Country permits, and even enjoins them to make Uſe of. The Counſels of *Cimon* were perfectly wiſe and equitable; but it is ſurprizing, how he could prevail ſo far, as make a whole People approve them, ſince this is all that could be expected from an Aſſembly of wiſe and diſintereſted Senators.

Some Time after, the *Lacedæmonians* again implor'd the Aid of the *Athenians* againſt the *Meſſenians* and *Helotes*, who had ſeiz'd upon *Ithome*. But theſe Forces being arriv'd, under the Command of *Cimon*, the *Spartans* began to dread their Intrepidity, their Power, and great Fame; ſo that they ſent them back, in the moſt inſolent Manner, as guilty of harbouring ill Deſigns; and of intending to turn their Arms againſt them.

The *Athenians* being return'd home, and fir'd with Anger as well as Reſentment, declar'd themſelves, from that very Day, Enemies to all who ſhould favour the *Lacedæmonian* Intereſt; for which Reaſon, they baniſh'd *Cimon* by the *Oſtraciſm*, the very firſt Opportunity preſented itſelf for that Purpoſe. This is the firſt Time that the Miſunderſtanding between theſe two Nations, which afterwards was inflam'd by mutual Diſcontent, diſplay'd itſelf in ſo ſtrong a Manner. It was, nevertheleſs, ſuppreſſed for ſome Years, by Truces, and other Treaties, which prevented its blazing; but it, at laſt, burſt out in the moſt violent Manner, by the War of *Peloponneſus*.

Thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in *Ithome*, after a ten Years Defence, ſurrender'd to the *Lacedæmonians*, who gave them their Lives, upon Condition that they ſhould never return to *Peloponneſus*. The *Athenians*, to exaſperate the *Lacedæmonians*, receiv'd them, with their Wives and Children, and ſettled them in *Naupactus*, of which they had juſt before poſſeſſed themſelves. The Inhabitants of *Megara* broke off, at the ſame Time, from the *Spartans*, and join'd the *Athenians*. In this Manner, ſeveral Leagues were concluded on both Sides, and many Battles were fought, the moſt famous of which was that of *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*, which *Diodorus* equals to thoſe of *Marathon* and *Platææ*; and in which *Myronides*, the *Athenian* General, defeated the *Spartans*, who came to the Relief of the *Thebans*.

It was on this Occaſion, that *Cimon*, thinking himſelf diſpenſed from his Proſcription, return'd with his Soldiers to his Tribe to ſerve his Country; and to fight in Concert with his Country-Men againſt the *Lacedæmonians*: But his Enemies procur'd an Order to be ſent him to retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his Companions, who were no leſs ſuſpected than himſelf, of favouring the *Lacedæmonians*, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, and fight with the greateſt Courage, in order to prove their Innocence; and, if poſſible, to eraze from the Minds of the Citizens, a Suſpicion ſo injurious to them all. Accordingly, theſe brave Soldiers, who were an hundred in Number, fir'd by theſe Words, deſir'd to have *Cimon*'s Suit of Armour; which they plac'd in the Centre of their little Battalion, in order to have him preſent, as it were, and before their Eyes. They then fought with ſo much Valour and Fury, that all ſuffer'd themſelves to be cut to Pieces rather than yield; to the great Regret of the *Athenians*, who then deeply repented their having accuſed them ſo unjuſtly.

CHAP. VIII.

Cimon *is recalled; and gains divers Victories over the* Perſians; *His Death, and Elogy;* Thucydides *oppoſed to* Pericles, *but worſted by him, and baniſhed; Jealouſies ariſe between the* Athenians *and* Spartans; Pericles *attack'd through the Sides of his Friends;* Phidias *unjuſtly proſecuted, and condemn'd;* Aſpaſia *narrowly eſcapes, through the Interceſſion of* Pericles; Anaxagoras *forced to fly for his Life;* Pericles *charged with embezling the publick Money; He kindles the* Peloponneſian *War, by the Advice of* Alcibiades, *to avoid giving in his Accompts.*

AFTER this, the *Athenians*, being ſenſible how much they wanted *Cimon*'s Aſſiſtance, recall'd him from Baniſhment, in which he had ſpent five Years. It was *Pericles* himſelf, who propoſed and drew up the Decree; ſo far (ſays *Plutarch*) the Feuds and Animoſities were quieted at that Time, and upon the Point of ceaſing entirely, when the Welfare of their Country required it; and ſo happily did Ambition, which is one of the ſtrongeſt, and moſt lively Paſſions, yield to the Neceſſity of the Times, and ſubmit in all thoſe Things, which might contribute to the publick Welfare.

The Inſtant *Cimon* was return'd, he ſtifled the Sparks of War, which were going to break out among the *Greeks*; reconcil'd the two Cities, and prevail'd with them to conclude a Truce for five Years. And, to prevent the *Athenians*, who were elate with the many Victories they had gain'd, from having an Opportunity, or harbouring a Deſign, to attack their Neighbours and *Allies*; he thought it adviſeable to lead them, at a great Diſtance from home, againſt the common Enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable Way, to train up the Citizens to War, and enrich them at the ſame Time. Accordingly, he put to Sea a Fleet of two hundred Sail. He ſent ſixty of theſe into *Egypt*, to relieve *Amyrtea*; and himſelf ſailed with the Reſt to fight the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Cyprus*.

Artabazus was, at that Time, in thoſe Seas with a Fleet of three hundred Sail; and *Megabyſus*, the other General of *Artaxerxes*, with an Army of three hundred Thouſand Men on the Coaſt of *Cilicia*. As ſoon as the Squadron which *Cimon* ſent into *Egypt* had join'd his Fleet, he ſail'd, and attack'd *Artabazus*, and took an hundred of his Ships. He ſunk many of them, and gave Chaſe to the Reſt, as far as the Coaſts of *Phœnicia*. But, as if this Victory had been only a Prelude to a ſecond, he made a Deſcent on *Cilicia*, in his Return; attack'd *Megabyſus*, defeated him, and cut to Pieces a numberleſs Multitude of his Troops. He afterwards return'd to *Cyprus* with this double Triumph, and laid Siege to *Citium*, a ſtrong City, of very great Importance.

His Deſign, after he had reduc'd that Iſland, was to ſail for *Egypt*, and again embroil the Affairs of the *Barbarians*; for he had very extenſive Views, and meditated no leſs a Proſpect than that of the entire Subverſion of the mighty Empire of *Perſia*. The Rumours which prevail'd, that *Themiſtocles* was to command the Army, added freſh Fire to his Courage; and being almoſt ſure of Succeſs, he panted, to oppoſe his Courage and Abilities to thoſe of that great General. But we have already heard, that *Themiſtocles* laid violent Hands on himſelf, about this Time.

Artaxerxes, tired with a War in which he had ſuſtain'd ſuch great Loſſes, reſolv'd, with the Advice of his Council, to put an End to it. Accordingly, he ſent Orders to his Generals, to conclude a Peace with the *Athenians*, upon the moſt advantageous Conditions poſſible. Accordingly, *Megabyſus* and *Artabazus* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens*, to propoſe an Accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were then choſen on each Side, and *Callias* was at the Head of thoſe of *Athens*. The Conditions of the Treaty were, as follows: 1. That all the *Grecian* Cities of *Aſia* ſhould have the Liberty to chuſe their own Laws, and that Government under which they were deſirous of living. 2. That no *Perſian* Man of War ſhould be allow'd to enter the Seas, from the *Cyanean* to the *Chelidonian* Iſlands; that is, from *Pontus Euxinus* to the Coaſts of *Pamphylia*. 3. That no *Perſian* General ſhould lead any Troops within three Days March of thoſe Seas. 4. That the *Athenians* ſhould not invade any Part of the Dominions of the King of *Perſia*. Theſe Articles being ratify'd by both Parties, Peace was proclaim'd. Thus ended this War, which, from the burning of *Sardis* by the *Athenians*, had laſted fifty-one Years compleat; and in which a numberleſs Multitude of *Perſians*, as well as *Greeks*, had loſt their Lives.

Whilſt this Treaty was negotiating, *Cimon* dy'd, either of Sickneſs, or of a Wound he had receiv'd, at the Siege of *Citium*. When he was near his End, he commanded his Officers to ſail the Fleet with all imaginable Expedition to *Athens*, and to conceal his Death with the utmoſt Care. Accordingly, this was executed with ſo much Secrecy, that neither the Enemy, nor the *Allies*, once ſuſpected it; and they return'd ſafe to *Athens*, ſtill under the Conduct and *Auſpices* of *Cimon*, though he had been dead above thirty Days.

He was univerſally regretted, which is no Wonder, ſince he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe Qualities, that dignify the Soul; being a tender Son, a faithful Friend; zealous for the Welfare of his Country,

ty, a great Politician, an accompliſh'd General; modeſt, when raiſed to the higheſt Employments, and moſt ſhining Honours; liberal and beneficent almoſt to Profuſion; plain, and abhorrent of Oſtentation of every Kind, even in the Midſt of Riches and Abundance: In ſhort, he was a Lover of ſuch Citizens, as were in unhappy Circumſtances, who always ſhared his Eſtate with him; ſo far was he from deſpiſing them, becauſe they were poor.

We don't find, by Hiſtory, that he was interr'd with Pomp; or, that any Statues, or Monuments, were erected to his Memory: But the greateſt Honour that could be paid him, was the Sighs and Tears of the People; theſe were permanent and laſting Statues, as it were, which are not obnoxious to the Inclemencies of the Weather, or the *Injuries* of Time; and endear the Memory of the Good and Virtuous to the remoteſt Ages. For the moſt ſplendid Monuments of Braſs and Marble, that are raiſed in Honour of wicked great Men, are deſpiſed by Poſterity, as Sepulchres, which incloſe nothing but Putrefaction.

What follow'd, prov'd more ſtrongly the Loſs which *Greece* had ſuſtain'd by his Death; for *Cimon* was the laſt of all the *Greeian* Generals, who gain'd any conſiderable Conqueſt over the *Barbarians*. Excited by the Orators, who gain'd the ſtrongeſt Aſcendant over the Minds of the People, and ſow'd the Seeds of Diviſion in their publick Aſſemblies, they turn'd their Animoſities one againſt another; and, at laſt, broke out into an open War; the fatal Conſequences of which no one endeavour'd to prevent; a Circumſtance, that was of very great Advantage to the King of *Perſia*, and of the utmoſt Prejudice to the Affairs of *Greece*.

In the meanWhile, the Nobles of *Athens* ſeeing *Pericles* raiſed to the higheſt Degree of Power, and far above all the reſt of the Citizens, reſolv'd to ſet up a Man, who, in ſome Meaſure, might make Head againſt him, and prevent his great Authority from riſing to Monarchy. Accordingly, they oppoſed to him *Thucydides*, Brother-in-Law to *Cimon*, who had diſplay'd his Wiſdom on numberleſs Occaſions. He, indeed, did not poſſeſs the military Talents in ſo eminent a Degree as *Pericles*; but then he had as great an Influence over the People, moving their Minds, and directing their Aſſemblies as he pleas'd: And, as he never ſtirr'd out of the City, but combated, and perpetually oppos'd *Pericles* in all his Deſigns, he ſoon reſtor'd Things to an *Equilibrium*. On the other Side, *Pericles* was now ſollicitous of pleaſing the People on all Occaſions, and indulged them in greater Liberties than ever; wherefore, he now entertain'd them as often as poſſible with Shows, Feſtivals, Games, and ſeveral other Diverſions.

He found Means to maintain, during eight Months in the Year, a great Number of poor Citizens, by putting them on board a Fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore Ships, which he fitted out every Year; and thereby he did his Country an important Service, by training up a great Number of Sailors for its Defence. He alſo planted ſeveral Colonies in *Cherſoneſus*, in *Naxos*, in *Andros*, and among the *Riſaltæ* in *Thrace*. There was a very noble one likewiſe in *Italy*; of which we ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to ſpeak, and which built *Thurium*. *Pericles* had different Views in the ſettling of theſe Colonies, over and above the particular Deſign he might entertain, of winning the Affections of the People by that Means. His chief Motives were, to clear the City of a great Number of idle Perſons, who were ever ready to diſturb the Government; to relieve the Wants of the loweſt Claſs of People, who were unable to ſubſiſt themſelves: In ſhort, to awe the *Allies*, by ſettling true *Athenians* among them, as ſo many Garriſons, which might prevent their engaging in any Meaſures contrary to the Intereſt of that People. The *Romans* made a happy Uſe of this Example; and it may be affirm'd, that this wiſe political Maxim, ſerv'd moſt effectually to ſecure the Tranquility of the State.

But, the Circumſtance which gain'd *Pericles* the greateſt Credit with the People, was his adorning the City with magnificent Edifices, and other Works, which rais'd the Admiration and Aſtoniſhment of all ſuch Foreigners as beheld them, and gave them a mighty Idea of the Power of the *Athenians*. It is ſurprizing, that, in ſo ſhort a Space, ſo many Works, of Architecture, Sculpture, Engraving, and Painting, ſhould be perform'd; and, at the ſame Time, be carry'd to the higheſt Perfection: For, it is generally found, that Edifices rais'd in Haſte, boaſt neither a ſolid, and durable Grace, nor the Regularity requir'd in Works of an exquiſitely beautiful Kind. Commonly, nothing but Length of Time, join'd to the moſt aſſiduous Labour, can give them ſuch a Strength, as may preſerve, and make them triumph over Ages; and this raiſes our Wonder ſtill more at the Works done by *Pericles*, in their being rais'd in ſo ſhort a Space of Time, and their laſting ſo many Centuries. For, each of them, the very Inſtant it was finiſh'd, glow'd with a Beauty that had an antique Caſt; and, at this Time, *i. e.* above five hundred Years after, ſays *Plutarch*, they boaſt a certain juvenile Freſhneſs, as though they were but juſt come out of the Artiſt's Hand; ſo happily do they preſerve the Graces and Charms of Novelty, which will not ſuffer Time to tarniſh their Luſtre; as though an ever-blooming Spirit, and a Soul exempt from the Attacks of Age, were diffus'd over every Part thereof.

But that Circumſtance which excited the Admiration of the whole World, raiſed the Jealouſy of the People againſt *Pericles*. His Enemies were for ever crying aloud, in the Aſſemblies, that it was diſhonourable to the *Athenians*, to appropriate to themſelves the Specie of all *Greece*, which he had ſent for from *Delos*, where it had been depoſited; that the *Allies* muſt neceſſarily conſider ſuch an Attempt as a manifeſt Tyranny, when they found that the Sums which had been extorted from them, upon Pretence of their being employ'd in War, were laid out by the *Athenians* in gilding and embelliſhing their City, in making magnificent Statues, and raiſing Temples, that coſt Thouſands of Talents of Silver. They did not exaggerate on theſe Occaſions; for the Temple of *Minerva*, called the *Parthenone*, alone, had coſt two thouſand Silver Talents, which is about two hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling.

Pericles, on the contrary, remonſtrated to the *Athenians*, that they were not obliged to give the *Allies* an Account of the Money they had receiv-

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ed from them; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulsed the *Barbarians*, at the Time that the *Allies* furnished neither Soldiers, Horses, nor Ships; and that they were quit for some Sums of Money, which, the Instant they are paid in, are no longer the Property of the Donors, but of those who received them; provided they perform the Conditions agreed upon, and, in Consideration of which, they were received.

He added, that as the *Athenians* were stored sufficiently with all Things necessary for War, it was fit they should employ the rest of their Riches in Edifices, and other Works; which, when finished, would give immortal Glory to their City; and, during the Time they were carrying on, diffuse a Plenty of all Things, and give Bread to a numberless Multitude of Citizens: That they themselves had all kinds of Materials, as Timber, Stone, Brass, Ivory, Gold, Ebony, and Cypress-Wood; and all Sorts of Artificers capable of working them, as Carpenters, Masons, Smiths, Stone-cutters, Dyers, Gold-smiths; Artificers who work in Ebony, Painters, Embroiderers, and Turners; Men fit to conduct their naval Affairs, as Merchants, Sailors, and experienced Pilots; others to perform the Land-carriage, as Cart-wrights, Waggoners, Carters, Rope makers, Paviors, *&c.* That it would be of Advantage to the Government to employ these different Artificers, and others, which, as so many separate Bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domestick Army, whose different Functions and Employments were of Emolument to Persons of both Sexes and of all Ages: In short, that whilst Men, who were vigorous enough, and of an Age fit to bear Arms, whether Soldiers or Sailors, and those who were in the different Garrisons, were supported with the publick Money; it was but just, that the rest of the People, who lived in the City, should also be maintained in their Way; and that, as all were Members of the same Republick, they all should reap the same Advantages, by doing it Services, which, though of a different kind, did yet all contribute to its Security or Ornament.

One Day, as the Debates were growing warm, *Pericles* offered to defray the Expence of all these Things, provided it should be declared in the publick Inscriptions, that he only had been at the Charge of them. At these Words the People, either admiring his Magnanimity, or fired with Emulation, and determined not to let him ravish this Glory from them, cried with one Voice, that he might take out of the publick Treasury, all the Sums necessary for his Purpose.

Phidias, the celebrated Sculptor, presided over all these Works, as Director-general. It was he who particularly cast the gold and ivory Statue representing *Pallas*; which was so highly valued, anciently, by all the Judges. There arose an incredible Ardor and Emulation among the several Artificers, who all mutually strove to excel one another, and immortalize their Names by Masterpieces of Art.

The *Odeum*, or Musick-Theatre, the Inside of which was filled with a great Number of Seats and Columns, and whose upper-part grew narrower, and terminated in a Point, was built, as History informs us, after the Model of the Tent of *Xerxes*, according to the Direction of *Pericles*. It was at that Time he proposed, with great Warmth, a Decree, by which it was ordain'd, that musical Games should be celebrated on the Festival called *Panathenea*; and having been chosen the Judge and Distributor of the Prizes, he appointed the Manner in which Musicians should play on the Flute, and the Harp, as well as how they should sing. From that Time, the musical Games were always exhibited in this Theatre.

We have already taken notice, that the more the Beauty and Splendor of these Works were admired, the stronger Envy and greater Clamour was raised against *Pericles*. The Orators, who were of the opposite Faction, were eternally exclaiming against him, and tearing his Character to Pieces; accusing him of squandring the publick Money, and laying out, very unseasonably, the Revenues of the State in Edifices, whose Magnificence was of no Use.

At last, the Rupture between him and *Thucydides*, rose to such a Height, that it became absolutely necessary to banish one, or other of them, by the *Ostracism*. In this Contest, he got the better of *Thucydides*; prevail'd to have him banish'd; crush'd, by that Means, the Faction which oppos'd him, and obtain'd a despotic Authority over the City and Government of *Athens*. He now disposed at Pleasure of the publick Money, the Forces, and Ships. The Islands, and Sea, were subject to him; and he reigned singly, and alone, not only over the *Greeks*, but the *Barbarians* also; and his Authority was cemented and strengthened by the Obedience and Fidelity of the conquer'd Nations, by the Friendship of Kings, and the Treaties concluded with various Princes.

Historians expatiate greatly on the magnificent Edifices, and other Works, with which *Pericles* adorned *Athens*, and we have related faithfully the Testimony they give on this Occasion; but we cannot say, whether the Complaints and Murmurs raised against him, were very ill grounded. In Effect, was it just in him to expend, in superfluous Buildings, and vain Decorations, the immense Sums designed to carry on the War; and would it not have been better, to have eased the Allies of the Contributions, which, under his Administration, were raised to a Third-part more than before? According to *Cicero*, such Edifices and other Works only, are truly worthy our Admiration, as are of Use to the Publick; as Aquæducts, City-Walls, Citadels, Arsenals, Sea-ports; and to these we must add, the Work made by *Pericles*, to join *Athens* to the Port *Piræus*.

But *Cicero* observes at the same Time, that *Pericles* was blamed for squandring away the publick Treasure, merely to embelish the City with superfluous Ornaments. Accordingly, *Plato*, who formed a Judgment of Things, not from their outward Splendor, but from Truth, observes, (after his Master *Socrates*) that *Pericles*, with all his grand Edifices, and other Works, had not improved the Mind of one of the Citizens in Virtue, but rather corrupted the Purity and Simplicity of their ancient Manners.

When *Pericles* saw himself thus invested with the whole Authority, he began to change his Behaviour: He was not so mild and gentle as before, nor did he submit, or abandon himself any longer, to the Whims and Caprice of the People, as to so many Winds; but drawing in, says *Plutarch*, the Reins

Reins of this, too looſe, popular Government, in the ſame Manner as we ſcrew up the Strings of an Inſtrument, when too ſlack; he changed it into an Ariſtocracy, or rather a kind of Monarchy; but, at the ſame Time, was for ever ſtudious of the publick Welfare. Making Virtue, therefore, his conſtant Aim, and becoming irreproachable in all Things, he gained ſo mighty an Aſcendant over the Minds of the People, that he turned and directed them at Pleaſure. At one Time, by his bare Counſel, and by perſuaſive Methods, he would gain them over gently to his Will, and get their Aſſent ſpontaneouſly; at other Times, when he found them obſtinate, he would drag them forward, and againſt their Will, to thoſe Things which were for their Good; imitating, on this Occaſion, a ſkilful Phyſician, who, in a tedious and ſtubborn Diſeaſe, knows which Seaſons are proper to indulge his Patient in innocent Medicines, that are pleaſing; in order, afterwards, to adminiſter thoſe of a ſtrong, and violent Nature; which, at the ſame Time that they torture him, are alone capable of reſtoring him to Health.

In Effect, it is manifeſt, that the utmoſt Skill and Abilities were required, to manage and govern a Populace, who were elate with their Power, and hurried away by meer Caprice; and, on this Occaſion, *Pericles* ſucceeded wonderfully. He uſed to employ, according to the different Situation of Things, ſometimes Hope, and at other Times Fear, as a double Rudder, either to check the wild Tranſports and Starts of the People, or to raiſe them when dejected and deſponding. By this Conduct he ſhew'd that Eloquence, as *Plato* obſerves, is only the Art of directing the Minds of People at Will; and that the Chief Excellency of this Art conſiſts, in moving, ſeaſonably, the various Paſſions, whether gentle or violent; which being to the Soul, what Strings are to a muſical Inſtrument, need only, in order to produce their Effect, be touched by an ingenious and skilful Hand. It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the Circumſtance which gave *Pericles* this great Authority, was, not only the Force of his Eloquence, but, as *Thucydides* obſerves, the Fame of his Life, and his great Probity.

Plutarch points out, in *Pericles*, one Quality which is very eſſential to Stateſmen; a Quality, well adapted to win the Eſteem and Confidence of the Publick, and which implies a great Superiority of Mind; and that is, for a Man to be fully perſuaded that he wants the Counſels of others, and is not able to manage and direct, ſingly, all Things: To aſſociate with himſelf Perſons of Merit in his Toils, to employ each of theſe according to his Talents; and to leave to them the Management of leſſer Things, which only conſume Time, and deprive him of the Liberty of Thinking, ſo neceſſary for the conducting of important Affairs.

Such a Conduct, ſays *Plutarch*, is productive of two Advantages. *Firſt*, It extinguiſhes, or at leaſt deadens, the Force of Envy and Jealouſy, by dividing, in ſome Meaſure, a Power, which is grating and offenſive to us, when we ſee it united in one ſingle Perſon, as though the Merit of all other Men center'd in him. *Secondly*, It advances and facilitates the Execution of Affairs, and ſecures more ſtrongly their Succeſs. The better to explain his Thought, he uſes a very natural, and beautiful Compariſon: As the Hand, ſays he, by its being divided into five Fingers, is ſo far from being weaker, that it is the ſtronger, the more active, and better adapted to Motion, on that very Account; juſt ſo it is with a Stateſman, who has the Skill to divide his Cares and Functions in a proper Manner; and who, by that Means makes his Authority more active, more extenſive, and deciſive: Whereas, the indiſcreet Fire of a narrow-minded Man, who takes Umbrage at, and will graſp at all Things, ſerves to no other Purpoſe, but to ſet his Weakneſs, and Incapacity, in a more glaring Light, and to diſconcert his Affairs. But *Pericles*, ſays *Plutarch*, did not act in this Manner: Like a skilful Pilot, who, though he ſtands almoſt motionleſs himſelf, yet puts every Thing in Motion, and will ſometimes ſeat Subaltern Officers at the Helm; ſo *Pericles*, was the Soul of the Government; and, ſeeming to be altogether unactive, he yet moved and governed all Things; making uſe of the Eloquence of one Man, the Credit and Intereſt of another, the Prudence of a third, the Bravery and Courage of a Fourth, and ſo on.

To what has been here related, we may add another Quality, which is no leſs rare and valuable; we mean, a noble and diſintereſted Soul. *Pericles* had ſo great a Diſinclination to the receiving of Gifts; he had ſo utter a Contempt for Riches, and was ſo far above all venal Deſires, that although he had rais'd *Athens* to the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing State; though his Power had ſurpaſſed that of many Tyrants and Kings; though he had long diſpos'd, in an abſolute Manner, of the Treaſures of *Greece*, he yet did not add a ſingle *Drachma* to the Eſtate he had inherited from his Father. This was the Source, the true Cauſe of the ſupream Authority, which *Pericles* obtain'd in the Republick; the juſt and worthy Fruit of his Integrity and perfect Diſintereſtedneſs.

It was not only for a few ſwiftly-fleeting Moments, nor during the firſt Starts of a riſing Favour, whoſe Grace and Beauty are generally ſhort-liv'd, that he preſerv'd this Authority. He maintain'd it forty Years, in Spite of the Oppoſition of *Cimon*, of *Tolmides*, of *Thucydides*, and many others, who all declar'd againſt him; and of theſe forty Years, he ſpent fifteen without a Rival, from the Time of the Baniſhment of *Thucydides*, and directed all Affairs with deſpotick Sway.

Nevertheleſs, in the Midſt of this ſupreme Power, which he had rendred perpetual and boundleſs in his own Perſon, his Soul was ever ſuperiour to the Charms and Allurements of Wealth, though he had always improved his Eſtate to the utmoſt of his Power. For *Pericles* did not act like thoſe Noblemen, who, notwithſtanding their immenſe Revenues, either through Negligence, or want of Oeconomy, or their ridiculouſly-laviſh Expences, are always poor, in the Midſt of Riches; unable, and unwilling, to do the leaſt Service to their virtuous Friends, or their faithful and zealous Domeſticks; and, at laſt, die in every one's Debt, whence their Name and Memory are had in the utmoſt Deteſtation by their unfortunate Creditors. We ſhall not expatiate on another Extreme, to which this Negligence, and Want of Oeconomy generally leads; we mean Rapine, a Love of Gifts, and Exactions; for here, as well as in the Management of the publick Money, the

Maxim of *Tacitus* takes Place, *viz.* That when a Man has ſquander'd away his Eſtate, he then makes it his whole Study to repair the Loſs of it by all Sorts of Methods, not excepting the moſt criminal.

Pericles knew much better the Uſe, which a Stateſman ought to make of Riches: He was ſenſible that he ought to expend them in the Service of the Publick; ſuch as, the procuring of able Men to aſſiſt him in the Adminiſtration; the relieving good Officers, who too frequently are in unhappy Circumſtances; the rewarding and encouraging Merit, of what kind ſoever, and a thouſand ſuch Things; to which, doubtleſs, either on Account of the exquiſite Joy they give, or the ſolid Glory that reſults from them, no one will be ſo thoughtleſs as to compare the Expence which is laviſh'd away in Entertainments, in Equipages, or in Gaming. In this View, *Pericles* husbanded his Eſtate with the utmoſt Oeconomy; having himſelf taught one of his old Servants to manage his domeſtick Concerns; and he always had the Account brought him, at ſtated Times, of all Things that had been received, as well as expended; confining himſelf and his Family to a decent Subſiſtence, proportionable to his Eſtate and Condition; from whence he baniſh'd all Superfluities, that were vain or oſtentatious. This Way of Life, indeed, did no ways pleaſe his Children, when they were come to Years of Maturity, and much leſs his Wife. They thought, that *Pericles* did not allow a Competency ſufficient for Perſons of their Rank; and murmured at that low and ſordid Oeconomy, as they call'd it, which left behind it no Traces of the Plenty which generally reigns, in thoſe Places where Riches and Authority are united. However, *Pericles* had little Regard to theſe Complaints, and directed his Views to Things of much greater Importance.

We believe it will not be improper to apply, on this Occaſion, a very juſt Remark of *Plutarch*, borrow'd from his Parallel of *Ariſtides* and *Cato*. After ſaying, that political Virtue, or the Art of governing Cities and Kingdoms, is the greateſt and moſt perfect that Man can acquire, he adds, that Oeconomy is not one of the moſt inconſiderable Branches of this Virtue. In Effect, as Riches are one of thoſe Mediums, which may moſt contribute to the Security or Ruin of a State; the Art that teaches to diſpoſe, and make a good Uſe of them, and which is called *Oeconomy*, is certainly a Branch of the Art of Politicks; and not one of the moſt inconſiderable Branches; ſince great Wiſdom is required, in order to the obſerving a juſt Medium on theſe Occaſions, and to the baniſhing Poverty, and too great Opulence, from a Country.

It is this Art, which, avoiding induſtriouſly all trifling and needleſs Expences, prevents a Magiſtrate from being forced to overburthen a People with Taxes; and keeps always in Reſerve, in the publick Coffers, Money ſufficient for ſupporting a War that may break out, or for providing againſt any unforeſeen Accident. Now what is ſaid of a Kingdom, or of a City, may be applied to particular Perſons. For a City, which is compoſed of an Aſſemblage of Houſes, and which forms a Whole, of ſeveral Parts united; is either powerful or weak, when taken together, in Proportion as all the Members, of which it conſiſts, are ſtrong, or weak. *Pericles* certainly acquitted himſelf well, as to that Part of this Science, which relates to the Government of a Family; but we cannot ſay, if the ſame may be affirm'd of his Adminiſtration of the publick Treaſure.

Such was the Conduct of *Pericles*, with reſpect to his domeſtick Concerns; and he was no leſs famous for his Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. Hereupon, the *Lacedæmonians*, beginning to grow jealous of the Proſperity of the *Athenians*, and to take Umbrage at it; *Pericles*, to increaſe the Courage of the Citizens, and add to their Greatneſs of Soul, publiſh'd a Decree, importing, that Orders ſhould be ſent to all the *Greeks*, whether in *Europe*, or *Aſia*, and to all the Cities, great or ſmall, to ſend immediately their Deputies or Repreſentatives to *Athens*, to examine and debate, on Ways and Means, to rebuild the Temples that had been burnt by the *Barbarians*; to perform the Sacrifices, which they had engaged themſelves to offer up, for the Preſervation and Safety of *Greece*, when War was carrying on againſt them: As alſo, to conſider what Expedients might be employ'd, to eſtabliſh ſuch an Order and Diſcipline in their Navy, that all Ships might ſail in Safety, and the *Grecks* live in a mutual Peace.

Accordingly, twenty Perſons were choſen for this Embaſſy, each of whom was upwards of fifty Years old. Five of theſe were ſent to the *Ionian* and *Dorians* of *Aſia*, and the Inhabitants of the Iſlands as far as *Lesbos* and *Rhodes*; five to the Countries of the *Helleſpont* and *Thrace*, as far as *Byzantium*: Five were ordered to go to *Bœotia*, to *Phocis*, and *Peloponneſus*; and to go from thence, by the Country of the *Locri*, as far as *Acarnania* and *Ambracia*. The laſt five were ordered to croſs *Eubœa*, and to go to the People of Mount *Oeta*, and thoſe of the Gulph of *Malea*, and to the Inhabitants of *Phthiotis*, of *Achaia*, and of *Theſſaly*; to exhort the ſeveral Nations to come to the Aſſembly convened in *Athens*, and to aſſiſt at the Debates which ſhould be there carried on concerning Peace, and the general Affairs of *Greece*. We judged it neceſſary to enter into this Detail, as it ſhews how far the Power of the *Greeks* extended, and what Authority the *Athenians* enjoy'd over the other States.

But all theſe Sollicitations were in vain; the Cities not ſending their Deputies, which, according to Hiſtorians, was owing to the Oppoſition made by the *Lacedæmonians*; a Circumſtance, at which we are not to wonder. They were ſenſible, that the Deſign of *Pericles* was, to make *Athens* be recognized as Miſtreſs and Sovereign of all the other *Grecian* Cities; and *Lacedæmon* was far from allowing it that Honour. A ſecret Spirit of Diſcord had begun, for ſome Years, to diſturb the Tranquility of *Greece*; and we ſhall find, by the Sequel, that this Spirit grew but ſtronger, and ſtronger.

Pericles had acquired great Fame, for the Wiſdom with which he formed and conducted his Enterprizes. The Troops repoſed the higheſt Confidence in him, and whenever they follow'd him, they were fluſh'd with Hopes of certain Succeſs. His chief Maxim in War was, never to venture a Battle, unleſs he was almoſt ſure of Victory; and not be laviſh of the Blood of the Citizens. He uſed to ſay frequently, that were it in his Power, they ſhould be immortal; that when Trees are fell'd, they ſhoot to Life again in a little Time; but

but when once Men die, they are loſt for ever: A Victory, that was but the Effect of a fortunate Temerity, appear'd to him not very Praiſe-worthy, though it generally was much admired, by all others.

His Expedition into the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* did him great Honour, and was of great Advantage to all the *Greeks* of that Country: For he not only ſtrengthned the *Grecian* Cities, by the Colonies of *Athenians* which he carried thither; but he alſo ſhut up the *Iſthmus* with a ſtrong Wall, with Forts at proper Diſtances, from Sea to Sea; ſecuring, by that Means, the whole Country, from the perpetual Incurſions of the *Thracians*, who were very near Neighbours. He alſo ſailed, with an hundred Ships, round *Peloponneſus*, ſpreading the Terror of the *Athenian* Arms whereſoever he came, the Succeſs of which was not once interrupted on that Occaſion.

He advanced alſo as far as the Kingdom of *Pontus*, with a large, well-mann'd, and magnificent Fleet; and indulged the *Grecian* Cities in all they thought fit to ask him. At the ſame Time he diſplay'd, to the *Barbarian* Nations and Princes, in that Neighbourhood, the Greatneſs of the Power of the *Athenians*; and proved, by the Security with which he ſailed to all Parts, that they poſſeſſed the Empire of the Seas, unrivalled.

But ſo conſtant and ſhining a Succeſs began to dazzle the Eyes of the *Athenians*: Intoxicated with the Idea of their Power and Grandeur, they now thought of nothing but the boldeſt and moſt grand Deſigns. They were for ever talking of invading *Egypt* anew; of attacking the maritime Provinces of the *Perſian* Monarch; of carrying their Arms into *Sicily*, (a fatal and unhappy Deſign, which, at that Time, was not attended with ill Conſequences, though it was revived ſoon after;) and to extend their Conqueſts towards *Etruria* on one Side, and *Carthage* on the other.

However, *Pericles* had too much Senſe to acquieſce with ſuch idle Views, or to countenance them with his Credit and Approbation. On the Contrary, his whole Study was, to damp that reſtleſs Ardour, and check that Ambition, which knew neither Bounds nor Meaſure. In his Opinion, the *Athenians* ought to employ their Forces, in future Times, only in ſecuring and preſerving the Conqueſts they had already made; and he thought he had gained a great Point, in weakning the Power of the *Lacedæmonians*, which he always meditated; and this was particularly ſeen in the *Sacred War*; which Name was given to the War which was raiſed on Account of *Delphos*: The *Lacedæmonians* having enter'd, arm'd, into the Country where that Temple is ſituated, had diſpoſſeſſed the Inhabitants of *Phocis* of the Superintendence of that Temple, and beſtow'd it on the *Delphi*: But aſſooon as they had left it, *Pericles* went thither likewiſe with an Army, and reſtored the *Phocenſes*, to their former Privilege.

The *Eubœans* having rebelled at the ſame Time, *Pericles* was obliged to march thither with an Army. He was no ſooner arrived there, but News was brought, that the Inhabitants of *Megara* had taken up Arms; and that the *Lacedæmonians*, headed by *Pliſtonax* their King, were on the Frontiers of *Attica*. This obliged him to quit *Euboea*, and to go with all the Diſpatch imaginable to relieve his Country. The *Lacedæmonian* Army being retired, he return'd againſt the Rebels, and again ſubjected all the Cities of *Eubœa* to the *Athenians*.

Being return'd from this Expedition, a Truce for thirty Years was concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; which reſtored Things to tranquillity for the preſent: But as the Root of the Evil remained, and the Jealouſy and Enmity of the two Nations was not extinguiſh'd, this Calm was not of long Duration.

Six Years after, the *Athenians* took up Arms againſt *Samos*, in Favour of *Miletus*: Theſe two Powers were conteſting for the City of *Priene*, to which each claim'd Poſſeſſion; and it is pretended, that *Pericles* kindled this War to pleaſe a famous Curtezan, with whom he was very much ſmitten; her Name was *Aſpaſia*, and ſhe was a Native of *Miletus*. In the Courſe of this War, after ſeveral Events, and various Battles had been fought, with various Succeſs, *Pericles* beſieged the Capital of the Iſland of *Samos*; and it is ſaid, that this was the firſt Time he employ'd military Engines, ſuch as Battering-rams and *Teſtudines*, invented by *Artemon* the Engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a Chair to the Batteries, whence he was ſirnam'd *Periphoretus*: The Uſe of theſe Machines, however, had been long known in the *Eaſt*. The Conſequence of this Siege was, that the *Samians*, after ſuſtaining it nine Months, ſurrender'd; upon which *Pericles* raz'd their Walls, diſpoſſeſſed them of their Ships, and demanded immenſe Sums to defray the Expences of the War; Part of which they paid down, agreed to diſburſe the reſt within a certain Time, giving Hoſtages, by way of Security, for the ſame.

After the Reduction of *Samos*, *Pericles* being returned to *Athens*, buried, in a ſplendid Manner, all who had loſt their Lives in this War; and himſelf ſpoke the funeral Oration over their Graves. This Cuſtom, which he firſt introduced, was afterwards obſerved very regularly. The Senate of the *Areopagus* always appointed the Orator on theſe Occaſions. He was choſen, ten Years after, to perform the like Ceremony in the Beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War.

Pericles, who foreſaw that a Rupture would ſoon break out between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, adviſed the former to ſend Relief to the People of *Corcyra*, whom the *Corinthians* had invaded; and to gain over to their Intereſt that Iſland, which was very formidable at Sea; foretelling them, that they would be attack'd by the *Peloponneſians*. The Quarrel between the People of *Corcyra* and thoſe of *Corinth*, gave Riſe to this War, which is one of the moſt conſiderable Events in the *Grecian* Hiſtory.

The Occaſion of the Quarrel between *Corcyra*, and *Corinth*, was as follows. *Epidamnum*, called afterwards *Dyrachium*, a maritime City of *Macedonia*, among the *Taulantii*, was a Colony of *Corcyrans*, and founded by *Phalius* of *Corinth*. This City, growing, in Time, very large and populous, Diviſions aroſe in it, and the common People drove out the moſt wealthy Inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring Nations, and infeſted them greatly with their Incurſions. In this Extremity, they firſt had Recourſe to the *Corcyrans*, and being refuſed by them, they addreſſed the *Corinthians*, who took them under their Protection; ſent them Succours, and ſettled other Inhabitants

bitants therein: But they did not continue long unmoleſted there, the *Corcyrans* beſieging them with a large Fleet; upon which, the People of *Corinth* haſtned to their Aſſiſtance; but, having been defeated at Sea, the City ſurrendred that very Day, upon Condition, that the Foreigners ſhould be Slaves, and the *Corinthians* Priſoners, till farther Orders. The *Corcyrans* raiſed a Trophy, murther'd all their Priſoners, except the *Corinthians*, and laid waſte the whole Country.

The Year after this Battle, the *Corinthians* rais'd a greater Army than the former, and fitted out a new Fleet; upon which, the People of *Corcyra*, finding it would be impoſſible for them to make Head, ſingly, againſt ſuch powerful Enemies, ſent to the *Athenians*, to deſire their Alliance. The Treaty of Peace, concluded between ſeveral Nations of *Greece*, left ſuch *Grecian* Cities, as had not yet declar'd themſelves, the Liberty of joining with whom they pleas'd, or of ſtanding neuter. This the *Corcyrans* had hitherto done; judging it their Intereſt not to join with any one, and ſo had, hitherto, been without *Allies*. But, upon this Occaſion, they ſent a Deputation for that Purpoſe to *Athens*; which the *Corinthians* hearing, they alſo ſent Deputies.

The Affair was debated with great Warmth in Preſence of the People, who heard the Reaſons on both Sides; and it was twice put to the Vote in the Aſſembly. The *Athenians* declar'd the firſt Time in Favour of the *Corinthians*; but afterwards changing their Opinion (doubtleſs, on the Remonſtrance of *Pericles*) they made an Alliance with the *Corcyrans*. However, they did not go ſo far, as to conclude a League offenſive and defenſive with them (for, they could not declare War againſt *Corinth*, without falling out at the ſame Time with all *Peloponneſus*) but only agreed to give each other mutually Relief, in Caſe they ſhould be attack'd, either perſonally, or in their *Allies*. Their real Deſign was, to ſet theſe two Nations, who were very powerful by Sea, at Variance; and, after each ſhould have exhauſted the other, by a tedious War, to fall upon the weakeſt themſelves: For, at that Time, there were but three States in *Greece*, who poſſeſſed powerful Fleets; and theſe were, *Athens*, *Corinth*, and *Corcyra*. They alſo had a Deſign on *Italy*, and *Sicily*; which, their taking the Iſland of *Corcyra*, would have promoted very much.

On this Plan they concluded an Alliance with the *Corcyrans*, and accordingly, ſent them ten Gallies; but with an Order for them not to engage the *Corinthians*, unleſs they ſhould firſt invade the Iſland of *Corcyra*, or ſome other Place belonging to their *Allies*: This Precaution was us'd, in order that the Articles of the Truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey theſe Orders: A Battle was fought between the *Corcyrans* and the *Corinthians*, near the Iſland of *Sibotis*, oppoſite to *Corcyra*: And it was one of the moſt conſiderable Engagements, with Regard to the Number of Ships, that was ever fought between the *Greeks*. The Advantage was pretty equal on both Sides. About the End of the Battle, as Night was drawing on, twenty *Athenian* Gallies came up. The *Corcyrans*, with this Reinforcement, ſail'd, by Break of Day, towards the Port of *Sibotis*, whither the *Corinthians* had retir'd, to ſee if they would venture a ſecond Combat. However, the latter contented themſelves with ſailing away in Order of Battle, without fighting. Both Parties erected a Trophy in the Iſland of *Sibotis*, each aſcribing the Victory to themſelves.

From this War aroſe another, which occaſion'd an open Rupture between the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*; and afterwards caus'd the War of *Peloponneſus*: *Potidæa*, a City of *Macedonia*, was a Colony belonging to the *Corinthians*, who ſent Magiſtrates thither annually; but it was dependant, at that Time, on *Athens*, and paid Tribute to it. The *Athenians* fearing this City would riſe, and prevail with the Reſt of the *Thracian* Allies to join in their Rebellion; commanded the Inhabitants to demoliſh their Walls on that Side lying towards *Palene*; to give up Hoſtages to them, as Sureties for their Fidelity; and to ſend away the Magiſtrates which *Corinth* had appointed over them. Demands of ſo unjuſt a Nature only fomented the Inſurrection: The *Potidæans* declar'd againſt the *Athenians*, and ſeveral neighbouring Cities follow'd their Example: And now *Athens* and *Corinth* took up Arms ſeverally, and ſent Forces thither.

The two Armies fought near *Potidæa*, and that of the *Athenians* gain'd the Victory. *Alcibiades*, who was then very young, and *Socrates* his Maſter, ſignaliz'd themſelves on this Occaſion. It is ſomething very ſingular, to ſee a Philoſopher put on his Coat of Mail; as well as to conſider his Behaviour, and Conduct in a Battle. There was not a Soldier in the whole Army, who ſo reſolutely ſupported all the Toils and Fatigues of the Campaign, as *Socrates*. Hunger, Thirſt, and Cold, were Enemies he had long accuſtom'd himſelf to trample under Foot. *Thrace*, the Scene of this Expedition, was a frozen Region. Whilſt the other Warriors, cover'd with thick Cloaths, and warm Furs, lay cloſe in their Tents, and ſcarce ever dar'd to ſtir out of them; *Socrates* uſed to go into the open Air, as thin clad as uſual, and bare-footed. His Gaiety, and ſmart Sayings, were the Life of all Tables; and invited others to puſh round the Glaſs chearfully; though he himſelf never drank Wine to Exceſs.

When the Armies engag'd, he perform'd his Duty to a Miracle: *Alcibiades* having been thrown from his Horſe, and wounded, *Socrates* flew to him, cover'd him, as with a Shield; and, in Sight of the whole Army, prevented him and his Arms from being taken by the Enemy. The Prize of Valour was juſtly due to *Socrates*; but, as the Generals ſeem'd inclin'd to decree it to *Alcibiades*, on Account of his illuſtrious Birth; *Socrates*, who only ſought for Opportunities, to inflame him with the Deſire of true Glory, contributed more than any other Perſon, by the noble *Elogium* he made on his Courage, to cauſe the Crown, and compleat Suit of Armour (which was the Prize of Valour) to be decreed to that young Warrior.

Notwithſtanding the Loſs which the *Corinthians* had ſuſtain'd in the Battle, the Inhabitants of *Potidæa* refus'd, as obſtinately as ever, to obey the Orders which had been ſent them; wherefore, Siege was laid to their City. The *Corinthians*, fearing to loſe a Place of ſo much Importance, addreſs'd their *Allies*, in the ſtrongeſt Terms; when all of them, in Conjunction, ſent a Deputation *Lacedæmon*, to prefer their Complaints againſt the

the *Athenians*, as having infringed the Articles of Peace.

The *Lacedæmonians* admitted them to Audience in one of their ordinary Aſſemblies. The *Æginatæ*, although very much diſguſted at the *Athenians*, did not ſend a Deputation publickly thither; for Fear of giving Umbrage to a Republick to whom they were ſubject, but then they acted clandeſtinely as ſtrenuouſly as the Reſt. The *Megarenſes* complain'd vehemently againſt the *Athenians*, inaſmuch as they (contrary to the Law of Nations, and in Prejudice of the Treaty concluded between the *Greeks*) had prohibited them, by a publick Decree, Acceſs to their Fairs and Markets, and excluded them from all the Ports where they commanded. By this Decree, according to *Plutarch*, the *Athenians* declar'd an eternal and irreconcilable Hatred againſt *Megara*; and gave Orders, for putting all ſuch *Megarenſes* to Death, as ſhould ſet their Feet in *Athens*; and that all the *Athenian* Generals, when they took the uſual Oath, ſhould ſwear expreſly, that they would ſend a Body of Soldiers twice a Year, to lay waſte the Territories of the *Megarenſes*.

However, the chief Complaints were made by the *Corinthian* Ambaſſador; who ſpoke with the utmoſt Strength and Freedom. He repreſented to the *Lacedæmonians*, that, as they themſelves never ſwerv'd from the moſt inviolable Integrity, either in publick or private Tranſactions, they, for that very Reaſon, were leſs ſuſpicious of the Probity of others; and that their own Eaſineſs of Temper, prevented their diſcovering the Ambition of their Enemies: That, inſtead of flying, with the ſwifteſt Activity, to meet Dangers and Calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite oppreſs'd: That, by their Indolence and Supineneſs, they had given the *Athenians* an Opportunity of riſing by inſenſible Degrees, and of attaining their preſent Pitch of Grandeur and Power; but that the *Athenians* were quite different.

"That this active and vigilant People were "never at Reſt themſelves, nor would ſuffer "any other Nation to be ſo. Employ'd wholly "in their Projects, they form ſuch only as are "of the greateſt and moſt intrepid Kind; their "Deliberations are ſpeedy, and they are ſwift in "executing them. One Enterprize ſerves them "as a Step, by which they proceed to a ſecond. "Whether they are ſucceſsful, or unfortunate, "they take Advantage of every Thing; and ne"ver ſtop in their Career, or are diſheartned. "But you, who are oppreſs'd by ſuch formidable "Enemies, are lull'd aſleep in a fatal Tranqui"lity; and do not reflect, that a Man, who de"ſires to live calm and eaſy, muſt not only for"bear injuring others, but alſo not let any Ill be "done to himſelf; and that Juſtice conſiſts, not "only in forbearing to commit Evil, but like"wiſe, in preventing others from doing us any. "Shall I be ſo free as to ſay it? Your Integrity "is of too antique a Caſt for the preſent State of "Affairs. It is neceſſary for Men, in Politicks, "as well as in all other Things, to comply al"ways with the Times. When a People are at "Peace, they may follow their ancient Maxims; "but, when they are involv'd in a Variety of "Difficulties, they muſt ſearch for new Expedi"ents, and ſet every Engine at work to extri"cate themſelves. It was by theſe Arts, that "the *Athenians* increas'd ſo greatly their Power. "Had you imitated their Activity, they would "not have diſpoſſeſs'd us of *Corcyra*, and would "not now be laying Siege to *Potidæa*. Follow, "at leaſt, their Example on this Occaſion; by "aſſiſting the *Potidæans*, and the Reſt of your "*Allies*, as your Duty obliges you; and do not "force your Friends and Neighbours, by your "forſaking them, to have Recourſe (meerly out "of Deſpair) to other Powers."

The *Athenian* Embaſſador, who was come to *Sparta* upon other Affairs, and was in the Aſſembly, did not think it adviſable to let this Speech go unanſwer'd. He put the *Lacedæmonians* in Mind, of the ſtill recent Service, which the Republick, by which he was ſent, had done to all *Greece*, which (he ſaid) merited ſome Regard; and that, therefore, it ought not to be envy'd, much leſs ſhould Endeavours be us'd to leſſen its Power. That the *Athenians* could not be charged with having uſurp'd an Empire over *Greece*; ſince it was merely at the Deſire of their *Allies*, and, in ſome Meaſure, with the Conſent of *Sparta*, that they had been forc'd to lay hold of the abandon'd Helm: That thoſe who murmur'd, did it without Grounds; and only from the Averſion, which Mankind in general have to Dependance and Subjection, though of the gentleſt, and moſt equitable Kind: That he exhorted them to employ a ſufficient Time in deliberating, before they came to a Reſolution; and not involve themſelves and all *Greece* in a War, which would neceſſarily be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences. That gentle Methods may be found, to end the Feuds and Diviſions which ariſe among *Allies*, without breaking at once into open War. However, that the *Athenians*, in Caſe of an Invaſion, would be able to oppoſe Force to Force; and would prepare for a vigorous Defence; after having invok'd, againſt *Sparta*, the Deities, who take Vengeance of thoſe who forſwear themſelves, and who violate the Faith of Treaties.

The Ambaſſadors being withdrawn, and the Affair debated, the Majority were for War. But, before it paſs'd into an Act, *Archidamus*, King of *Sparta*, raiſing himſelf above thoſe Prejudices and Paſſions, which ſo ſtrongly byaſs'd the Reſt; and directing his Views to Futurity, made a Speech, exhibiting, the dreadful Conſequences of the War they were going to embark in; took Notice of the Strength of the *Athenians*; exhorted them firſt to try gentle Methods, which they themſelves had firſt ſeem'd to approve; but to make, in the mean Time, the Preparations neceſſary for carrying on ſo important an Enterprize, and not be under any Apprehenſions, that their Moderation and Delays would be branded with the Name of Cowardice, ſince their paſt Actions ſecur'd them from any Suſpicion.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe wiſe Expoſtulations, a War was reſolv'd on; upon which, the People caus'd the *Allies* to come in again, and declar'd to them, that, in their Opinion, the *Athenians* were the Aggreſſors; but that it would be proper, firſt, to aſſemble all who were in the Alliance, in order that Peace or War might be agreed upon unanimouſly. This Decree of the *Lacedæmonians* was made the fourteenth Year of the Truce; and was not owing ſo much to the

Complaints of the *Allies*, as to the Jealouſy which the *Athenians* created, having already ſubjected a conſiderable Part of *Greece*.

Accordingly, the *Allies* were conven'd a ſecond Time: They all gave their Votes, in their ſeveral Turns, from the greateſt City to the leaſt; and War was reſolv'd on by a general Conſent. However, as they had not yet made any Preparations, it was judg'd adviſable to begin them immediately; and while this was doing, in order to gain Time, and obſerve (ſpeciouſly) the ſeveral Formalities, to ſend Ambaſſadors to *Athens*, and make Complaints, on Account of the Violation of the Treaty.

The firſt who were ſent thither, reviving an ancient Complaint, requir'd of the *Athenians* to drive from their City, the Deſcendants of thoſe who had profan'd the Temple of *Minerva*, in the Affair of *Cylon*. This *Cylon* ſeiz'd on the Citadel of *Athens*, above an hundred Years before. Thoſe who follow'd him being beſieged in it, and reduc'd to the Extreams of Famine, fled for Shelter to the Temple of *Minerva*; where they afterwards were taken out by Force, and cut in Pieces. Thoſe who adviſ'd this Murder, were declar'd guilty of Impiety and Sacrilege; and, as ſuch, ſent into Baniſhment: However, they were recall'd ſome Time after. As *Pericles* was of that Family, by the Mother's Side, the View of the *Lacedæmonians*, in their making this Demand, was, either to procure the Baniſhment, or leſſen the Authority, of that illuſtrious *Athenian*. However, it was not comply'd with. The ſecond Ambaſſadors requir'd, to have the Siege of *Potidæa* rais'd; to have thoſe of *Ægina* ſet at Liberty; and, above all, to have the Decree, enacted againſt the *Megarenſes*, repeal'd; declaring, that otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to bring about an Accommodation. In ſhort, a third Ambaſſador came, who took no Notice of any of theſe Particulars, but only ſaid, that the *Lacedæmonians* were for Peace; but that this could never be, except the *Athenians* would ceaſe to infringe the Liberties of the other States of *Greece*.

Pericles oppos'd all theſe Demands with great Vigour, and eſpecially that relating to the *Megarenſes*. He had great Credit in *Athens*, and at the ſame Time had many Enemies. Theſe not daring to attack him at firſt perſonally, they proſecuted his moſt intimate Friends, and thoſe for whom he had the greateſt Eſteem, as *Phidias*, *Aſpaſia* and *Anaxagoras*; and their Deſign in this was, to ſound how the People ſtood affected towards *Pericles* himſelf.

Phidias was accus'd of having embezzled conſiderable Sums in caſting the Statue of *Minerva*, which was his Maſter-Piece. The Proſecution having been carry'd on, according to the uſual Formalities, before the Aſſembly of the People, not a ſingle Proof of this pretended Embezzlement was made good: For, that Artiſt, from the firſt ſetting about that Statue, had, by the Advice of *Pericles*, contriv'd the Workmanſhip of the Gold in ſuch a Manner, that it might all be taken off, and weigh'd; which accordingly, *Pericles* bid the Informers do in Preſence of all the Spectators. But *Phidias* had Witneſſes againſt him, the Truth of whoſe Evidence he could not diſpute, any more than he could ſtifle their Voice; and theſe were the Fame and Beauty of his Works, the ever-exiſting Cauſes of the Envy which attack'd him.

The Circumſtance which they could leaſt forgive in him was, his having repreſented to the Life (in the Battle of the *Amazons*, engrav'd on the Shield of the Goddeſs) his own Perſon, and that of *Pericles*: And, by an imperceptible Art, he had ſo blended and incorporated theſe Figures with the whole Work, that it was impoſſible to eraze them, without diſfiguring and taking to Pieces the whole Statue. *Phidias* was, therefore, dragg'd to Priſon, where he came to his End, either by the common Courſe of Nature, or by Poiſon. Other Authors ſay, that he was only baniſh'd; and that, after his Exile, he caſt the famous Statue of *Jupiter* ſtanding in *Olympia*. It is not poſſible to excuſe, in any Manner, the Ingratitude of the *Athenians*, in thus making a Priſon, or Death, the Reward of a Maſter-Piece of Art; nor their exceſſive Rigour, it puniſhing, as a capital Crime, an Action that appears innocent in itſelf; or which, to make the worſt of it, was a Vanity very pardonable in ſo great an Artiſt.

Aſpaſia, a Native of *Miletus* in *Aſia*, had ſettled in *Athens*, where ſhe was become very famous; not ſo much for the Charms of her Perſon, as for her ſprightly Wit and Judgment, and her great Knowledge. All the illuſtrious Men in the City thought it an Honour to frequent her Houſe. *Socrates* himſelf us'd to viſit her conſtantly; and was not aſham'd to paſs for her Pupil, and own it was ſhe who had taught him Rhetorick. *Pericles* declar'd alſo, that he was obliged to *Aſpaſia* for his Eloquence, which ſo greatly diſtinguiſh'd him in *Athens*; and, that it was from her Converſation he had imbib'd the Principles of the Art of Politicks; ſhe being exceedingly well vers'd in the Maxims of Government.

Their Intimacy was owing to ſtill ſtronger Motives: *Pericles* did not love his Wife; ſo that he gave her up very freely to another Man; and ſupply'd her Place with *Aſpaſia*, whom he lov'd to Diſtraction, though greatly ſully'd in her Reputation, with Regard to Modeſty. *Aſpaſia* was, therefore, accus'd of Impiety, and a diſſolute Conduct; and it was with the utmoſt Difficulty that *Pericles* ſav'd her, by his Intreaties, and by the Compaſſion he rais'd in the Judges, having ſhed a Flood of Tears on that Occaſion, a Weakneſs altogether unworthy his Character, and the Rank he bore; which was that of ſupream Head of the moſt powerful State of *Greece*.

A Decree had been enacted, by which Informations were order'd to be taken out againſt all ſuch Perſons, as did not allow the ſeveral Particulars aſcrib'd to the Miniſtry of the Gods; and all ſuch Philoſophers as taught Doctrines thought injurious to the eſtabliſh'd Religion. The Scope and Aim of this Decree was, to raiſe a Suſpicion of *Pericles*, with Regard to theſe Matters; becauſe *Anaxagoras* had been his Maſter. This Philoſopher taught, that one only *Intelligence* had diſintangled the *Chaos*, and diſpos'd the Univerſe in the beautiful Order in which we now ſee it; which tended directly to depreciate the Gods of the *Pagan* Syſtem. Hereupon, *Pericles*, thinking it would be impoſſible for him to ſave the Philoſopher's Life, ſent him out of the City to a Place of Safety.

The Enemies of *Pericles*, ſeeing that the People approv'd, and receiv'd with Pleaſure theſe ſeveral

ral Informations, impeach'd that great Man himſelf, and charged him with embezzling the publick Money, during his Adminiſtration. Hereupon, a Decree was made, ordering *Pericles* to give in immediately his Accompts; and enacting farther, that he ſhould be indicted, as having oppreſs'd and defrauded the Publick; and that the Crime ſhould be judg'd by fifteen hundred Perſons. *Pericles* had no real Cauſe of Fear, becauſe, in his Adminiſtration, he had acted with the utmoſt Uprightneſs, eſpecially with Regard to the Finances: Nevertheleſs, he could not but be under ſome Apprehenſions from the Ill-Will of the People, when he conſider'd their great Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy.

Whilſt this was in Agitation, one Day, when *Alcibiades*, then very young, went to viſit *Pericles*, he was told, that he was not to be ſpoke with; becauſe of ſome Affairs of prodigious Conſequence he was then engaged in: *Alcibiades* enquiring what theſe mighty Affairs were, he was anſwer'd, that *Pericles* was preparing to give in his Accompts. *He ought rather* (ſays *Alcibiades*) *to contrive how to avoid giving them in at all.* This is what *Pericles* at laſt reſolv'd on. To lay the Storm, he made a Reſolution, no longer to oppoſe the Inclination, the People diſcover'd for the *Peloponneſian* War; Preparations for which had been long carrying on; firmly perſuaded, that this would ſoon ſilence all Complaints againſt him; that Envy would yield to a more powerful Motive; and that the Citizens, when in ſuch imminent Danger, would not fail of throwing themſelves into his Arms, and ſubmit implicitly to his Conduct, becauſe of his great Power, and the exalted Reputation he enjoy'd.

This is what ſome Hiſtorians have related; and the Comic Poets, in the Life-Time, and under the Eye, as it were, of *Pericles*, ſpread ſuch a Report in publick; to ſully, if poſſible, his Reputation and Merit, which rais'd the Envy and Enmity of many. *Plutarch*, on this Occaſion, makes a Reflection, which may be of great Service, not only to thoſe who preſide at the Helm of State-Affairs, but to all Sorts of Perſons; as well as of Advantage in the common Affairs of Life. He thinks it ſtrange, when Actions are good in themſelves, and are, outwardly, laudable in all Reſpects; that Men, purely to diſcredit illuſtrious Perſonages, ſhould ſearch into their Hearts; and from a Spirit of the darkeſt and moſt abject Malice, ſhould aſcribe ſuch Views and Intentions, as they poſſibly never dreamt of. And he wiſhes, on the contrary, when the Motive is obſcure, and the ſame Action may be conſider'd in different Lights, that Men would always view it in the moſt favourable of the two, and incline to judge candidly of it.

Accordingly, he applies this Maxim to the Reports which had been ſpread concerning *Pericles*; as though he had kindled the *Peloponneſian* War, merely out of ſelf-intereſted Views; whereas, the whole Tenor of his paſt Conduct, ought to have made it concluded, that it was wholly from Reaſons of State, and for the Good of the Publick, that he had at laſt acquieſced with this Opinion, which he had hitherto oppoſed.

Whilſt this Affair was carrying on at *Athens*, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent ſeveral Embaſſies thither, one after another, to make the various Demands abovemention'd. At laſt, the Affair was debated in the Aſſembly of the People, and it was reſolv'd, they ſhould firſt give their Votes jointly on each of the Articles, before they gave a poſitive Anſwer. The Opinions, as is uſual in theſe Caſes, were divided; and ſome were for abolithing the Decree enacted againſt *Megara*, which ſeem'd to be the chief Obſtacle to the Peace.

On this Occaſion, *Pericles* ſpoke with the utmoſt Force of Eloquence; which, his View to the publick Welfare, and the Honour of his Country, inflam'd, and made more triumphant than ever. He ſhew'd, in the firſt Place, that the Decree relating to *Megara*, on which the greateſt Streſs was laid, was not of ſo little Conſequence as they imagin'd. That the Demand made by the *Lacedæmonians* on this Occaſion, was done merely to ſound the Diſpoſitions of the *Athenians*, and try whether it would be poſſible to frighten them out of their Deſign; that, ſhould they recede on this Occaſion, it would betray a Fear and Weakneſs: That the Affair was of no leſs Importance, than giving up to the *Lacedæmonians* the Empire, which the *Athenians* had poſſeſſed during ſo many Years, by their Courage and Reſolution.

He added, that, ſhould the *Athenians* ſubmit on this Occaſion, the *Lacedæmonians* would immediately preſcribe new Laws to them, as to a People who were ſeiz'd with Dread: Whereas, if they made but a ſtout Reſiſtance, their Opponents would be obliged to treat them, at leaſt, on the Foot of Equals: That, with Regard to the preſent Conteſts, Arbiters might be choſen, in order to adjuſt them in an amicable Way; but that it did not become the *Lacedæmonians*, to command the *Athenians* in a magiſterial Tone, to quit *Potidæa*, free *Ægina*, and revoke the Decree relating to *Megara*: That ſuch an imperious Behaviour was directly contrary to the Treaty, which declar'd in expreſs Terms: *That, ſhould any Diſputes ariſe among the Allies, they ſhould be decided by pacifick Methods*, AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP THE LEAST PORTION OF WHAT HE POSSESSED: That the ſureſt Way to prevent a Government from being eternally conteſting its Poſſeſſions, is to take up Arms, and diſpute its Rights Sword in Hand; that the *Athenians* had juſt Reaſon to believe they would gain their Cauſe this Way.

Then to give them a ſtronger Idea of this Truth, he exhibited to them in the moſt pompous Light the preſent State of *Athens*, giving a very particular Account of its Treaſure, its Revenues, Fleets, Land, as well as Sea-Forces, and thoſe of its *Allies*; contraſting theſe ſeveral Things with the Poverty of the *Lacedæmonians*, who (he ſaid) had no Money, which is the Sinews of War, not to mention the poor Condition of their Navy, on which they moſt depended. And indeed, it appear'd, by the Treaſury, that the *Athenians* had brought from *Delos* to their City, nine thouſand ſix hundred Talents, which made near two Millions *Sterling*. The annual Contribution of the *Allies* amounted to four hundred and ſixty Talents of Silver; which is about a hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds.

He likewiſe repreſented, that, in Caſes of Neceſſity, the *Athenians* would find infinite Reſources from the Ornaments of the Temples, ſince thoſe of the Statue of *Minerva* only, amounted to fifty Talents

Talents of Gold, which is about fifty thouſand Pounds; that might be taken away from the Statue, without injuring it in any Manner; and be afterwards fix'd on again in more auſpicious Times: With Regard to the Land-Forces, they amounted to very near thirty thouſand Men, and the Fleet conſiſted of three hundred Gallies.

Above all, he adviſed them not to venture a Battle, in their own Country, againſt the *Peloponeſians*, whoſe Troops were ſuperior in Number to theirs: Not to value the Havock which might be made on their Lands, ſince theſe might eaſily be reſtor'd to their former Condition; but conſider, as greatly important, the Death of their Men, this being an irretrievable Loſs: To confine all their Politicks in defending their City, and preſerving the Empire of the Seas; which would certainly, one Day, give them the Superiority over their Enemies.

In ſhort, he laid down the Plan for carrying on the War, not for a ſingle Campaign, but during the whole Time it might laſt; and exhibited to them the Evils, which would, very probably, come upon them, ſhould they deviate from his Plan. After adding other Conſiderations, taken from the Genius or Character, and Civil Government, of the two Republicks; one uncertain, and fluctuating in its Deliberations, and rendred ſtill ſlower in the Execution, from its being obliged to wait for the Conſent of the *Allies*; the other ſpeedy, determinate, independent, and Miſtreſs of its Reſolutions; which is no indifferent Circumſtance, with Regard to the Succeſs of Enterprizes, *Pericles* ended his Speech, and gave his Opinion, as follows: "We have no more to do, "but diſmiſs the Embaſſadors; and give them "this Anſwer; that we permit thoſe of *Megara* "to trade with *Athens*, upon Condition, that the "*Lacedæmonians* ſhall not prohibit either us, or "our *Allies*, their Commerce. With Regard to "the Cities of *Greece*, we will leave thoſe free, "who enjoy'd their Liberty, at the Time of our "Agreement; provided they will do the ſame, "with Regard to thoſe who are dependent on "them. We do not refuſe to ſubmit the Deciſion "of our Duties to Arbiters, and will not firſt "begin the War: But, in Caſe of an Invaſion, "we will make a brave and reſolute Defence." Accordingly, the Embaſſadors were anſwer'd, as *Pericles* had dictated. They return'd home, and never came again to *Athens*; ſoon after which the *Peloponeſian* War broke out.

But, before we enter upon the Account thereof, it may be proper to relate, in few Words, the moſt conſiderable Tranſactions, which had happen'd in *Magna Græcia*, or the *Greater Greece*, till the Time we are now writing on; whether in *Sicily*, or that Part of *Italy*, which was comprehended, together with that Iſland, under the Name of the *Greater Greece*.

CHAP. IX.

The Carthaginians *defeated by the* Sicilian Greeks; *The Hiſtory of* Gelon, *the Tyrant of* Syracuſe; *His Equity, Sincerity, and Punctuality, in keeping his Promiſes; The Hiſtory of his Brother* Hiero; *A noble Saying of that Prince; The uncommon Integrity, and Juſtice of* Micythus; *The Hiſtory of* Thraſybulus, *Brother to* Gelon, *and* Hiero; *who is depoſed for his Tyranny; The Hiſtory of* Deucetius; *Of the moſt famous Perſons and Cities in* Sicily, *and that Part of* Italy, *comprehended under the Name of the* Greater Greece.

WE have already obſerv'd, that *Xerxes*, whoſe Deſigns tended to no leſs than the total Extirpation of the *Greeks*, had prevail'd with the *Carthaginians* to wage War againſt the People of *Sicily*. They landed in it an Army of above three hundred thouſand Men, and ſent thither a Fleet of two thouſand Ships, with upwards of three thouſand Veſſels for the Baggage; and *Hamilcar*, the ableſt of the *Carthaginian* Generals, at that Time, was appointed to have the Direction of this Expedition: However, the Succeſs was not anſwerable to theſe mighty Preparations; the *Carthaginians* were entirely defeated by *Gelon*, or *Gelo*, who, at that Time, had the chief Authority in *Syracuſe*.

This *Gelon* was born in *Gela*, a City of *Sicily*, ſituated on the *Southern* Coaſt between *Agrigentum* and *Camarina*; and thence he, perhaps, receiv'd his Name. He had greatly ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Wars, which *Hippocrates*, Tyrant of *Gela*, carry'd on againſt the neighbouring Powers; moſt of whom he ſubdued, and had like to have taken *Syracuſe*. After the Death of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon*, upon Pretence of defending the Rights and Poſſeſſions of the Tyrant's Children, took up Arms againſt his Fellow-Citizens; and, having overcome them in a Battle, ſeiz'd upon the Authority in his own Name. Some Time after, he poſſeſſed himſelf alſo of *Syracuſe*; by the Aſſiſtance of ſome Exiles, whom he had recall'd into it; and who had engaged the Populace to open the Gates of that City to him. He then gave *Gela* to *Hiero*, his Brother, and bent his whole Endeavours to extend the Limits of the Empire of *Syracuſe*; and roſe to great Power in a ſhort Time.

We may form a Judgment of this, from the Army which he offer'd the *Grecian* Embaſſadors, who came to deſire his Aſſiſtance againſt the King of *Perſia*; and by the Demand he inſiſted upon, *viz.*

viz. of being appointed Generaliſſimo of all their Forces; which, however, they refus'd. The Fear he was in at that Time, of being ſoon invaded by the *Carthaginians*, was the chief Occaſion of his not aſſiſting the *Greeks*. He was extreamly politick in his Conduct, inſomuch, that, when News was brought him, that *Xerxes* had croſſed the *Helleſpont*, he ſent a truſty Perſon with rich Preſents; with Orders for him to wait the Iſſue of the firſt Battle; and, in Caſe *Xerxes* ſhould be victorious, to pay Homage to him, in his Name; otherwiſe to bring back the Money: We now return to the *Carthaginians*.

They were landed in *Sicily*, at the earneſt Sollicitations of *Terillus*, who had been Tyrant of *Himera*, but depos'd by *Theron*, another Tyrant, who reign'd at *Agrigentum*. The Family of the latter was one of the moſt illuſtrious of all *Greece*; he being deſcended, in a direct Line, from *Cadmus*. He marry'd into the Family, which, at that Time, ſway'd the Scepter of *Syracuſe*; and which conſiſted of four Brothers, *Gelon*, *Hiero*, *Polyzelus*, and *Thraſybulus*. He marry'd his Daughter to the firſt, and himſelf took to Wife the Daughter of the third.

To return to the *Carthaginians*, *Hamilcar* having landed at *Panormus* (now *Palermo*) began, by laying Siege to *Himera*: Whereupon, *Gelon* haſten'd, with a great Army, to the Relief of his Father-in-Law; when uniting, they defeated the *Carthaginians*, and gain'd the moſt compleat Victory, that perhaps, was ever won.

The Battle was fought the ſame Day with the Engagement of *Thermopylæ*; and one remarkable Circumſtance in the Conditions of Peace, which *Gelon* preſcrib'd the Conquer'd, was, that they ſhould ceaſe to ſacrifice their Children to the God *Saturn*; which ſhews, at the ſame Time, the Cruelty of the *Carthaginians*, and the Piety of *Gelon*.

The Spoils gain'd, on this Occaſion, were of an immenſe Value; *Gelon* allotted the greateſt Part of them for the Ornament of the Temples in *Syracuſe*. He alſo took a numberleſs Multitude of Priſoners. Thoſe he ſhar'd, with the utmoſt Equity, with his *Allies*, who employ'd them, after putting Irons on their Feet, in cultivating their Lands, and building magnificent Edifices, both for the Ornament, and Advantage of their Cities. Several of the Citizens of *Agrigentum* had five hundred for their own Share.

Gelon, after ſo glorious a Victory, was ſo far from growing prouder, that he behav'd with greater Affability and Humanity than ever, towards the Citizens, and his *Allies*. Being return'd from the Campaign, he conven'd the Aſſembly of the *Syracuſans*, who were order'd to come arm'd into it. However, he himſelf went thither unarm'd; declar'd to the Aſſembly every Step of his Conduct; the Uſes to which he had apply'd the ſeveral Sums with which he had been intruſted, and in what Manner he had employ'd his Authority; adding, that, if they had any Complaints to make againſt him, his Perſon and Life were at their Diſpoſal.

All the People ſtruck with ſo unexpected a Speech, and ſtill more with the unuſual Confidence he repos'd in them, anſwer'd by Acclamations of Joy, Praiſe, and Gratitude; and immediately, with one Conſent, inveſted him with the ſupreme Authority, and the Title of King. And, to preſerve to lateſt Poſterity, the Remembrance of *Gelon*'s memorable Action, in coming into the Aſſembly, and putting his Life into the Hands of the *Syracuſans*, they erected a Statue to his Honour, repreſenting him in the Habit of a private Citizen.

This Statue, afterwards, met with a very ſingular Fate, and worthy of the Motives which had occaſion'd its ſetting up. *Timoleon*, above a hundred and thirty Years after, having reſtored the *Syracuſans* to their Liberty, thought it adviſable, in order to eraze from thence the leaſt Footſteps of the tyrannical Government; and, at the ſame Time, to aſſiſt the Wants of the People; to ſell publickly all the Statues of thoſe Princes and Tyrants, who had govern'd it till that Time. But firſt, he brought them to a Trial, as ſo many Criminals; hearing the Depoſitions and Witneſſes of each. They were all condemn'd with one Voice, the Statue of *Gelon* excepted, which found an eloquent Advocate and Defender, in the ſtrong and ſincere Gratitude which the Citizens entertain'd for that great Man, whoſe Virtue they revered, as if he had ſtill been living.

The *Syracuſans* had no Cauſe to repent their having intruſted *Gelon* with the ſupreme Power and Authority: It did not, indeed, heighten the Zeal with which he had always been fired for their Welfare, ſince that would hardly admit of Addition, but then it enabled him to do them more important Service: For, by a Change, till then unheard of, and the like of which *Tacitus* never met with but in *Veſpaſian*, he was the firſt Man, who became more virtuous, by his Enjoyment of the Royal Authority. He made upwards of ten thouſand Foreigners, who had ſerv'd under him, Denizons. His Views were, to people the Capital, to increaſe the Power of the State, to reward the Services of his brave and faithful Soldiers; and to attach them more ſtrongly to *Syracuſe*, from the Remembrance of the advantageous Settlement which he had procur'd them, by being incorporated with the Citizens.

He was particularly famous for his inviolable Sincerity; his Truth and Fidelity, in keeping his Promiſes; a Quality very eſſential to a Prince, which alone is capable of gaining him the Love, and Confidence, of his Subjects, and of Foreigners; and ought to be conſider'd as the Baſis of all juſt Politicks, and good Government. Wanting Money, to carry on an Expedition he meditated, (and which, very probably, was before he had triumph'd over the *Carthaginians*) he addreſs'd the People, in order to obtain a Contribution from them: But, finding the *Syracuſans* unwilling to be at that Expence, he told them, that he ask'd nothing but a Loan; and that he would engage himſelf to pay it, as ſoon as the War ſhould be ended. Thereupon, he was ſoon furniſh'd with the Sums he wanted; and he repaid them at the Time agreed on. How happy is that Government, where ſuch Juſtice and Equity are exercis'd! And how miſtaken are thoſe Miniſters and Princes, who violate them in any Manner! *It were well, if ſome modern Princes, who came by their Authority in a more legal Manner, acted with as much Juſtice, and Honour, as this Tyrant, only in Name!*

One of the chief Objects of his Attention, and in which his Succeſſor imitated him, was to make

the tilling of the Ground be look'd upon as an honourable Employment. It is well known how fruitful *Sicily* was in Corn; and the immenſe Revenues might be produced from ſo rich a Soil, when induſtriouſly cultivated. He animated the Husbandmen by his Preſence, and delighted in ſometimes appearing at their Head, in the ſame Manner, as, on other Occaſions, he had marched at the Head of Armies.

His Intention, ſays *Plutarch*, was not merely to make the Country rich and fruitful; but alſo to exerciſe his Subjects, to accuſtom and inure them to Toils; and, by that Means, to preſerve them from a thouſand Diſorders, which inevitably follow a ſoft and indolent Life. There are few Maxims, in Politicks, on which the Ancients have inſiſted more ſtrongly, than on the tilling and cultivating their Lands; a manifeſt Proof of their great Wiſdom, and the profound Knowledge they had of thoſe Particulars which conſtitute the Strength and ſolid Happineſs of a State.

Xenophon, in a Dialogue upon Government, entitled *Hiero*, ſhews, the great Advantage it would be to a State, were the King ſtudious to reward thoſe who ſhould excel in Husbandry, and whatever relates to the cultivating of Lands. He ſays the ſame of War, Trade, and all the Arts; on which Occaſion, he adds, if Honours were paid to all thoſe who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in them, it would give Life and Motion to all Things; would excite a noble and laudable Emulation among the Citizens, and give Riſe to a thouſand Inventions to perfect thoſe Arts.

It does not appear that *Gelon* had been educated, in the ſame Manner, as the Children of the Rich among the *Greeks*, who were taught Muſick, and the Art of playing on Inſtruments, very carefully: Poſſibly this was becauſe of his mean Birth, or rather, it was owing to his having no Inclination to Exerciſes of that Nature. However that be, one Day at an Entertainment, when, according to the uſual Cuſtom, a Harp was preſented to each of the Gueſts; when it was *Gelon*'s Turn, inſtead of touching the Inſtrument as the reſt had done, he cauſed his Horſe to be brought, mounted him with wonderful Agility and Grace; and ſhew'd, that he had learnt a nobler Exerciſe than playing on the Harp.

After the Defeat of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, the ſeveral Cities of that Iſland enjoy'd a profound Peace, and *Syracuſe* eſpecially was proſperous and happy under the auſpicious Government of *Gelon*. He was not born in *Syracuſe*, as we have already obſerved, and yet all the Inhabitants of that City, though extremely jealous of their Liberty, had forced him, as it were, to accept of the Diadem. Though an Alien, the ſupreme Power went in Search of him; uninvited by any other Circumſtance but his rare Merit.

Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the Duties of the regal Office, as well as its great Weight; and he accepted it in no other View but to do good to thoſe he ſhould preſide over. He thought the Scepter was put into his Hands, with no other Deſign than for him to defend the State; to preſerve Order in all Things; to protect Innocence and Juſtice; and to exhibit to all his Subjects, by his ſimple, modeſt, induſtrious and regular life, a Pattern of all the civil Virtues. He himſelf aſſumed no Part of the kingly Office, but the Toils and Cares of it, but a Zeal for the publick Welfare, and the ſweet Satisfaction which reſults from the procuring Happineſs to Millions of Men: In a Word, he conſider'd the kingly Office as an Engagement, and a Means to procure the Felicity of infinite Numbers.

He baniſh'd from it Pomp, Oſtentation, Licentiouſneſs, and the committing Evil with Impunity; inſomuch that he ſeem'd not to govern ſo much himſelf, as to content himſelf with ſuffering the Laws to rule. He never made his Inferiours feel that he was their Maſter, but only inculcated to them that both ought to yield to Reaſon and Juſtice. To make himſelf obey'd, he employ'd no other Methods but Perſuaſion and a good Example, which are the Weapons of Virtue, and are alone capable of procuring a ſincere and uninterrupted Obedience.

A rever'd old Age; a Name, that form'd the Delight of his Subjects; a Reputation, equally diffuſed within and without his Kingdom; theſe were the Fruits of that Wiſdom, which was preſerved on the Throne, to the laſt Gaſp. His Reign was ſhort, and only juſt ſhew'd him, as it were, to *Sicily*, to exhibit, in his Perſon, the Pattern of a good and true King. He left the World, after having reign'd only ſeven Years, to the infinite Regret of all his Subjects. Every Family imagin'd itſelf deprived of its beſt Friend, Protector, and Father. Accordingly, in the Place where his Wife *Demarata* had been buried, the People erected a ſplendid *Mauſolæum*, ſurrounded with nine Towers, of a ſurprizing Height and Magnificence; and decreed thoſe Honour to him, which were then paid to the Demi-gods or Heroes. The *Carthaginians* afterwards demoliſh'd the *Mauſolæum*, and *Agathocles* the Towers: But, neither Violence, Envy nor Time, which deſtroys all other Things, could deſtroy the Glory of his Name; or aboliſh the Memory of his exalted Virtues, and noble Actions; which Love and Gratitude had engraved in the Hearts of the *Sicilians*.

After *Gelon*'s Death, the Scepter continued near twelve Years in his Family: He was firſt ſucceeded therein by *Hiero*, his eldeſt Brother; concerning whom Authors are very much divided in their Opinion; ſome repreſenting him as a good King, and others as an execrable Tyrant. In order to reconcile theſe different Opinions, it will be neceſſary to divide *Hiero*'s Reign into two Periods. It is very probable that, dazzled, in the Beginning, by the Glitter of ſovereign Power, and corrupted by the Flattery of his Courtiers, he might ſtudiouſly endeavour to deviate from that Path which his Predeceſſor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himſelf ſo happy. This young Prince was covetous, headſtrong, unjuſt, and ſtudious of nothing but the gratifying his Paſſions, without once endeavouring to gain the Eſteem and Affection of the People; who, on the other Side, had the utmoſt Averſion for a Prince, whom they look'd upon as a Tyrant over them, rather than as a King; and nothing but the Veneration they had for *Gelon*'s Memory, was a Reſtraint upon, and kept them from riſing in open Rebellion.

Some Time after he had aſcended the Throne, he had violent Suſpicions of *Polyzelus*, his Brother, whoſe great Credit among the Citizens, made him fear that he had a Deſign to dethrone him. However, in order to get rid, ſilently, of any Enemy whom

whom he fancied very dangerous, he resolved to put him at the Head of some Forces he was going to send to the Assistance of the *Sibarites*, against the *Crotoniensis*, hoping that he would lose his Life in that Expedition.

But he was disappointed, for his Brother refused to accept of the Command, which exasperated him the more; and *Theron*, who had married the Daughter of *Polyzelus*, joining with his Father-in-Law, it gave Rise to mighty Contests, which lasted many Years between the Kings of *Syracuse* and *Agrigentum*: However, they at last were reconciled by the wise Mediation of *Simonides* the Poet; and to make their Reconciliation lasting, they cemented it by a new Alliance, *Hiero* marrying *Theron*'s Sister; after which there was for ever a Harmony between the two Monarchs.

An infirm State of Health, which was increased by repeated Illnesses, first gave *Hiero* an Opportunity of thinking seriously; after which he resolved to send for Men of Learning, who might converse agreeably with him, and furnish him with useful Instructions. The most famous Poets of the Age came then to his Court, as *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Bacchylides*, and *Epicharmus*; and it is affirmed, that their Delightful Conversation did not a little contribute to soften the harsh and severe Temper of *Hiero*. *Plutarch* relates a noble Saying of his, which shews an excellent Disposition in a Prince. He declared, that his Palace and his Ears should be always open, to every Man who would tell him the Truth, and without Disguise.

The Poets above-mention'd, excell'd, not only in Poetry, but were also possessed of a great Fund of Learning, and considered and consulted as the Sages of their Age. This is what *Cicero* says particularly of *Simonides*: He had a great Ascendant over the King's Mind; and the only Use he made of it was, to persuade him to good Actions. They often used to converse on philosophical Subjects; and *Hiero*, in one of these Conversations, happening to ask *Simonides* his Opinion, with regard to the Nature and Attributes of the Deity. The latter desired one Day's Time to consider on it; the next Day he asked two, and went on, increasing in the same Proportion. Hereupon, the Prince being urgent with him to give the Reason of these Delays, he confessed, that the Subject was above his Comprehension, and that the more he reflected, the more obscure it appear'd to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent Treatise on the Art of governing well, entitled *Hiero*, and written by Way of Dialogue between this Prince and *Simonides*. *Hiero* undertakes to prove therein to the Poet, that Tyrants and Kings are not so happy as is generally imagined. Among the great Number of Proofs alledged by him, he insists chiefly on their vast Unhappiness in being deprived of the greatest Comfort and Blessing in this Life, *viz.* the Enjoyment of a true Friend, to whose Bosom they may safely confide their Secrets and Afflictions; who may share with them in their Joy and Sorrow; in a Word, a Second-self, who might form but one Heart, one Soul, with them.

On the other Side, *Simonides*, lays down admirable Maxims concerning the well-governing of a Kingdom. He represents to *Hiero*, that a King is not sent into the World for his own Sake, but for the Welfare of Mankind: That his Grandeur consists, not in building magnificent Palaces for himself to reside in, but in erecting Temples, and in fortifying and embellishing Cities: That it is glorious for a King, when his Subjects don't stand in fear of him, but are afraid of any Evil befalling him: That a truly royal Care is, not to enter the Lists with the first Comer, at the *Olympick* Games, (for the Princes of that Age were passionately fond of them, and especially *Hiero*) but to contend with the neighbouring Kings, in diffusing Plenty over all his Dominions, and endeavouring to form the Felicity of his People.

Nevertheless, *Pindar*, another Poet, applauds *Hiero* for the Victory he had won in the Horse-Race. However, it is said that *Themistocles*, seeing him arrive at the *Olympic* Games, with a splendid Equipage, would have had him forbid them, because, in Imitation of *Gelon*, his Brother, he had not assisted the *Greeks* against the common Enemy: This Motion did Honour to the *Athenian* General. He composed another Ode, in Honour of *Theron*, King of *Agrigentum*, victorious in the Chariot-Race; the Diction whereof is so sublime, the Thoughts so noble, and the Moral so pure, that many look on it as *Pindar*'s Master-piece.

We cannot say how far we may depend, on the rest of the Praises which *Pindar* gives *Hiero*, for Poets are not always very sincere in the Elogiums they bestow on Princes: However, it is certain, that *Hiero* had made his Court the Resort of all Persons of Wit and Sense; and that he had invited them to it by his Affability and courteous Treatment, and much more by his Liberality, which is a great Merit in a King.

However, we cannot bestow on the Court of *Hiero*, the Commendation which *Horace* gives that of *Mecænas*; wherein a Character, or Turn of Mind prevail'd, that is rarely found among Men of Learning, and which is, nevertheless, worth all their Literature. This amiable Court, says *Horace*, was an utter Stranger to the mean, and groveling Sensations, of Envy and Jealousy; and Men saw, in those who shared in the Master's Favour, a superiour Merit or Credit, without taking the least Umbrage at it. But it was far otherwise in the Court of *Hiero*, or of *Theron*. It is said that *Simonides*, and *Bacchylides* his Nephew, employ'd the utmost Efforts of Criticism, to lessen the Esteem which those Princes had for *Pindar*'s Works; whilst the latter, by way of Reprizal, ridicules them very strongly in his Ode to *Theron*, in comparing them to *Ravens, who croak in vain, against the divine Bird of* Jupiter. But Modesty was not the Virtue which distinguish'd *Pindar*.

To return to *Hiero*, that Prince having driven the ancient Inhabitants of *Catana* and *Naxos* from their Country, settled a Colony of ten thousand Men there, Half of whom were *Syracusans*, and the rest *Peloponnesians*. This prompted the Inhabitants of those two Cities to appoint, after his Death, the same Solemnities in his Honour, as were bestow'd on Heroes or Demi-gods, because they consider'd him as their Founder.

He shew'd great Favour to the Children of *Anaxilaus*, formerly Tyrant of *Zancle*, and a great Friend to *Gelon* his Brother. As they were come to Years of Maturity, he exhorted them to take the Government into their own Hands; after *Micythus*, their Tutor, should have inform'd them perfectly of the State of it, and how he himself had behaved in the Administration. But *Micythus* having

having assembled the nearest Relations and most intimate Friends of the young Princes, gave, in their Presence, so good an Account of his Guardianship, that the whole Assembly (raised to Admiration) bestow'd the highest Encomiums on his Prudence, Integrity, and Justice; whereupon, Matters were carried so far, that the young Princes were extremely urgent with him to preside over the Administration, as he had done before. However, the wise Tutor, preferring the Sweets of Ease to the vain Splendor of Power; and being persuaded at the same Time, that it would be for the Happiness of the Government, should the young Princes take the Reins of Empire into their own Hands, resolved to retire from Business. *Hiero* died, after having sway'd the Scepter eleven Years

To this Prince succeeded his Brother *Thrasybulus*, who, by his evil Conduct, contributed much to the making the Deceased be regretted. Elate with Pride, and brutal Hauahtiness, he considered Men as meer Worms; vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was a quite different Nature from them. In Effect, he abandon'd himself implicitly to the flattering Counsels of the giddy young Courtiers, who surrounded him: Accordingly, he treated all his Subjects with the utmost Severity; banishing some, confiscating the Possessions of others, and putting great Numbers to Death. So hard a Slavery grew soon insupportable to the *Syracusans*; and therefore they implored the Succour of the neighbouring Cities, whom also it concern'd to shake off the Tyrant's Yoke. These besieged him even in *Syracuse*, the Sovereignty of Part of which he had reserved to himself, *viz. Acradina*, and the Island, which was very well fortified; but the third Region, or Quarter of the City, called *Tyche*, was possessed by the Enemy. After making a feeble Resistance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the City, and withdrew into Banishment, among the *Locrians*, having sat but a Year on the Throne. In this Manner the *Syracusans* recovered their Liberty; which done, they also delivered the rest of the Cities of *Sicily* from Tyranny; establish'd a popular Government in all Places, and maintained that Form themselves during threescore Years, till the Reign of *Dionysius* the Tyrant, who again enslaved them.

After *Sicily* had been delivered from the Government of the Tyrants, and all the Cities were restored to their Liberty; as the Country was extremely fruitful in itself, and the Peace which all Places enjoy'd, gave the Inhabitants of the Island an Opportunity of cultivating their Lands, and feeding their Flocks; they grew very powerful, and amassed great Riches. To perpetuate to latest Posterity, the Remembrance of the happy Day, in which they had thrown off the Yoke of Slavery, by the Banishment of *Thrasybulus*; it was decreed, in the General Assembly of the Nation, that a colossal Statue should be set up, to *Jupiter*, the Deliverer; that on the Anniversary of that Day, a Festival should be solemnized, by way of Thanksgiving, for the Restoration of their Liberty; and that there should be sacrificed, in Honour of the Gods, four hundred and fifty Bulls, with which the People should be entertained, and that it should be a general Festival.

There nevertheless lay conceal'd in the Minds of many, a certain Spirit of Tyranny, which frequently disturbed the Harmony of this Peace, and occasion'd several Tumults, and Commotions in *Sicily*, whose Particulars we shall omit. To prevent the evil Consequences thereof, the *Syracusans* establish'd the *Petalism*, which differ'd very little from the *Athenian Ostracism*; and was so call'd from the *Greek Petalon*, signifying *a Leaf*, because the Votes were then given on an *Olive Leaf*. This Judgment was pronounced against such Citizens, whose great Power made the People apprehensive that they aspired to the Tyranny, and it banish'd them for ten Years; however, it did not long continue in Force, and was soon abolish'd; because the Dread of falling under its Censure, having prompted the most virtuous Men to retire, and lay aside the Administration; the chief Employments were now filled with such Citizens only as had the least Merit, or rather, who were the most vicious.

Deucetius, according to *Diodorus*, was Chief over the People who were properly called *Sicilians*. Having united them all (the Inhabitants of *Hybla* excepted) into one Body, he became very powerful, and formed several great Enterprizes. It was he who built the City *Palica*, near the Temple of the Gods called *Palici*; which was very famous on Account of some Wonders which are related thereof; and still more, from the sacred Nature of the Oaths which were there taken, the Violation whereof, was said to be always follow'd by a sudden and exemplary Punishment.

This was a secure Asylum for all Persons who were oppressed by a superiour Power; and especially for Slaves, who were unjustly abused, or too cruelly treated by their Masters, they continuing in Safety in this Temple, till such Time as certain Arbiters and Mediators had made their Peace; and there was not a single Instance of a Master's having ever forfeited the Promise he had made to pardon his Slaves; so greatly the Gods, who presided over this Temple, were regarded, for the severe Vengeance they took on those who violated their Oaths.

This *Deucetius*, after having been successful on a great many Occasions, and won several Victories, particularly over the *Syracusans*; saw his Fortune change on a Sudden, by the Loss of a Battle, and was abandoned by the greatest Part of his Forces. In the Consternation, and Despondency, into which so general and sudden a Desertion threw him, he form'd such a Resolution, as Despair only could suggest. He withdrew in the Night to *Syracuse*; advanced as far as the great Square of the City, and there, falling prostrate at the Foot of the Altar, he abandon'd his Life and Dominions to the Mercy of the *Syracusans*; that is, to his professed Enemies.

The Singularity of this Spectacle drew great Numbers of People about him; and the Magistrates immediately conven'd the People, and debated on the Affair. They first heard the Orators, whose Business was generally to address the People by their Speeches; and who animated them prodigiously against *Deucetius*, as a publick Enemy, whom Providence seem'd to throw into their Way, to revenge and punish, by his Death, all the Injuries he had done the Republick. A Speech of this Nature, struck all the virtuous Part of the Assembly with Horror. The most ancient and wisest of

of the Senators repreſented, "That they were "not to conſider what Puniſhment *Deucetius* de- "ſerv'd, but how it behov'd the *Syracuſans* to "behave on that Occaſion; that they ought not "to look upon him any longer as an Enemy, "but as an humble Petitioner; a Character, by "which his Perſon was made ſacred and invio- "lable. That there was a Goddeſs (*Nemeſis*) "who took Vengeance of Crimes, eſpecially of "Cruelty and Impiety; and who, doubtleſs, "would not ſuffer that to go unpuniſh'd: That, "beſides the Baſeneſs and Inhumanity there is in "inſulting the unfortunate, and in treading to "Pieces thoſe who are already under one's Foot; "it was worthy the Grandeur and Goodneſs, na- "tural to the *Siracuſans*, to exert their Clemen- "cy, even to thoſe who leaſt deſerv'd it." All the People were gain'd over to this Opinion; and, with one Conſent, they ſpared the Life of *Deucetius*; who was order'd to reſide at *Corinth*, the Foundreſs of *Syracuſe*; the *Syracuſans* engaging themſelves to ſupply him with all Things neceſſary for his ſubſiſting there honourably. What Reader, who weighs theſe two contrary Opinions, does not incline to the latter, as the moſt generous, and noble!

We ſhall now paſs on to that Part of the *Greater Greece*, which was in *Italy*; in relating the Particulars whereof, and enumerating its famous Men, we muſt not omit *Pythagoras*, who was the Glory thereof; notwithſtanding he was not born there, but at *Samos*. This Philoſopher, after having travell'd into many Countries, and enrich'd his Mind with the moſt excellent Learning of every Kind, he return'd to his native Country, but did not make a long Stay in it; becauſe of the tyrannical Government, which was eſtabliſh'd there by *Polycrates*; who yet had the higheſt Regard for him, and ſhew'd him all the Eſteem due to his rare Merit: But the Study of the Sciences, and particularly, of Philoſophy, is ſcarce compatible with Slavery, though of the gentleſt, and moſt honourable Kind. He, therefore, remov'd into *Italy*; and reſided uſually either at *Croton*, *Metapontum*, *Heraclea*, or *Tarentum*.

Servius Tullius, or *Tarquinius Superbus*, reign'd in *Rome* at that Time; which quite invalidates the Opinion of thoſe who imagin'd, *Numa Pompilius*, the ſecond King of the *Romans*, who lived upwards of an hundred Years before, had been the Diſciple of *Pythagoras*; an Opinion, very probably, grounded on the Reſemblance of the Manners, Diſpoſitions, and Principles, of that Prince, with thoſe of this Philoſopher.

The whole Country ſoon felt very happy Effects from his Preſence; an Inclination for Study, and a Love of Wiſdom, diffuſing themſelves almoſt univerſally, in a very ſhort Time, over the whole Country. Multitudes flock'd from all the neighbouring Cities, to get a Sight of *Pythagoras*, to hear him, and improve by his ſalutary Counſels: The ſeveral Princes of the Country took a Pleaſure in inviting him to their Courts, which they thought honour'd by his Preſence; and all were delighted with his Converſation, and glad to learn from him the Art of governing Nations with Wiſdom.

His School became the moſt famous that had ever been till that Age: He had no leſs than four or five hundred Diſciples: Before he admitted them in that Quality, they were Probationers five Years; during which Time he obliged them to keep the ſtricteſt Silence; he thinking it proper for them to be inform'd with Knowledge, before they ſhould attempt to ſpeak. We ſhall take Notice of his Tenets and Sentiments, when we come to ſpeak of the various Sects of Philoſophers; it is well known, that the **Tranſmi**gration of Souls was one of the chief of them.

His Diſciples had the greateſt Veneration for every Word he utter'd; and, if he did but barely aver a Thing, he was immediately believ'd, without its being once examin'd; and, to prove the Truth of any Thing, they uſed frequently to ſay no more than, *He has ſaid it*; after which, it was immediately receiv'd amongſt them, as a ſelf-evident Axiom.

However, we think, the Diſciples carry'd their Deference and Docility too far; in thus waving all Enquiry, and in ſacrificing implicitly their Reaſon and Underſtanding; a Sacrifice, that ought to be made only to the divine Authority; which is infinitely ſuperior to our Reaſon, and all our Knowledge; and which, conſequently, is authoriz'd to preſcribe Laws to us, and ſpeak in a Voice, that commands an immediate Compliance.

The School of *Pythagoras* bred a great Number of illuſtrious Diſciples, who did infinite Honour to their Maſter; as wiſe Legiſlators, great Politicians, Perſons ſkill'd in the whole Round of Science, Men capable of being prime Miniſters, and of preſiding over Kingdoms. A long Time after his Death, that Part of *Italy*, which he had cultivated, and improv'd by his Inſtructions, was ſtill conſider'd as the Nurſery and Seat of Men ſkill'd in all Kinds of Literature; and maintain'd that glorious Character during ſeveral Centuries. The *Romans*, certainly, entertain'd a high Opinion of the Virtue and Merit of *Pythagoras*, ſince the Oracle of *Delphos*, having commanded that People, during the War of the *Samnites*, to erect two Statues in the moſt conſpicuous Part of *Rome*; the one to the wiſeſt, and the other to the moſt valiant among the *Greeks*; they accordingly ſet up two in the *Comitium*, repreſenting *Pythagoras* and *Themiſtocles*. Hiſtorians are not exact, with Reſpect to the Time and Place of the Death of this excellent Philoſopher.

Croton, one of the Cities, at which *Pythagoras* reſided, was founded by *Myſcellus*, Chief of the *Achaians*, the third Year of the ſeventeenth *Olympiad*. This *Myſcellus* being at *Delphos*, to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*, about the Spot on which he ſhould build his City, met *Archias* the *Corinthian* there, upon the ſame Account. The God gave them a favourable Audience; and, after having determin'd them, with Regard to the Place that would beſt ſuit their new Settlements, he propoſed different Advantages to them; and left them, among other Particulars, the Choice of *Riches*, or *Health*.

The Offer of *Riches* ſtruck *Archias*, but *Myſcellus* deſired *Health*; and, if Hiſtory is to be credited, *Apollo* perform'd his Promiſe faithfully to both. *Archias* having founded *Syracuſe*, which ſoon became the moſt opulent City of the *Greater Greece*; and *Myſcellus* having laid the Foundations of *Croton*, which became ſo famous, for the long Life, and innate Strength of its Inhabitants, that

its Name was uſed proverbially, to ſignify a very healthy Spot, whoſe Air was extreamly pure. The People thereof ſignalized themſelves in a great Number of Victories in the *Grecian* Games; and *Strabo* relates, that, in one and the ſame *Olympiad*, ſeven of that City were crowned in the *Olympick* Games, and carry'd off all the different Prizes of the *Stadium*, or Courſe.

Sybaris, another famous City, was about ten Leagues (two hundred Furlongs) from *Croton*; and had alſo been founded by the *Achaians*, but before the other. This City became afterwards very powerful; four neighbouring Nations, and twenty-five Cities being ſubject thereto; ſo that it was, alone, able to raiſe an Army of three hundred thouſand Men.

The Opulence of *Sybaris* was ſoon follow'd by Luxury, and ſuch a Diſſoluteneſs as is ſcarcely credible. The Citizens employ'd themſelves in nothing but Banquets, Games, Shows, Parties of Pleaſure, and Carrouſals. Publick Rewards, and Marks of Diſtinction, were beſtow'd on thoſe who gave the moſt magnificent Entertainments; and even to ſuch Cooks, as were beſt skill'd in the important Art of making new Diſcoveries in dreſſing Viands, and invented new Refinements to pleaſe the Palate: Nay, the *Sybarites* carry'd their Delicacy and Effeminacy to ſuch a Height, that they carefully removed from their City all ſuch Artificers, whoſe Work was noiſy; and would not ſuffer any Cocks in it, for Fear leſt their ſhrill, piercing Crow ſhould diſturb their balmy Slumbers.

All theſe Evils were heightned by Diſſenſion and Diſcord; which, at laſt, proved their Ruin. Five hundred of the wealthieſt in the City having been driven from it by the Faction of one *Telys*, fled to *Croton*. *Telys* demanded to have them ſurrendred to him; and, on the Refuſal of the *Crotonienſes* to give them back (they being prompted to this generous Reſolution by *Pythagoras*, who then liv'd among them) War was declared.

The *Sybarites* march'd three hundred thouſand Men into the Field, and the *Crotonienſes* only an hundred thouſand; but then they were headed by *Milo*, the famous Champion (of whom we ſhall ſoon have Occaſion to ſpeak) who had a Lion's Skin over his Shoulders, and was himſelf armed with no other Weapon than a Club, like a ſecond *Hercules*. The latter gain'd a compleat Victory, and made a dreadful Havock of thoſe who fled; ſo that very few eſcaped, and their City was depopulated.

About threeſcore Years after, ſome *Theſſalians* came and ſettled in it; however, they did not long enjoy Peace, being driven from thence by the *Crotonienſes*. Being thus reduced to the moſt fatal Extremity, they implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*; the latter of which, moved to Compaſſion at their deplorable Condition, after cauſing Proclamation to be made in *Peloponeſus*, that all, who were willing to aſſiſt that Colony, were at Liberty to do it; ſent the *Sybarites* a Fleet of ten Ships, under the Command of *Lampon* and *Zenocrates*.

They built a City near the ancient *Sybaris*, and call'd it *Thurium*. Two Men, greatly renown'd for their Learning, the one an Orator, and the other an Hiſtorian, ſettled in this Colony. The firſt was *Lyſias*, at that Time but fifteen Years of Age; who liv'd in *Thurium*, till the ill Fate which befel the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, and then went to *Athens*. The ſecond was *Herodotus*; who, though he was born in *Halicarnaſſus*, a City of *Caria*, yet was conſider'd as a Native of *Thurium*, becauſe he ſettled there with that Colony.

Diviſions ſoon broke out in the City, on Occaſion of the new Inhabitants; whom the reſt would exclude from all publick Employments and Privileges. But, as theſe were much more numerous, they repulſed all the ancient *Sybarites*, and got the ſole Poſſeſſion of the City. Being ſupported by the Alliance they made with the *Crotonienſes*, they ſoon grew very vaſtly powerful; and having ſettled a popular Form of Government in their City, they divided the Citizens into ten Tribes, which they call'd by the Names of the different Nations whence they ſprung.

They now bent their whole Thoughts upon ſtrengthening their Government by wholeſome Laws; for which Purpoſe, they made Choice of *Charondas*, who had been educated in the School of the great *Pythagoras*, to digeſt, and draw them up. By one of theſe, he excluded from the Senate, and all publick Poſts, ſuch Men as ſhould marry a ſecond Wife, in caſe any Children by their firſt Wife were living; being perſuaded, that any Man, who was ſo regardleſs of the Intereſt of his Children, would be equally ſo of the Welfare of his Country; and be as worthleſs a Magiſtrate, as he had been a Father.

By another, he ſentenc'd all Informers to be carry'd through every Part of the City crown'd with Heath or Broom, as the vileſt of Men; an Ignominy, which moſt of them were not able to ſurvive. The City, thus deliver'd from thoſe Peſts of Society, was reſtored to its former Tranquillity. And indeed, from Informers generally ariſe all Feuds and Conteſts, whether of a publick or private Nature; and yet, according to the Obſervation of *Tacitus*, they are too much tolerated in moſt Governments; and eſpecially *bad Ones*, wherein they always ſwarm.

By a third, he enacted a new Kind of Law againſt another *Species* of Peſts, which, generally firſt occaſion a Depravation of Manners in a State; by ſuffering all thoſe to be proſecuted, who ſhould form a Correſpondence, or contract a Friendſhip, with wicked Men; and by laying a heavy Fine upon them.

By a fourth, he required all the Children of Citizens to be liberally educated, which poliſhes, and civilizes the Minds of Men, inſpiring them with gentle Manners; and prompting them to follow Virtue; all which conſtitute the Felicity of a Government, and are equally neceſſary to Citizens of all Conditions. In this View, he appointed Salaries, paid by the State, for Maſters and Preceptors; in order that Learning, by being communicated *Gratis*, might be acquired by all. He conſider'd Ignorance as the greateſt of Evils, and the Source whence all Vices flow'd; and indeed, it generally is ſo.

By a fifth, he made a Law, with reſpect to Orphans, which was very judicious, by intruſting the Care of their Education to their Relations, by the Mother's Side, as their Lives would not be in Danger from them; and the Management of their Eſtates to their Relations, by the Father's Side;

Side; it being the Intereſt of thoſe to make the greateſt Advantage of them; ſince they would inherit them, in caſe of the Demiſe of their Wards.

By a ſixth, inſtead of putting Deſerters to Death, and thoſe who quitted their Ranks, and fled in Battle, he only ſentenc'd them to make their Appearance, during three Days, in the City, dreſs'd in Female Apparel; imagining, the Dread of ſo ignominious a Puniſhment would produce the ſame Effect as putting to Death; and being, at the ſame Time, deſirous of giving ſuch cowardly Citizens an Opportunity of attoning for their Fault.

By a ſeventh, to prevent his Laws from being too raſhly, or eaſily abrogated, he impos'd a very ſevere, and hazardous Condition on all Perſons, who *ſhould propoſe to alter*, or amend them in any Manner. They were ſentenc'd to appear in the publick Aſſembly with a Halter about their Necks; and, in caſe the Alteration propos'd did not paſs, they were to be immediately ſtrangled. There were but three Amendments ever propos'd, and all of them were agreed to.

Charondas did not long ſurvive his own Laws. Returning, one Day, from purſuing ſome Thieves, and finding a Tumult in the City, he went arm'd into the Aſſembly, though he himſelf had prohibited this, by an expreſs Law. A certain Perſon objecting to him, in ſevere Terms, that he violated his own Laws: *I do not violate them*, ſaid he, *but thus ſeal them with my Blood*; which ſaid, he plunged his Sword into his Boſom, and expired.

At the ſame Time, there aroſe among the *Locrians*, another famous Legiſlator, *Zaleucus* by Name; who, as well as *Charondas*, had been the Diſciple of *Pythagoras*. There is now ſcarce any Thing extant of his, except a Kind of Preamble to his Laws, which gives a moſt advantageous Idea of them. Therein, he requires, above all Things, of the Citizens, to believe, and be firmly perſuaded, there are Deities; and adds, the bare turning up our Eyes to the Heavens, and contemplating their Order and Beauty, are ſufficient to convince us, it is impoſſible ſo wonderful a Fabrick could have been form'd by mere Chance, or human Power. As the natural Conſequence of this Belief, he exhorts Men to honour, and revere the Gods, as the Authors of whatever is good and juſt among Mortals; and to honour them, not barely by Sacrifices, and ſplendid Gifts, but by a ſage Conduct, and ſuch Manners, as are of the pureſt, and moſt chaſte Kind; theſe being infinitely more grateful to the Immortals, than all the Sacrifices which can be offer'd.

After this religious *Exordium*, in which he repreſents the Supream Being, as the Source whence all Laws flow; as the chief Authority, which commands Obedience to them; as the moſt powerful Motive, to excite a Compliance; and as the perfect Model, to which Mankind ought to conform; he deſcends to the Particulars of thoſe Duties, which Men owe one to another; and lays down a Precept, which is very well adapted to preſerve Peace and Unity in Society, by enjoining the Individuals of it not to make their Hatred and Diſſenſions perpetual; ſince this would argue an unſociable, and ſavage Diſpoſition; but to treat their Enemies as Men, who might ſoon be their Friends: This is carrying Morality to as great a Perfection, as could be expected from *Heathens*.

As to the Duty of Judges and Magiſtrates, after repreſenting to them, that, in pronouncing Sentence, they ought never to ſuffer themſelves to be byaſs'd by Friendſhip, Hatred, or any other Paſſion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the leaſt Haughtineſs or Severity towards the Parties engaged in Law; ſince ſuch are but too unhappy, in being obliged to undergo all the Toils and Fatigues, which are inſeparable from Law-Suits. The Office, indeed, of Judges, how laborious ſoever it may be, is far from giving them a Right to uſe the contending Parties with Ill-Nature. The very Form, and Eſſence of their Employment, requiring them to behave with Impartiality, and to do Juſtice on all Occaſions; and when they diſtribute this even with Mildneſs and Humanity, it is only a Debt they pay, and not a Favour they confer.

To baniſh Luxury from his Republick, which he look'd upon as the certain Deſtruction of a Government, he did not follow the Practice eſtabliſh'd in ſome Nations, where it is thought ſufficient, for that Purpoſe, to puniſh, by pecuniary Mulcts, or Fines, ſuch as infringe the Laws made on that Occaſion: But he acted in a more artful, and ingenious, and, at the ſame Time, a more effectual Manner. He prohibited Women from wearing rich Silks, and Brocades, embroider'd Robes, precious Stones, Ear-Rings, Necklaces, Bracelets, Gold Rings, and ſuch like Ornaments; excepting none from this Law, but common Proſtitutes. He enacted alſo, a Law of the ſame Nature, to reſtrain Men from the ſame Vice; and excepted in the ſame Manner, from the Obſervance of it, ſuch only as were willing to paſs for Debauchees, and infamous Wretches. By theſe Regulations, he eaſily, and without Violence, preſerv'd the Citizens, from the leaſt Approaches to Luxury and Effeminacy. For, no Perſon was ſo abandon'd to all Senſe of Honour, as to be willing to wear the Badges of his Shame, under the Eye, as it were, of all the Citizens; ſince this would have made him the publick Laughing-Stock, and reflect eternal Infamy on his Family.

Having mention'd theſe famous Philoſophers, and Lawgivers, we ſhall now come to one, whoſe Merit was of another Kind; that is, the famous Champion *Milo*; whom we have ſeen at the Head of an Army, gain a great Victory. However, he was ſtill more renown'd for his athletick Strength, than for his military Bravery. He was ſirnam'd *Crotonienſis*, from *Croton*, the Place of his Birth. It was his Daughter, whom, as was before related, *Democedes*, the famous Phyſician, and Countryman to *Milo*, marry'd, after he had fled from the Court of *Darius*, to *Greece*, his native Country.

Pauſanias relates, that *Milo*, when but a Child, was ſeven times victorious, in one Day, at the *Pythian* Games; gain'd ſix Victories at Wreſtling in the *Olympick* Games, one of which was alſo gain'd in his Childhood; and that challenging a ſeventh time, in *Olympia*, any Perſon to wreſtle with him, he could not engage, for Want of an Opponent. He would hold a Pomgranate in ſuch a Manner, that, without breaking it, he would graſp it ſo faſt in his Hand, that no Force could poſſibly

poſſibly wreſt it from him. He would ſtand ſo firm on a *Diſcus* (a Kind of Quoit, flat on one Side, but roundiſh on the other) which had been oil'd, to make it the more ſlippery, that it was impoſſible to move him on thoſe Occaſions. He would bind his Head with a Rope, as with a Diadem; after which, keeping in ſtrongly his Breath, the Veins of his Head would ſwell ſo prodigiouſly, as to break the Rope. He would fix his Elbow againſt his Side, ſtretch forth his Right-Hand quite open, with his Fingers cloſe one to the other, his Thumb excepted, which he rais'd, and the utmoſt Strength of Man could not ſeparate his little Finger from the other three.

But *Milo*, in theſe ſeveral Exerciſes, only made a vain, and childiſh Oſtentation of his Strength; Chance, however, gave him an Opportunity of making a much more laudable Uſe of it. One Day, as he was attending the Lectures of *Pythagoras* (being one of his moſt conſtant Diſciples) the Pillar, which ſupported the Cieling of the School, in which the Pupils were aſſembled, being ſhaken by ſome Accident, *Milo* ſupported it by his ſingle Strength; gave the Auditors Time to get away, and afterwards eſcap'd himſelf.

The Particulars related of the voracious Appetite of theſe *Athletæ*, or Wreſtlers, are almoſt incredible. The Appetite of *Milo* was ſcarcely ſatisfy'd with twenty *Minæ*, or Pounds of Meat; the ſame Quantity of Bread; and three *Congii*, near two Gallons, of Wine every Day. *Athenæus* relates, that this Champion having run the whole Length of the *Stadium*, with a Bull of four Years old on his Shoulders; he afterwards knock'd him down with one Stroke of his Fiſt, and eat the whole Beaſt that very Day. But, ſure, this muſt be an Exaggeration; for, ſhould we take it for granted, that all the other Particulars related of *Milo* are true: is it probable, that one Man could devour a whole Ox in ſo ſhort a Time?

We are told of the ſame *Milo*, that, one Day, when advanc'd to a very great Age, ſeeing the reſt of the Champions wreſtling; and gazing upon his own Arms, which once were ſo vigorous and robuſt, but were then very much enfeebled by Time, he burſt into Tears, and cry'd, *Alas! theſe Arms are now dead.*

And yet he either forgot, or conceal'd his Weakneſs from himſelf; the ſtrong Perſuaſion he entertain'd of his own Strength, and which he preſerv'd to the laſt, proving fatal to him. Happening, as he was travelling, to ſee an old Oak, which had been open'd by ſome Wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to ſplit it in two by his bare Strength. But, after forcing out the Wedges, his Arms were catch'd in the Trunk of the Tree, by the Violence with which it cloſed; ſo that, being unable to diſengage himſelf, he was devour'd by Wolves.

A certain Author has judiciouſly obſerv'd, that this ſurprizingly robuſt Champion, who prided himſelf ſo much in his bodily Strength, was the weakeſt of Men, with regard to a Paſſion, which ſubdues and captivates the ſtrongeſt; a Courtezan having gain'd ſo great an Aſcendant over *Milo*, that ſhe tyranniz'd over him in the moſt imperious Manner, and made him obey whatever Commands ſhe laid upon him: We are told the ſame of the famous *Hercules*.

CHAP. X.

The War of Peloponneſus; *The* Thebans *beſiege* Platææ; *The* Lacedæmonians *invade* Attica, *and lay it waſte*; *The* Athenians *do the ſame by* Peloponneſus; *Some Account of the Plague of* Athens; *The noble and diſintereſted Behaviour of* Hippocrates; Pericles *diveſted of the Command of the* Athenian *Forces*; *He is troubled with Diviſions in his Family, and loſes all his legitimate Children*; *He is reſtored to the Command*; *The* Lacedæmonians *ſue to the* Perſians *for Aſſiſtance*; Pericles *dies of the Plague*; *A noble, and memorable Saying of that great Man, when dying*; *The* Lacedæmonians *lay Siege to* Platææ; *The People of* Lesbos *revolt from the* Athenians; *but are reduc'd, and ſeverely puniſh'd*; Platææ *taken by the* Lacedæmonians, *and the Inhabitants barbarouſly uſed.*

WE proceed now to the memorable *Peloponneſian* War; wherein the firſt Act of Hoſtility was committed by the *Thebans*; who beſieged *Platææ*, a City of *Bœotia*, and in Alliance with *Athens*. They were let in by Treachery, but the Citizens falling upon them by Night, kill'd them all, excepting about two hundred, who were taken Priſoners; and who, a little after were put to Death. The *Athenians*, aſſoon as News was brought of the Action at *Platææ*, ſent Forces and Proviſions thither; and clear'd the City of all Perſons who were unable to bear Arms.

The Truce being thus evidently broken, both Sides prepar'd openly for War; and Ambaſſadors were ſent to all Places, to ſtrengthen themſelves by the Alliance of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. Every Part of *Greece* was in Motion; ſome few Nations, and Cities, excepted, which continu'd neuter, till they ſhould ſee the Event of the War.

The Majority were for the *Lacedæmonians*, as being the Deliverers of *Greece*; and eſpous'd their Intereſt

Intereſt very warmly; becauſe the *Athenians*, forgetting, that the Moderation and Gentleneſs, with which they commanded over others, had procur'd them many *Allies*; had afterwards alienated the greateſt Part of them, by their Pride, and the Severity of their Government; and incurr'd the Hatred, not only of thoſe who were then ſubject to, but of all ſuch as were apprehenſive of becoming their Dependants. In this Temper of Mind were the *Greeks* at that Time; and the Confederates of each of thoſe two Nations were, as follows: All *Peloponneſus*, *Argos* excepted, which ſtood neuter, had declar'd for the *Lacedæmonians*: The *Achaians*, the Inhabitants of *Pellene* excepted, had likewiſe join'd them; and the latter alſo engaged inſenſibly in that War. Out of *Peloponneſus*, were the People of *Megara*, *Locris*, *Bœotia*, *Phocis*, *Ambracia*, *Leucadia*, and *Anactorium*.

The Confederates of the *Athenians*; were the People of *Chios*, *Lesbos*, *Plataæ*, and the *Meſſenii* of *Naupactus*; the greateſt Part of the *Acarnanians*, *Corcyrans*, *Cephalenians*, and *Zacythians*; beſides the ſeveral tributary Countries; as maritime *Caria*; *Doria* that lyes near it; *Ionia*, the *Helleſpont*; and the Cities of *Thrace*, *Chalcis*, and *Potidæa* excepted; all the Iſlands between *Crete* and *Peloponneſus*, *Eaſtward*; and the *Cyclades*, *Melos*, and *Thera* excepted.

Immediately after the Attempt made on *Plataæ*, the *Lacedæmonians* had order'd Forces to be levy'd both within, and without *Peloponneſus*; and made all the Preparations neceſſary for entring the Enemy's Country. All Things being ready, two Thirds of the Troops march'd to the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, and the reſt were left to guard the Country; when *Archidamus*, King of *Sparta*, who commanded the Army, aſſembling the Generals, and chief Officers; and reminding them of the great Actions perform'd by their Anceſtors, and thoſe they had atchiev'd themſelves, or been Eye-Witneſſes to, exhorted them to ſupport, with their utmoſt Efforts, the priſtine Glory of their reſpective Cities, as well as their own Fame. He then remonſtrated, that the Eyes of all *Greece* were upon them; and that, in Expectation of the Iſſue of a War, which would determine their Fate, they were inceſſantly addreſſing Heaven in Favour of a People, who were as dear to them, as the *Athenians* were become odious. That, however, he could not deny, but that they were going to march againſt an Enemy, who, though greatly inferior to them in Numbers, and in Strength, were, nevertheleſs, very powerful; were inur'd to War, and daring; and whoſe Courage would, doubtleſs, be ſtill more inflam'd by the Sight of Danger, and the terrible Havock they ſhould make in their Territories. That, therefore, they muſt exert themſelves to the utmoſt, to ſpread an immediate Terror in the Country they were going to enter, and to add freſh Vigour to the *Allies*. Hereupon, the whole Army anſwer'd in the loudeſt Acclamations of Joy; and aſſur'd their Generals, that they would behave with the utmoſt Bravery.

The Aſſembly breaking up, *Archidamus*, ſtill zealous for the Welfare of *Greece*, and meditating how he might beſt prevent a Rupture, the dreadful Conſequences of which he foreſaw; ſent a *Spartan* to *Athens*, to endeavour, before they ſhould come to Hoſtilities, to prevail, if poſſible, with the *Athenians* to lay aſide their Deſigns; ſince, otherwiſe an Army would ſoon march into *Attica*. But the *Athenians* were ſo far from admitting him to Audience, or hearing his Reaſons, that they would not ſo much as ſuffer him to come into their City: *Pericles* having prevail'd with the People to make an Order, that no Herald, or Ambaſſador, ſhould be receiv'd from the *Lacedæmonians*, till they had firſt laid down their Arms.

Purſuant to this Reſolution, the *Spartan* was commanded to leave the Country that very Day; and an *Eſcort* was ſent to guard him to the Frontiers; and to prevent his ſpeaking to any Perſon by the Way. Hereupon, the *Spartan*, at his taking Leave of the *Athenians*, plainly told them, that, from that Day, all *Greece* would be involv'd in great Calamities; and *Archidamus*, ſeeing no Hopes of a Reconciliation, march'd for *Attica*, at the Head of ſixty thouſand choſen Men.

In the mean While, *Pericles*, before the *Lacedæmonians* had entred this Country, had declar'd to the *Athenians*, that, ſhould *Archidamus*, when he was laying waſte their Territories, ſpare his Lands; either on Account of the Right of Hoſpitality, which ſubſiſted between them, or to furniſh his Enemies, and thoſe who envy'd them, with a Handle to ſlander him, as though he held a Correſpondence with him; he declar'd, that, from that Day, he would make over all his Lands and Houſes to the City of *Athens*. Then he remonſtrated to the *Athenians*, that it was their Intereſt, to harraſs the Enemy's Troops, by ſpinning out the War; and, for this Purpoſe, they muſt immediately remove all their Effects out of the Country, retire into the City, and ſhut themſelves up in it, without ever hazarding a Battle.

In Effect, the *Athenians* had not Forces enough to take the Field, and oppoſe the Enemy. Their Troops, excluſive of thoſe in Garriſon, amounted but to thirteen thouſand Soldiers heavily arm'd; and ſixteen thouſand Inhabitants, including the young and old, the Citizens, as well as others, who were appointed to defend *Athens*: And beſides theſe, twelve hundred Troopers, including Archers, and ſixteen hundred Archers, on Foot. This was the whole Army of the *Athenians*. But their chief Strength conſiſted in a Fleet of three hundred Gallies; Part of which were order'd to lay waſte the Enemy's Country, and the reſt to awe the *Allies*; on whom Contributions were levy'd, without which the *Athenians* could not have defray'd the Expences of the War.

That high-ſpirited People, animated by the ſtrong Exhortations of *Pericles*, brought from the Country their Wives, Children, Moveables, and all their Effects; after which they pull'd down their Houſes, and even carry'd off the Timber of them. As to the Cattle of all Kinds, they convey'd them into the Iſland of *Eubœa*, and the neighbouring Iſles.

However, they were deeply afflicted at this ſad and precipitate Change of the Scene; and it even forced Tears from their Eyes. Ever ſince the *Perſians* had left their Country, that is, for near fifty Years, they had enjoy'd the Sweets of Peace; wholly employ'd in cultivating their Lands, and feeding their Flocks. But now, ſad Fate of War! they were obliged to abandon all; and take up

their Habitations in the City, as conveniently as they could, in the Midſt of ſuch Confuſion; retiring either to their Relations or Friends, ſuch as had any; whilſt the reſt took Shelter, even in the Temples, and other publick Edifices.

In the mean Time, the *Lacedæmonians*, being ſet out upon their March, enter'd the Country, and encamp'd at *Oenoe*, which is the firſt Stronghold towards *Bœotia*. They employ'd a long Time in preparing the Attack, and raiſing the Batteries; for which Reaſon Complaints were made againſt *Archidamus*, as though he carried on the War indolently, becauſe he did not approve of it. He was accuſed of being too ſlow in his Marches. and of encamping too long near *Corinth*. He was likewiſe accuſed for having been too dilatory in raiſing the Army, as though he was deſirous of giving the *Athenians* an Opportunity to carry off all their Effects out of the Country; whereas, (ſaid they) had he marched ſpeedily into it, every Part might have been laid waſte.

His real Deſign, however, was, to have induced the *Athenians*, by theſe Delays, to agree to an Accommodation; and to have prevented a Rupture, the Conſequences of which, he foreſaw, would be pernicious to all *Greece*. This Deſign proving abortive, and *Archidamus*, after ſeveral Aſſaults, finding that it would be impoſſible for him to take *Oenoe*, raiſed the Siege, and enter'd *Attica*, in the Midſt of the Harveſt. There he laid waſte the whole Country, which done, he advanced as far as *Acharnæ*, one of the greateſt Towns near *Athens*, and but fifteen hundred Paces from the City; where he pitched his Camp, in Hopes that the *Athenians*, exaſperated to ſee him advance ſo near, would ſally out to defend their Country, and give him an Opportunity of fighting them.

In Effect, it was no ſmall Mortification to the *Athenians*, who were of ſo haughty and imperious a Temper, to be braved and inſulted in this Manner by an Enemy, whom they did not think Superior to themſelves in Courage. They were Eyewitneſſes of the dreadful Havock which was made of their Lands, and ſaw all their Houſes and Farms in a Blaze; which provoking Sight, grew, at laſt, ſo ſhocking, that they could not bear it any longer, and therefore cried aloud, that they muſt be led out againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. be the Conſequence what it would.

However, *Pericles* ſaw plainly, that the *Athenians* would lay their All at Stake, and expoſe their City to certain Deſtruction, ſhould they engage, under the Walls thereof, an Army of ſixty thouſand fighting Men, and compoſed of the choiceſt Troops, at that Time, in *Bœotia* and *Peloponneſus*: Beſides which, he had made it his chief and conſtant Maxim, to ſpare the Blood of the Citizens, ſince that was an irreparable Loſs. Purſuing, therefore, ſteadily, the Plan he had laid down, and ſtudious of nothing, but how he might check the Impatience and Fire which raged in the Boſoms of the *Athenians*, he was particularely careful not to aſſemble either the Senate, or the People; for fear leſt they ſhould form ſome fatal Reſolution, in ſpite of all the Oppoſition he could poſſibly make thereto.

His Friends, to ſecond him, uſed all the Intreaties imaginable, to bring them over to their Deſires. His Enemies, on the other Side, endeavoured to ſtagger him, by their Menaces and ſlanderous Diſcourſes. They ſtrove to rouze him to Impatience, and Temerity, by Songs and Satyrs; in which they aſperſed him, as a Man of a Man of a cowardly, indolent Temper, who baſely gave up his Country to the Sword of the Enemy. But no Man ſhew'd ſo much Rancour againſt *Pericles* as *Cleon*, who was the Son of a Currier, and alſo follow'd that Trade. He had raiſed himſelf by Faction, and probably by a Species of Merit, which thoſe muſt poſſeſs, who would riſe in popular Governments. He had a thundering, and at the ſame Time, an inſinuating Voice; and beſides, he poſſeſſed, in a wonderful Manner, the Art of gaining the People, and bringing them over to his Intereſt. It was he who enacted a Law, that three *Oboli* (not two, as before) ſhould be given to each of the ſix thouſand Judges. The Characteriſticks which more immediately diſtinguiſh'd him were, an inſupportably vain Opinion of his own Abilities, a ridiculous Perſuaſion of his uncommon Merit; and a Boldneſs of Speech, which he carried to ſo high a Pitch of Inſolence, as to ſpare no Man.

But no Intemperance of Speech, or Invectives, would move *Pericles*, whoſe great Strength of Mind raiſed him above low, vulgar Clamour; like a Pilot in a raging Storm, who, after he has given out the proper Orders, and taken all the Precautions neceſſary, is ſtudious only how to make the beſt Uſe of his Art, without ſuffering himſelf to be moved by the Tears or Intreaties of thoſe whom Fear has diſtracted. *Pericles* acted juſt in the ſame Manner, for after having put the City in a good Poſture of Defence, and poſted Guards in all Places to prevent a Surprize; he then, follow'd thoſe Counſels only, which his own Prudence ſuggeſted; being quite regardleſs of the Complaints, the Taunts, and licentious Diſcourſes of the Citizens; from a firm Perſuaſion, that he knew much better the Art of Government than they.

It appears, then, evidently, ſays *Plutarch*, that *Pericles* was abſolute Maſter of the Minds of the *Athenians*, ſince he prevailed ſo far (at ſuch a Juncture as this) as to keep them from ſallying out of the City; juſt as if he had kept the Keys thereof in his own Poſſeſſion; and fix'd, on their Arms, the Seal of his Authority, to forbid their making Uſe of them. Things happen'd exactly as *Pericles* had foretold; for the Enemy, finding the *Athenians* were determin'd not to ſtir out of their City, and having Advice that their Fleet carried Fire and Sword into their Territories; raiſed their Camp, and, after making dreadful Havock in the whole Country, through which they march'd, return'd to *Peloponneſus*, and each Man went to his reſpective Dwelling.

Perhaps ſome will here ask, why *Pericles* obſerved a quite different Conduct, on this Occaſion, from that of *Themiſtocles*, about fifty Years before, when, at the Approach of *Xerxes*, he made the *Athenians* march out of their City, and abandon it to the Enemy. But a little Reflection will ſhew that the Circumſtances differ'd widely. *Themiſtocles*, being invaded by all the Forces of the *Eaſt*, juſtly concluded, that it would be impoſſible for him to withſtand, in a ſingle City, thoſe Millions of *Barbarians*, who would have ruſh'd upon it like a Flood; and would have left him no

Hope

Hopes, of being ſuccoured by his *Allies*. This is the Reaſon given by *Cicero*; *Fluctum enim totius* Barbariæ *ferre Urbs una non poterat*. It was therefore prudent in him to retire for ſome Time, and to let the confuſed Multitude of the *Barbarians* conſume and deſtroy one another.

But *Pericles* was not engaged in ſo formidable and oppreſſive a War; the Odds were not very great, and he foreſaw it would allow him Time to breathe; wherefore, like a judicious Man, and an able Politician, he kept cloſe in *Athens*, and could not be moved either by the Remonſtrances or Murmurs of the Citizens. In Effect, *Cicero*, writing to his Friend *Atticus*, condemns abſolutely the Reſolution which *Pompey* took, and put in Execution, to abandon *Rome* to *Cæſar*; whereas he ought, in Imitation of *Pericles*, to have ſhut himſelf up in it with the Senate, the Magiſtrates, and the worthieſt of the Citizens, who had declared in his Favour.

After the *Lacedæmonians* were retired, the *Athenians* put Troops into all the important Poſts, both by Sea and Land, purſuant to the Plan they intended to follow, ſo long as the War ſhould laſt. They alſo came to a Reſolution, to keep always a thouſand Talents in reſerve, and an hundred Gallies; and never to make Uſe of them, except the Enemy ſhould invade *Attica* by Sea; and, at the ſame Time, they made it Death for any Man to propoſe the employing them any other Way.

In the mean while, the Gallies which had been ſent into *Peloponneſus*, made dreadful Havock there, which comforted the *Athenians*, in ſome Meaſure, for the Loſſes they had ſuſtained. But, one Day, amongſt the reſt, as the Forces were going on Board, and *Pericles* was entring his own Ship, a ſudden and total Eclipſe of the Sun happen'd, ſo that the Earth was overſpread with a gloomy and unuſual Darkneſs, which fill'd the Minds of the *Athenians* with the utmoſt Terror; Superſtition, and the Ignorance of natural Cauſes, making them look upon ſuch Events as fatal Omens: Hereupon, *Pericles*, ſeeing the Pilot, who was on board his Ship, aſtoniſh'd as much as the reſt, and incapable of managing the Helm; muffled up his Face in his Cloak, and ask'd him, whether he could ſee? And upon the Pilot's anſwering, that the Cloak took away all Objects from his Sight; *Pericles* gave him to underſtand, that a like Cauſe, *viz.* the Interpoſition of the vaſt Body of the Moon, between his Eyes and the Sun, prevented his ſeeing that Luminary.

The firſt Year of the War of *Peloponneſus* being now elapſed, the *Athenians*, during the Winter, ſolemnized publick Funerals, according to the ancient Cuſtom, (a Practice truly human, and expreſſive of a juſt Gratitude) in Honour of thoſe who had loſt their Lives in that Campaign, a Ceremony, they obſerved during the whole Courſe of that War. For this Purpoſe a Tent was ſet up, three Days before, in which were exhibited the Bones of the deceaſed Warriors; and every Perſon ſtrew'd Flowers, Incenſe, and other Perfumes, over thoſe awful Relicks. This done, they were put on a kind of Chariots, in Coffins, made of Cypreſs Wood, every Tribe having its particular Coffin, and Chariot; but, in one of the latter, a large empty Coffin was carried, in Honour of thoſe whoſe Bodies could not be found.

In this Manner, the Proceſſion march'd, with an awful, majeſtick, and religious Pomp; a great Number of Inhabitants, both Citizens and Foreigners, aſſiſting at this mournful Solemnity; whilſt the Relations of the deceaſed Officers, and Soldiers, ſtood weeping at the Sepulchre, which was in the fineſt Suburb of the City, called the *Ceramicus*; where a publick Monument was erected, wherein all thoſe who loſt their Lives in the Field, had been buried, in all Ages, except the Warriors of *Marathon*, who, to immortalize their rare Valour, were interred in the Field of Battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the Citizens of the greateſt Diſtinction pronounced their funeral Oration.

Pericles was now appointed to exerciſe this honourable Office: When the Ceremony was ended, he went from the Sepulchre to the *Roſtra*, in order to be the better heard, and ſpoke the Oration, which *Thucydides* has tranſmitted to us entire. Whether it was really compoſed by *Pericles*, or by the Hiſtorian, we may affirm that it is truly worthy the Reputation of both thoſe great Men, as well for the noble Simplicity of the Stile, as for the juſt Beauty of the Thoughts, and the Greatneſs of the Sentiments which ſhine in every Part of it. After having paid, in ſo ſolemn a Manner, this double Tribute of Tears and Applauſes, to the Memory of thoſe brave Soldiers, who had ſacrificed their Lives to defend the Liberties of their Country; the Publick, who did not confine their Gratitude to empty Ceremonies and Tears, maintained their Widows, and all their infant Orphans. This was a powerful Incentive to animate the Courage of the Citizens; for, wherever Merit is beſt rewarded, there the greateſt Number of illuſtrious Men ariſe.

About the Cloſe of the ſame Campaign, the *Athenians* concluded an Alliance with *Sitalces*, King of the *Odryſes*, in *Thrace*; and, purſuant to this Treaty, his Son was admitted a Citizen of *Athens*. They alſo made an Accommodation with *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*, by reſtoring him the City of *Thermæ*; after which they joined their Forces, in order to carry on the War in *Chalcis*.

In the Beginning of the ſecond Campaign, the Enemy made an Incurſion into the Country, as before, and laid it waſte; but the Plague made a much greater Devaſtation in *Athens*; the like having never been known before. It is ſaid, that it began in *Ethiopia*, whence it deſcended into *Egypt*; from thence ſpread over *Libya*, and a great Part of *Perſia*; and, at laſt, broke in at once, like a Flood, upon *Athens*.

Thucydides, who himſelf was ſeized with that deadly diſeaſe, has deſcrib'd very minutely, the ſeveral Circumſtances and Symptoms of it, in order, ſays he, that a faithful and exact Relation of this Calamity, may ſerve as an Inſtruction to Poſterity, in caſe the like ſhould ever happen. *Hippocrates*, who was employ'd to viſit the Sick, has alſo deſcrib'd it in a phyſical Way, and *Lucretius* after a poetical Manner. This Peſtilence baffled the utmoſt Efforts of Art; the moſt robuſt Conſtitutions were unable to withſtand its Attacks; and the greateſt Care and Skill of the Phyſicians were a feeble Help to thoſe who were infected.

The Inſtant a Perſon was ſeized, he was ſtruck with Deſpair, which quite diſabled him from attempting a Cure. The Aſſiſtance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all

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ſuch of their Relations, as had the Courage to approach them. The prodigious Quantity of Baggage which had been removed out of the Country into the City, proved very hurtful. Moſt of the Inhabitants, for want of Lodging, lived in little Cottages, in which they could ſcarce breathe, during the raging Heat of the Summer; ſo that, they were ſeen either piled one upon the other, (the Dead, as well as thoſe who were dying) or elſe crawling through the Streets; or lying along by the Side of Fountains, to which they had dragged themſelves, to quench the raging Thirſt which conſum'd them The very Temples were fill'd dead Bodies, and every Part of the City exhibited a dreadful Image of Death; without having the leaſt Remedy for the Preſent, or the leaſt Hopes for the Future.

This Plague, before it ſpread to *Attica*, had made terrible Havock in *Perſia*; wherefore, *Artaxerxes*, who had been inform'd of the mighty Reputation of *Hippocrates* of *Coos*, the greateſt Phyſician of that or any other Age; cauſed his Governors to write to him, to invite him into his Dominions, in order that he might preſcribe to thoſe who were infected. The King made him the moſt advantageous Offers; promiſing him, as to Money, that he ſhould have whatever he would ask; and, as to Honours, that he ſhould be equall'd with thoſe of the higheſt Diſtinction in his Court.

Our Readers have already been told, the prodigious Regard which was ſhewn to the *Grecian* Phyſicians in *Perſia*; and, indeed, was it poſſible that ſo uſeful a Man as *Hippocrates*, could be too well rewarded? However, all the Splendour of the *Perſian* Riches and Dignities, were not capable to corrupt him; nor ſtifle the Hatred and Averſion which the *Greeks*s entertained naturally for the *Perſians*, ever ſince the latter had invaded them. This great Phyſician, therefore, ſent no other Anſwer but this, That he was free from either Wants or Deſires; that he owed all his Cares to his Fellow-Citizens, and Countrymen; and was under no Obligation to *Barbarians*, who were profeſs'd Enemies to *Greece*.

Abſolute Monarchs, eſpecially ſuch as the Kings of *Perſia*, are not uſed to Denials; wherefore *Artaxerxes*, in the higheſt Tranſports of Rage, ſent to the City of *Coos*, the native Place of *Hippocrates*, and where he was at that Time; commanding them to deliver up to him that inſolent Wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign Puniſhment; and threatning, in Caſe they refuſed, to lay waſte their City and Iſland in ſuch a Manner, that not the leaſt Footſteps of it ſhould remain. However, the Inhabitants of *Coos* were not under the leaſt Terror. They made Anſwer, that the Menaces of *Darius* and *Xerxes* had not been able to prevail with them, to allow thoſe Monarchs either Land or Water, or to obey their Orders; and that the Threats of *Artaxerxes* would avail as little; but that, let what would be the Conſequence, they would never give up their Fellow-Citizen; and that, they depended on the Protection of the Gods

Hippocrates had ſaid in one of his Letters, that he owed himſelf entirely to his Country: And, accordingly, the Inſtant he was ſent for to *Athens*, he went thither, and did not once ſtir out of the City, till the Plague was quite ceaſed. He devoted himſelf entirely to the Service of the Sick; and to multiply himſelf, as it were, he ſent ſeveral of his Diſciples, into all Parts of the Country; after having compleatly taught them in what Manner to treat their Patients. The *Athenians* were ſtruck with the deepeſt Senſe of Gratitude for this generous Care; they therefore ordain'd, by a publick Decree, that *Hippocrates* ſhould be initiated in the moſt exalted Myſteries, in the ſame Manner as *Hercules*, the Son of *Jupiter*; that a Crown of Gold ſhould be preſented him, of the Value of a thouſand *Stateres*, amounting to about eight hundred Pounds; and that the Decree by which it was granted him, ſhould be read aloud by a Herald in the publick Games, on the ſolemn Feſtival of *Panathenæa*: That the Freedom of the City ſhould be given him, and himſelf be maintained at the publick Charge, in the *Prytaneum*, all his Life, in caſe he thought proper; and that the Children of all the People of *Coos*, whoſe City had given Birth to ſo great a Man, ſhould have the Privilege of being maintained and brought up in *Athens*, in the ſame Manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean Time, the Enemy having march'd into *Attica*, came down towards the Coaſt, and advancing ſtill forward, laid waſte the whole Country: But *Pericles*, ſtill adhering to the Maxim he had before eſtabliſh'd, not to expoſe the Safety of the State to the Hazard of a Battle, would not ſuffer his Troops to ſally out of the City: However, before the Enemy left the Plains, he ſailed to *Peloponneſus* with an hundred Gallies, in order to haſten their Retreat, by his making ſo powerful a Diverſion; and after having made a dreadful Havock, (as he had done the firſt Year) he return'd unto the City. The Plague was ſtill there, as well as in the Fleet; and it ſpread to thoſe Troops that were beſieging *Potidæa*.

The Campaign being thus ended, the *Athenians*, who ſaw their Country depopulated, by two great Scourges, War, and a Peſtilence, began to deſpond, and to murmur againſt *Pericles*; looking upon him as the Author of all their Calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal War. They ſent, therefore, a Deputation to *Lacedæmonia*, to obtain, if poſſible, an Accommodation by ſome Means or other, firmly reſolved to make whatever Conceſſions ſhould be demanded of them: However, the Embaſſadors returned back, without being gratify'd in any one of their Demands. Hereupon, Complaints and Murmurs broke out afreſh; and the whole City was in ſuch a Trouble and Confuſion, as ſeem'd to pregnoſticate the worſt of Evils; inſomuch that, in the Midſt of this univerſal Conſternation, *Pericles* could not forbear aſſembling the People; whom he endeavour'd to ſoften, at the ſame Time that he labour'd to raiſe their Courage, by juſtifying himſelf.

" The Reaſons, ſays he, which determin'd you
" to undertake this War, and which you approved
" at that Time, are ſtill the ſame; and are not
" changed by the Alteration of Circumſtances,
" which neither you, nor myſelf, could foreſee.
" Had it been left to your Option, to make Choice
" of Peace or War, the former would certainly
" have been more eligible; but as there was no
" other Way for you to preſerve your Liberty,
" but by drawing the Sword, was it poſſible for
" you to heſitate? If we are Citizens, who truly
" love our Country, will our private Misfortunes

" make

" make us neglect the common Welfare of the " State? Every Man feels the Evil which afflicts " him, becauſe it is preſent; but no one is ſen- " ſible of the Good which will reſult from it, " becauſe it is not come. Have you quite buried " in Oblivion, the Memory of the Strength and " and Greatneſs of your Empire? Of the two " Parts which form this Globe of ours, *viz.* the " Land and Sea, you have abſolute Poſſeſſion of " latter; and no King, nor any other Power, is " able to oppoſe your Fleets. It is now your " Duty to preſerve this Glory and this Empire, " or to reſign it for ever. Be not therefore grie- " ved becauſe you are deprived of a few Country- " ſeats and Gardens; which ought to be conſider'd " no otherwiſe, than as the Frame of a Picture, " though you would ſeem to make them the Pic- " ture itſelf. Conſider, that if you do but pre- " ſerve your Liberty, you will eaſily recover " them; but that ſhould you ſuffer your ſelves to " be deprived of that Bleſſing, you will loſe every " valuable poſſeſſion with it.

" Don't ſhew leſs Generoſity than your An- " ceſtors, who, for the Sake of preſerving their " City, abandon'd it on an Emergency; and who, " though they had inherited ſuch Glory from their " Anceſtors, ſuffer'd the worſt of Evils, and en- " gaged in the moſt deſperate Enterprizes, to " tranſmit it to you. I will confeſs, that your " preſent Calamities are exceedingly grievous, " and I myſelf am duly ſenſible, and deeply afflict- " ed for them. But is it juſt in you to exclaim " againſt your General, merely for an Accident, " that was not to be averted by all the Prudence " of Man; and to make him reſponſible for an " Event, in which he has not the leaſt Concern? " We muſt ſubmit patiently to thoſe Evils, with " which Heaven afflicts us, and vigorouſly op- " poſe ſuch as ariſe from our Fellow-creatures.

" As to the Hatred and Jealouſy which attend " on your Proſperity, this is the uſual Lot of all " who believe themſelves worthy of commanding " over others. However, Hatred and Envy are " not long liv'd, but the Glory that accompanies " exalted Actions is immortal. Revolve there- " fore perpetually in your Minds, how ſhameful " and ignominious it is, for Men to bow the Neck " to their Enemies, and how glorious it is to " triumph over them; and then, animated by " this double Reflection, march on to Danger " with Joy and Intrepidity; and do not crouch ſo " tamely to the *Lacedæmonians*, ſince it will be to " no Purpoſe; but remember, that they who diſ- " play the greateſt Bravery and Reſolution, in " Dangers, are for ever moſt eſteem'd and ap- " plauded."

The Memory of the Honour and Glory, and the great Actions which had been perform'd by their Anceſtors; the ſoothing Title of Sovereigns of *Greece*, and above all, the Jealouſy of *Sparta*, the ancient and perpetual Rival of *Athens*, were the Motives which *Pericles* had uſually employ'd, to move and rouze the Courage of the *Athenians*, and, till then, he had been ſucceſsful that Way. But, on this Occaſion, the Senſe of the preſent Evils prevail'd over every other Conſideration; and ſtifled all Thoughts, which did not immediately relate to them. The *Athenians*, indeed, did not deſign to ſue any more to the *Lacedæmonians* for Peace; but the bare Sight and Preſence of *Pericles* was inſupportable to them. They, therefore, remov'd him from the ſupream Command; and ſentenc'd him to pay a Fine, which, according to ſome Hiſtorians, amounted to fifteen Talents; and, according to others, fifty.

However, this publick Diſgrace of *Pericles* was not to be very laſting: The Anger of the People was appeas'd by this firſt Effort; and quite ſpent, by their injurious Treatment of him, in like Manner, as the Bee leaves its Sting in the Wound. But then he was not ſo happy, with Regard to his domeſtick Evils; for, beſides his having loſt a great Number of his Friends, and Relations, by the Peſtilence; inteſtine Feuds, and Diviſions had long reign'd in his Family.

Xanthippus, his eldeſt Son, who himſelf was extreamly profuſe, and had marry'd a young Wife, who was no leſs extravagant, could not bear his Father's exact OEconomy; he allowing him but a very ſmall Sum for his Pleaſures. This made him borrow Money in his Father's Name. When the Lender waited upon *Pericles* for the Debt, he not only refus'd to pay, but even proſecuted him for it. Hereupon, *Xanthippus* was ſo enrag'd, he inveigh'd in the moſt heinous Terms againſt his Father; exclaiming againſt him in all Places; and ridiculing openly the Aſſemblies, he held at his Houſe, and his Conferences with the *Sophiſts*. He did not know that a Son, though he ſhould meet with unjuſt Treatment (which was not his Caſe) ought to ſubmit patiently to the Injuſtice of his Father, in the ſame Manner, as a good Citizen is oblig'd to ſuffer that of his Country.

The Plague carry'd off *Xanthippus*; and, at the ſame Time, *Pericles* loſt his Siſter, together with many of his Relations, and beſt Friends, whoſe Aſſiſtance he moſt wanted in the Adminiſtration. But he did not ſink under theſe Loſſes; his Strength of Mind was not ſhaken by them; and he was not ſeen to weep, or ſhew the uſual Marks of Sorrow, at the Grave of any of his Relations, till the Death of *Paralus*, the laſt of his legitimate Children: And even then, tortur'd and agitated inwardly by this violent Shock, he did his utmoſt to preſerve his uſual Tranquillity, and not ſhew any outward Symptoms of Sorrow. But, going to fix the Chaplet of Flowers on his dead Son's Head; he could not ſupport the cruel Sight, nor ſtifle the Tranſports of his Grief, which, at laſt, forc'd its Way in Cries, Sobs, and a Flood of Tears.

Pericles, ſeduc'd by the Principles of a falſe Philoſophy, imagin'd, that the bewailing the Death of his Relations, and Children, would betray a Weakneſs, that no Way ſuited the Greatneſs of Soul he had ever diſcover'd; and that, on this Occaſion, his Senſibility, as a Father, would tarniſh his Glory, as a Conqueror. A vain Error, and childiſh Illuſion, which either makes Heroiſm to conſiſt in a wild and ſavage Cruelty; or elſe, leaving the ſame Grief and Confuſion in the Mind, makes a vain Parade of Conſtancy and Reſolution, which it has not, merely to gain Applauſe. But, does martial Bravery obliterate and ſuppreſs all the Impulſes of Nature? Is a Man dead to all Senſations, becauſe he makes a conſiderable Figure in the State? *Antoninus*, the Emperor, had a much more juſt, and human Way of thinking; when, on Occaſion of *Marcus Aurelius*, who bewail'd the Death of him, who had brought him up, he ſaid,

Suffer him to be a Man, for, neither Philoſophy, nor the regal Dignity, make a Man inſenſible.

Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy were the chief Characteriſticks of the *Athenians*; and, as theſe tranſported them, on a ſudden, to the greateſt Exceſſes, it ſoon reduc'd them within the Bounds of Moderation and Gentleneſs. It was not long before they repented of the Injury they had done *Pericles*; and earneſtly wiſh'd to ſee him again in their Aſſemblies. The People, by Dint of ſuffering, began to bear patiently their domeſtick Misfortunes, and to be fir'd more and more with a Zeal for the Glory of their Country; and they did not know any Perſon, more capable than *Pericles*, of reſtoring it to its former Splendor, which they long'd ſo earneſtly to ſee. *Pericles*, at that Time, never ſtirr'd out of his Houſe; being oppreſs'd with Grief for the Loſs he had ſuſtain'd; however, *Alcibiades*, and the reſt of his Friends, intreated him to go Abroad, and ſhew himſelf in publick; and the People begging his Pardon, for uſing him ſo ungratefully; *Pericles*, mov'd with their Intreaties; and firmly perſuaded, that it did not become a good Man to harbour the leaſt Reſentment againſt his Country, reſum'd the Adminiſtration of Affairs.

About the End of the ſecond Campaign, ſome Ambaſſadors had ſet out from *Sparta*, in order to ſue for the Alliance of the King of *Perſia*, and engage him to furniſh a Sum of Money for maintaining the Fleet: This reflected great Ignominy on the *Lacedæmonians*, who call'd themſelves the Deliverers of *Greece*; ſince they thereby retracted, or ſully'd, the glorious Actions they had formerly atchiev'd, in Favour of their common Country againſt *Perſia!*

Theſe Ambaſſadors went by the Way of *Thrace*; in order to diſengage *Sitalces*, if poſſible, from the Alliance of the *Athenians*; and prevail with him to relieve *Potidæa*. But there they happen'd to meet with ſome *Athenian* Ambaſſadors, who caus'd them to be arreſted, as Diſturbers of the publick Peace, and afterwards to be ſent to *Athens*; where, without ſuffering them to be heard, they were put to Death the ſame Day; and their Bodies thrown in the Fields, by Way of Reprizal on the *Lacedæmonians*, who treated all who were not of their Party, in the ſame inhuman Manner.

It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how two Cities, which, a little before, had been ſo ſtrongly united, and ought to have ſhown a mutual Civility and Forbearance to one another; could foſter ſuch an inveterate Hatred, and break into ſuch Acts of Violence and Barbarity, as at once infringed all the Laws of War, of Humanity, and of Nations; and prompted them to exerciſe greater Cruelties upon one another, than if they had been fighting againſt *Barbarians*.

Potidæa had now been beſieged almoſt three Years; when, the Inhabitants, reduc'd to the utmoſt Extremity, and being in ſuch Want of Proviſions, that ſome fed on human Fleſh; and not expecting any Relief from the *Peloponneſians*, whoſe Attempts in *Attica* had all prov'd abortive, ſurrendred on certain Conditions; one of which ſeems to have been, that they ſhould all leave the City, without Delay. The Circumſtances, which induc'd the *Athenians* to treat them with Lenity, were, the Severity of the Weather, which exceedingly annoy'd the Beſiegers; and the prodigious Expence of the Siege, which had already coſt two thouſand Talents. They went, therefore, out of the City, with their Wives and Children, as well Citizens as Foreigners, with each but one Suit of Cloaths, and the Women two; and only a little Money to carry them elſewhere; which done, the *Athenians* ſettled a Colony there. They blam'd their Generals, however, for granting this Capitulation without their Order; becauſe, otherwiſe, as the Citizens were reduc'd to the utmoſt Extremity, they muſt have ſurrendred at Diſcretion.

The firſt Thing *Pericles* did, after his being elected *Generaliſſimo*, was to propoſe the abrogating that Law, which he himſelf had caus'd to be enacted, againſt Baſtards, when there were legitimate Children; that he might get his own Baſtard-Son entred into the Liſt of the Citizens of *Athens*.

It declar'd, that ſuch only ſhould be conſider'd as true and legitimate *Athenians*, whoſe Fathers and Mothers were both Natives of *Athens*; and it had been executed juſt before with the utmoſt Rigour. For, the King of *Egypt* having ſent to *Athens* a Preſent of forty thouſand Meaſures of Corn, to be diſtributed among the People, the Baſtards, on Account of this new Law, were involv'd in a thouſand Difficulties; and were us'd with a Cruelty, till then unpractis'd, and which had not been ſo much as thought of. Near five thouſand of them were condemn'd, and ſold as Slaves; whilſt fourteen thouſand and forty Citizens were confirm'd in their Privileges, and recogniz'd as true *Athenians*.

It was thought very ſtrange, that the Author, and Promoter of this Law, ſhould himſelf deſire to have it repeal'd: But the *Athenians* were ſo much mov'd to Compaſſion, at the domeſtick Calamities of *Pericles*, that they permitted him to enter his Baſtard, in his own Name, in the Regiſter of the Citizens of his Tribe.

A little While after, he himſelf was infected with the Peſtilence. Being extreamly ill, and ready to breathe his laſt, the principal Citizens, and ſuch as had not forſaken him; diſcourſing together in his Bed-Chamber about his uncommon Merit, they ran over his Exploits, and computed the Number of his Victories; for, whilſt he was *Generaliſſimo* of the *Athenians*, he had rais'd, in Honour of their City, nine Trophies, as a Memorial of that Number of Battles won by him.

They did not imagine *Pericles* heard what they were ſaying, becauſe he ſeem'd to have loſt his Senſes; but it was far otherwiſe, for, not a ſingle Word of their Diſcourſe had eſcap'd him; when, breaking ſuddenly from his Silence; "I am ſur-
" priz'd (ſays he) you ſhould treaſure up ſo well
" in your Memories, and extol ſo highly a *Series*
" of Actions, in which Fortune had ſo great a
" Share, and which are common to me, with
" many other Generals; and, at the ſame Time,
" ſhould forget the moſt glorious Circumſtance
" in my Life; I mean, *my never having cauſed*
" *a ſingle Citizen to put on Mourning.*" Excellent Words! which very few in high Stations can declare with Truth. The *Athenians* were deeply afflicted at his Death.

Our Readers have, doubtleſs, obſerv'd, from what has been ſaid of *Pericles*, that, in him were united moſt Qualities, which conſtitute a great Man;

Man; as thoſe of the Admiral, by his great Skill in naval Affairs; of the great Captain, by his Conqueſts and Victories; of the High-Treaſurer, by the exeellent Order in which he put the Finances; of the great Politician, by the Extent, and Juſtneſs of his Views, by his Eloquence in publick Deliberations, and by the Dexterity and Addreſs, with which he tranſacted Affairs; of a Miniſter of State, by the Methods he employ'd to increaſe Trade, and promote the Arts in general. In ſhort, of Father of his Country, by the Happineſs he procured to every Individual, and which he almoſt always had in View, as the true Scope and End of his Adminiſtration.

But, we muſt not omit another Characteriſtick, which was peculiar to him: He conducted himſelf with ſo much Wiſdom, Moderation, Diſintereſtedneſs, and Zeal for the publick Welfare; he diſcover'd, in all Things, ſo great a Superiority of Genius, and gave ſo exalted an Idea of his Expe-rience, Ability, and Integrity, that he gain'd the Confidence of all the *Athenians*; and fix'd (in his own Favour) during the forty Years he govern'd that People, the Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy, which was natural to them. He ſuppreſſed that Jealouſy, which an extream Fondneſs for Liberty had made them entertain againſt all ſuch Citizens, as were diſtinguiſh'd by their Merit and great Authority. But the moſt ſurprizing Circumſtance, is, he gain'd this great Aſcendant, merely by the gentle Methods of Perſuaſion; without employing Force, mean Artifices, or any of thoſe Arts, which an ordinary Politician excuſes in himſelf, upon the ſpecious Pretence, that the ill State of the publick Affairs, and the Intereſt of his Country made them neceſſary.

Anaxagoras dy'd the ſame Year as *Pericles*; and *Plutarch* relates an Incident concerning him, that happen'd ſome Time before, which muſt not be omitted; and which derogates greatly from his Memory. He ſays, that this Philoſopher, who had voluntarily reduced himſelf to the Extreams of Poverty, in order that he might have the more Leiſure to purſue his Studies, finding himſelf neglected, in his Old-Age, by *Pericles*; who, being taken up with the Affairs of Government, had not always Time to think of him; wrapp'd his Cloak about his Head (as was cuſtomary with the Ancients, when they had determin'd to dye) and threw himſelf on the Ground, in the fix'd Reſolution to ſtarve himſelf.

Pericles, hearing of this accidentally, to prevent the Reflections of the World, ran with the ſwifteſt Speed to the Philoſopher's Houſe, pretending the deepeſt Affliction. He there conjured him, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt moving Terms, not to throw his Life away; adding, that it was not *Anaxagoras* he bewail'd, but himſelf, for Fear, he ſhould be ſo unfortunate, as to loſe ſo wiſe and faithful a Friend; one, who was ſo capable of giving him wholſome Advice, with Regard to the preſſing Wants of the State. Then *Anaxagoras*, uncovering his Head a little, ſpoke thus to him: Pericles, *thoſe who uſe a Lamp, take Care to feed it with Oil:* Which was all he vouchſafed to ſay, to his ungrateful Pupil. This was a gentle, and, at the ſame Time, a ſtrong and piercing Reproach; *Pericles* ought to have ſupply'd his Wants unask'd: Many Lamps are extinguiſh'd, in this Manner, in divers Countries, by the criminal Negligence of thoſe who ought to ſupply them.

The moſt memorable Tranſaction of the following Years, was, the Siege of *Platæa* by the *Lacedæmonians*. This was one of the moſt famous Sieges in Antiquity, on Account of the vigorous Efforts of both Parties; but eſpecially for the glorious Reſiſtance made by the Beſieged; and their bold and induſtrious Stratagem, by which ſeveral of them got out of the City; and, by that Means, eſcap'd the Fury of the Enemy.

The *Lacedæmonians* ſet about this Siege, in the Beginning of the third Campaign. As ſoon as they had pitch'd their Camp round the City, in order to lay waſte the Places adjacent to it, the *Platæans* ſent ſome Deputies to *Archidamus*, who commanded on that Occaſion, to repreſent, that he could not attack them with the leaſt Shadow of Juſtice; becauſe that, after the famous Battle of *Platæa*, *Pauſanias*, the *Grecian* General, offering up a Sacrifice in their City to *Jupiter*, the Deliverer, in Preſence of all the *Allies*, had given them their Freedom to reward their Valour and Zeal; and that they ought not to be diſturb'd in of their Liberties, ſince it had been granted them by a *Lacedæmonian*. *Archidamus* anſwer'd, that their Demand would be very reaſonable, had they not join'd with the *Athenians*, the profeſſed Enemies to the Liberty of *Greece*; but that, if they would diſengage themſelves from their preſent Alliance; or, at leaſt remain neuter, they then ſhould be left in the full Enjoyment of their Privileges.

The Deputies reply'd, they could not poſſibly come to any Agreement, without firſt ſending to *Athens*, whither their Wives and Children were retir'd. The *Lacedæmonians* permitted them to ſend thither: when the *Athenians* promiſing ſolemnly, to aſſiſt them to the utmoſt of their Power, the *Platæans* reſolv'd to ſuffer the Extremes of Miſery, rather than ſurrender; and accordingly, they inform'd the *Lacedæmonians*, from their Walls, that they could not comply with the Terms propos'd.

Then *Archidamus*, after calling upon the Gods to witneſs, that he did not firſt infringe the Alliance; and was not the Cauſe of all the Calamities which might befal the *Platæans*, for having refus'd the juſt and reaſonable Conditions which were offer'd them, prepar'd for the Siege; ſurrounded the City with a Circumvallation of Trees, which were laid long-ways, very cloſe together, with their Boughs interwoven, and turn'd towards the City, to prevent any Perſon from going out of it.

He afterwards threw up a Platform, whereon to ſet the Batteries; in Hopes that, as ſo many Hands were employ'd, they ſhould ſoon reduce the Place; to which End, he likewiſe caus'd Trees to be fell'd on Mount *Citharon*, and interwove them with Faſcines, in order to ſupport the Terrals on all Sides; he then threw upon it Wood, Earth, and Stones: In a Word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole Army work'd Night and Day, without the leaſt Intermiſſion, during ſeventy Days; one half of the Soldiers repoſing themſelves, whilſt the reſt were at Work.

In the mean While, the Beſieged obſerving the Work began to riſe, they raiſ'd up a Wooden Wall over the Walls of the City, oppoſite to the Plat-

Platform; in order that they might always overtop the Beſiegers; and fill'd the Hollow of this Wooden Wall, with the Bricks they took from the Rubbiſh of the neighbouring Houſes; ſo that the Pieces of Timber ſerv'd as a Defence to keep the Wall from falling, as it was carrying up. It was cover'd, on the Outſide, with Hides both raw and dry; in order to ſhelter the Works, and the Workmen, from the Fires that were hurl'd. In Proportion as it roſe, the Platform was rais'd alſo; which, in this Manner, was carry'd to a great Height. But the Beſieged made a Hole in the oppoſite Wall, in order to carry off the Earth that ſuſtain'd the Platform; which the Beſiegers perceiving, they put Ruſh-Baskets fill'd with Mortar, in the Place of the Earth which had been remov'd, becauſe theſe could not be ſo eaſily carry'd off.

The Beſieged, therefore, finding their firſt Stratagem defeated, made a Mine under Ground as far as the Platform, in order to ſhelter themſelves, and to remove from it the Earth, and other Materials of which it was compos'd, which they convey'd from Hand to Hand, as far as the City. The Beſiegers were a conſiderable Time employ'd in this Manner, without being aware of the Stratagem of the Enemy; till, at laſt, they perceiv'd their Work did not go forward; and the more Earth they laid on, the weaker it grew: However, the Beſieged, judging it would, at laſt, be quite finiſh'd, by the Superiority of Numbers; without amuſing themſelves any longer at this Work, or carrying the Wall higher on the Side towards the Battery; contented themſelves with building another within, in the Form of a Half-Moon, both Ends of which join'd to the Wall; in order for the Beſieged to retire behind it, when the firſt Wall ſhould be forced; and ſo oblige the Enemy to make new Works.

In the mean Time, the Beſiegers having ſet up their Machines (doubtleſs after they had fill'd up the Ditch, though *Thucydides* does not ſay ſo) ſhook the City-Wall in a terrible Manner; which, though it alarm'd the Citizens very much, did not diſhearten them. They employ'd every Artifice Fortification could ſuggeſt againſt the Batteries of the Enemy. They deadned the Efforts of the Battering-Rams, by Ropes with Slip-Knots at the End, which faſtned on the Head of the Battering-Rams, and carry'd off whatever was ſhot from them. They alſo made Uſe of another Artifice; faſtning the two Ends of a great Beam with long Iron Chains, fix'd both Ways to two large Pieces of Timber, which ſpread Side-ways, and lean'd againſt the Wall; ſo that, whenever the Enemy play'd their Machines, the Beſieged lifted up this Beam, and let it fall back on the Point of the Battering-Ram, which quite deadned its Force; and conſequently, made it of no Effect.

The Beſiegers finding the Attack did not go on ſucceſsfully, and that a new Wall was rais'd againſt their Platform, deſpair'd of being able to ſtorm the Town; and therefore, changed the Siege into a Blockade. However, they firſt endeavour'd to ſet Fire to it, imagining, the Town might eaſily be burn'd down, as it was ſo ſmall, whenever a ſtrong Wind ſhould riſe; for, they made Uſe of all the Artifices imaginable, to make themſelves Maſters of the Town, aſſoon as poſſible, and with little Expence.

To this End, therefore, they threw Faſcines into the Intervals between the Walls of the Town and the Intrenchment with which they had ſurrounded them; and fill'd them in a very little Time, becauſe of the many Hands employ'd by them; in order to ſet Fire, at the ſame Time, to different Parts of the Town. Then they kindled the Fire with Pitch and Sulphur, which, in a Moment, made ſuch a prodigious Blaze, the like had never been ſeen; and, by this Invention, they were very near taking it, which had baffled all their other Efforts. For, the Beſieged could not get to the ſeveral Parts of it; and, had the Weather favour'd the Beſiegers, as they flatter'd themſelves it would, it had certainly been taken: But Hiſtory informs us, an exceeding heavy Shower of Rain fell, which immediately extinguiſh'd the Flame.

This laſt Effort of the Beſiegers having been defeated as ſucceſsfully as all the reſt, they turn'd the Siege into a Blockade; and ſurrounded the City with a Brick-Wall, within and without which, was a deep Ditch. The whole Army were engaged ſucceſſively in this Work; and, when it was finiſh'd, they left a Guard over Half of it; the *Bœotians* offering to guard the reſt; upon which, the *Lacedæmonians* return'd to *Sparta*, about the Month of *October*. There were then, in *Platææ*, but four hundred Inhabitants, and fourſcore *Athenians*; with an hundred and ten Women, to dreſs their Victuals; and no other Perſon, Freeman, or Slave; all the reſt having been ſent to *Athens* before the Siege.

The next Summer, which was the fourth Year of the War, all the People of *Lesbos*, except the Citizens of *Methymne*, reſolv'd to break from their Alliance with the *Athenians*. They had deſign'd to rebel before the War was declar'd, but the *Lacedæmonians* would not admit them at that Time. The Citizens of *Methymne* ſent Advice of this to the *Athenians*; aſſuring them, that, if an immediate Reinforcement was not ſent, the Iſland would be inevitably loſt.

The Affliction of the *Athenians*, who had ſuſtain'd great Loſſes, by the War, and the Peſtilence, was greatly increas'd, when News was brought of the Revolt of ſo conſiderable an Iſland; whoſe Forces, which were quite freſh, would then join the Enemy, and ſtrengthen them, on a ſudden, by the Addition of a powerful Fleet. The *Athenians*, therefore, ſent forty Gallies, deſign'd for *Peloponneſus*, which accordingly ſail'd for *Mitylene*.

The Inhabitants, though in great Conſternation, becauſe quite unprepar'd, nevertheleſs, aſſum'd a ſpecious Appearance of Bravery; and accordingly, ſail'd their Fleet out of the Harbour; however, being repuls'd, they propos'd an Accommodation; to which the *Athenians* liſtned, from an Apprehenſion, that they were not ſtrong enough to reduce the Iſland to their Obedience. A Suſpenſion of Arms was, therefore, agreed upon, during which, the *Mitylenians* ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens*. The Fear they were under, leſt the *Athenians* ſhould refuſe to gratify their Demands, made them, at the ſame Time, ſend others to the *Lacedæmonians*, to deſire Relief; which was not ill-judg'd, the *Athenians* ſending them ſuch an Anſwer, as was no Ways favourable.

In

In the mean While, the Ambaſſadors of *Mitylene*, who were expos'd to great Danger in their Voyage, being arriv'd in *Laconia*, the *Spartans* deferr'd giving them Audience, till the Solemnization of the *Olympick* Games, in order that the *Allies* might hear the Complaints they had to make.

We ſhall copy the Whole, which was as follows; as it may ſerve, at the ſame Time, to give a juſt Idea of the Style of *Thucydides*; and how the ſeveral Nations were diſpos'd, with Regard to the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

" We are ſenſible (ſaid the Ambaſſadors) it is " cuſtomary to uſe Deſerters well, at firſt, be- " cauſe of the Service they do thoſe whom they " fly to; but to deſpiſe them afterwards, as Trai- " tors to their Country, and Friends. This is " far from being unjuſt, when they have no real " Cauſe to abandon their Party; when the ſame " Union ſubſiſts, and the ſame Relief is recipro- " cally indulged as before. But, it is far other- " wiſe with us and the *Athenians*; and we intreat " you, not to be prejudic'd againſt this Step we " have taken, becauſe, after having been treated " mildly by the *Athenians*, during the Peace, we " now break from their Alliance, when they are " unfortunate. For, appearing here to deſire to " be receiv'd as your Friends and *Allies*, we ought " to begin our own Juſtification, by ſhewing the " Juſtice and Neceſſity of our Procedure; it being " impoſſible for a true Friendſhip to be eſtab- " liſh'd between Individuals, or a ſolid Alliance " between Cities, unleſs both are founded on Vir- " tue, and a Similitude of Principles and Senti- " ments.

" To come to the Point: The Treaty we con- " cluded with the *Athenians*, was not to inſlave " *Greece*, but to free it from the Yoke of the " *Barbarians*; and it was concluded, after the " Retreat of the *Perſians*, when you laid down " the Command. We adher'd to it with Pleaſure, " as long as the *Athenians* continued to entertain " juſt Deſigns; but, when we ſaw they diſconti- " nued the War they were carrying on againſt " the Enemy, merely to oppreſs the *Allies*, we " could not but ſuſpect their Conduct. And, as " it was extreamly difficult, in ſo great a Diver- " ſity of Intereſts and Opinions, for all the *Allies* " to continue cloſely united; and ſtill harder for " them to make Head againſt the *Athenians*, when " themſelves were divided; the *Athenians* have " ſubjected, by inſenſible Degrees, all the *Allies*, " except the Inhabitants of *Chios*, and our People; " and ſubjected them by our Forces. For, at the " ſame Time they left us, ſeemingly, at our Li- " berty, they obliged us to follow them; though " we could no longer rely on their Words, and " had the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to fear the like Treat- " ment. And indeed, what Probability is there, " after their inſlaving all other Nations, they " ſhould ſhew a Regard to us only, and admit us " only upon the Foot of Equals, if they may be- " come our Maſters, whenever they pleaſe; eſpe- " cially, as their Power riſes daily, in Proportion " as ours leſſens?

" A mutual Fear between *Confederates*, is a " ſtrong Motive to make an Alliance laſting; and " to prevent unjuſt, and violent Attempts, by " keeping all Things in an *Equilibrium*. Their " leaving us the Enjoyment of our Liberties, was, " merely becauſe they could not intrench upon " them by open Force; but only by that Equity " and ſpecious Moderation they have ſhewn us. " *Firſt*, they pretend to prove, by their tender " Uſage of us, that, as we are free, we ſhould " not have march'd, in Conjunction with them, " againſt the other *Allies*, had they not given " them juſt Grounds for Complaint. *Secondly*, " by attacking the weakeſt firſt, and ſubduing " them, one after another; they enabled them- " ſelves to oppreſs the mightieſt, who, at laſt, " would be left ſingle and unſupported: Whereas, " had they begun, by invading us, at the Time " the *Allies* were poſſeſs'd of all their Troops, " and were able to make a powerful Alliance, " they could not ſo eaſily have compleated their " Deſigns. Beſides, as we had a large Fleet, " which would have ſtrengthned conſiderably, " whatever Party we ſhould have declar'd for, " this was a Check upon them. Add to this, the " high Regard we have always ſhewn for their " Republick, and the Endeavours we have us'd, " to gain the Favour of thoſe who commanded " in it, have kept off our Ruin. But we had " been undone, had not this War broke out; a " Circumſtance, which the Fate others have met " with, will not ſuffer us to doubt.

" What Friendſhip then, what laſting Alliance " can be concluded with thoſe, who never are " Friends and *Allies*, but when Force is employ'd " to make them continue ſuch? For, as they were " obliged to careſs us, during the War, to pre- " vent our joining with the Enemy; we were " conſtrain'd to treat them with the ſame Regard " in Time of Peace, to prevent their falling upon " us. That which Love produces in other Places, " was, with us, the Effect of Fear. It was this " Circumſtance, that made an Alliance ſubſiſt for " ſome Time; which both Parties were determin'd " to break the firſt Occaſion that ſhould offer it- " ſelf: Let, therefore, no one accuſe us for the " Advantage we now take. We had not always " the ſame Opportunity to ſave ourſelves, as they " had to ruin us: But were under a Neceſſity of " watching for one, before we could venture to " declare ourſelves againſt them.

" Theſe are the Motives, which now oblige us " to ſeek for your Alliance: Motives, the Equity " and Juſtice whereof appear very ſtrong to us; " and conſequently, call upon us to provide for " our Safety: We ſhould have claim'd your Pro- " tection before, had you been ſooner inclin'd to " indulge us therein; for, we offer'd ourſelves to " you, even before the War broke out: We are " now come, at the Perſuaſion of the *Bœotians*, " your *Allies*, to diſengage ourſelves from the " Oppreſſors of *Greece*, and join our Arms with " the Defenders of it; and to provide for the Se- " curity of our State, which is now in imminent " Danger.

" If any Thing can be objected againſt our " Conduct, it is, our declaring ſo precipitately, " with more Generoſity than Prudence, and with- " out our having made the leaſt Preparations. But " this, alſo, ought to engage you to be the ſpee- " dier in aſſiſting us, that you may not loſe the " Opportunity of protecting the Oppreſs'd, and " taking Vengeance on your Enemies. There " never was a more favourable Seaſon, than that " which now offers itſelf; a Seaſon, when War

" and Peſtilence have conſum'd their Forces, and " drain'd their Treaſury: Not to mention, that " their Fleet is divided; by which Means they " will not be in a Condition to reſiſt you, ſhould " you invade them, at the ſame Time, by Sea and " Land. For, they will either leave us to go " and attack you, and ſo give us an Opportunity " of relieving you; or otherwiſe, they will op- " poſe us altogether; and then you will have but " half their Forces to encounter.

" By the Way, let no one imagine, that you " will expoſe yourſelves to Danger, for a People " incapable of doing you any Service. Our Coun- " try, indeed, lies at a conſiderable Diſtance from " you, but our Aſſiſtance will be at Hand. For, " the War will not be carry'd on in *Attica*, as is " generally ſuppos'd, but in that Country, whoſe " Revenues are the Support of *Attica*; and we " are not far from thence. Conſider alſo, that in " abandoning us, you will increaſe the Power of " the *Athenians*, by the Addition of ours; and " then no Nation will dare take up Arms againſt " them: But, in aſſiſting us, you will ſtrengthen " yourſelves with a Fleet, which you greatly " want; you will excite many Nations, after our " Example, to join you; and you will take off " the Reproach which is caſt upon you, of aban- " doning thoſe who ask your Protection; which " will be no inconſiderable Advantage to you, " during the Courſe of this War.

" We, therefore, implore you, in the Name of " the *Olympick Jupiter*, in whoſe Temple we now " ſtand, not to defeat the Hopes of the *Greeks*; " nor reject a ſupplicating People, whoſe Preſer- " vation may be of great Advantage, as their " Ruin may be of infinite ill Conſequence to you. " Shew yourſelves ſuch here, as both the Idea " that is entertain'd of your Generoſity, and the " the extream Danger to which we are reduc'd, " may demand; that is, the Protectors of the " Afflicted, and the Deliverers of *Griece*."

The *Allies*, ſtruck with theſe Reaſons, admitted them directly into the Alliance of *Peloponneſus*; and it was immediately reſolv'd, to make an Incurſion, with the utmoſt Speed, into the Enemy's Country; and that the *Allies* ſhould rendezvous at *Corinth* with two Thirds of their Forces. The *Lacedæmonians* came firſt, and there prepar'd Engines for tranſporting the Ships from the Gulf of *Corinth* into the Sea of *Athens*; in order to invade *Attica* both by Sea and Land. The *Myteleans* alſo were very expeditious; but the *Allies*, being employ'd in their Harveſt, and beginning to grow tir'd of the War, were a long Time before they came together.

During this Interval, the *Athenians*, who were ſenſible, all theſe Preparations were made againſt them, from a Suppoſition they were very weak, reſolv'd to undeceive the World, and ſhew, that they alone were able to equip, and maintain a Fleet, unaſſiſted by that of *Lesbos*; wherefore, they put to Sea a Fleet of an hundred Sail, which they mann'd with Citizens, as well as Foreigners; not exempting a ſingle Citizen, but ſuch as were oblig'd to ſerve on Horſe-back, or whoſe Revenue amounted to five hundred Meaſures of Corn. Being arriv'd off the *Iſthmus* of *Corinth*, in order to make an oſtentatious Show of their Power, they made a Deſcent upon whatever Parts of *Peloponneſus* they pleas'd.

The World never ſaw a finer Fleet. The *Athenians* guarded their own Country, and the Coaſts of *Eubœa* and *Salamis*, with a Fleet of an hundred Ships: They cruiz'd round *Peloponneſus*, with another Fleet of the like Number of *Veſſels*, excluſive of thoſe which were before *Lesbos*, and other Places. The Whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty Gallies; the Expence of which powerful Armament quite exhauſted their Treaſury; which had been very much drain'd before, by the Charge of the Siege of *Potidæa*.

The *Lacedæmonians*, greatly ſurpriz'd at ſo formidable a Fleet, which they did not expect, return'd ſpeedily to their own Country; and only order'd forty Gallies to be fitted out for the Relief of *Mitylene*. In the mean While, the *Athenians* had ſent a Reinforcement thither, conſiſting of a Thouſand Soldiers heavily arm'd, by whoſe Aſſiſtance they made a Countervallation, with Forts in the moſt commodious Places; ſo that it was block'd up, both by Sea and Land, in the Beginning of Winter. The *Athenians* were in ſuch great Want of Money, in order to carry on this Siege, that they were forced to aſſeſs themſelves, which they had never done before; and, by this Means, two hundred Talents were rais'd for that Purpoſe.

At length, the *Mityleneans* being in Want of all Things, and having waited, to no Purpoſe, for the Aſſiſtance, which the *Lacedæmonians* had promis'd them, ſurrendred; upon Condition, that no Perſon ſhould be put to Death, or impriſon'd, till ſome Ambaſſadors, whom they would immediately ſend to *Athens*, ſhould return; and that, in the mean Time, the Troops ſhould be admitted into the City. This was granted, however, aſſoon as the *Athenians* had got Poſſeſſion of the City, ſuch of the factious *Mityleneans*, as had fled to the Altars, by Way of *Aſylum*, were convey'd to *Tenedos*, and afterwards to *Athens*. There the Affair to the *Mityleneans* was debated. As their Rebellion had greatly exaſperated the People, becauſe the *Athenians* had not us'd them ill; and therefore, it ſeem'd to be merely the Effect of their Hatred of them; in the firſt Tranſports of their Rage, they reſolv'd to put to Death, indiſcriminately, all the Citizens; and to make all the Women and Children Slaves: And immediately, they ſent a Galley to put this Decree in Execution.

However, Night gave them Leiſure to make Variety of Reflections: This Severity was judg'd too cruel, and carry'd farther than was conformable to the Dictates of Juſtice. They repreſented to themſelves the Fate of that unhappy City, quite abandon'd to Slaughter; and repented having involv'd the Innocent with the Guilty. This ſudden Change in the *Athenians*, gave the *Mitylenean* Ambaſſadors ſome ſmall Hopes; and they prevail'd ſo far with the Magiſtrates, as to have the Affair debated a ſecond Time. *Cleon*, who had ſuggeſted the firſt Decree, a Man of a fiery Temper, and who had great Authority over the People, maintain'd his Opinion with great Vehemence and Heat. He repreſented, that it was ſhameful, for a wiſe Government to change with every Wind, and to annul in the Morning, what they had decreed the Night before; and that it highly concern'd them, to take an exemplary Vengeance of the *Mityleneans*; in order to awe other Nations, who were every-where ready to revolt.

But

But *Diodorus*, who had contradicted *Cleon* in the firſt Aſſembly, now oppos'd his Arguments more ſtrongly than before. After deſcribing, in a tender, and pathetick Manner, the deplorable Condition of the *Mitylenæans*, whoſe Minds muſt neceſſarily be on the Rack, whilſt they were expecting a Sentence, to pronounce their Fate, he repreſented to the *Athenians*, that the Fame of their Mildneſs and Clemency had ever reflected the higheſt Honour upon them, and diſtinguiſh'd them glorioufly from all other Nations: That the Citizens of *Mitylene* had been drawn involuntarily into the Rebellion; a Proof of which was, their ſurrendring up the City to them, the Inſtant it was in their Power ſo to do: That, therefore, by this Decree, they would murder their Benefactors; and conſequently, be both unjuſt and ungrateful, in thus puniſhing the Innocent with the Guilty. He obſerv'd farther, that, ſuppoſing the *Mitylenians* in general were guilty, yet it would be for the Intereſt of the *Athenians* to diſſemble; in order that the rigorous Puniſhment they had decreed, might not exaſperate the reſt of the *Allies*: And, that the beſt Way to put a Stop to the Evil, would be, to leave Room for Repentance; and not plunge the *Mitylenæans* into Deſpair, by abſolutely refuſing them a Pardon. His Opinion, therefore was, that they ſhould examine very deliberately, the Cauſe of thoſe factious *Mityleneans*, who had been brought to *Athens*, and pardon all the reſt.

Theſe Arguments had ſome Weight with them; however, the Opinions were very much divided; ſo that *Diodorus* carry'd it only by a few Votes. A ſecond Galley was, therefore, immediately fitted out: It was furniſh'd with every Thing, that might haſten its Courſe; and the Ambaſſadors of *Mitylene* promis'd a great Reward to the Crew, provided they arriv'd Time enough. Wherefore, they quitted not their Oars, even when they took Suſtenance; but eat and drank as they row'd, and took their Reſt alternately; and, very happily for them, the Wind was favourable. The firſt Galley had got a Day and Night's Sail before them; but, as thoſe on board carry'd ill News, they did not make great Haſte.

The Arrival of this Galley before the City, had ſpread the utmoſt Conſternation in every Part of it: But it increas'd infinitely, when the Decree, by which all the Citizens were ſentenc'd to die, was read in a full Aſſembly. Nothing was now heard in all Places but Shrieks, Cries, and dreadful Lamentations. The Moment that the Sentence was going to be put in Execution, Advice came, that a ſecond Galley was arriv'd. Immediately the cruel Maſſacre was ſuſpended. The Aſſembly was conven'd again; and the Decree, which granted a Pardon, was liſtned to with ſuch a Silence and Joy, as is much eaſier to be conceiv'd, than expreſs'd.

All the factious *Mitylenæans*, though upwards of a Thouſand, were put to Death. The City was afterwards diſmantled, the Ships deliver'd up; and the whole Iſland, the City of *Methymne* excepted, was divided into three thouſand Parts or Portions, three hundred of which were conſecrated to the Service of the Gods; and the other Parts were divided by Lot, among ſuch *Athenians* as were ſent thither; to whom the Natives of the Country gave a Revenue of two *Minæ*, about ſix Pounds, for every Portion; on which Condition, they were ſtill permitted to poſſeſs the Iſland, but not as Proprietors. The Cities likewiſe, which belong'd to the *Mitylenæans*, on the Coaſt of *Aſia*, were all reduc'd by the *Athenians*.

The Winter before this, the Inhabitants of *Plataæ*, having loſt all Hopes of Relief, and being in the utmoſt Want of Proviſions, form'd a Reſolution to cut their Way through the Enemy: But half of them, ſtruck with the Greatneſs of the Danger, and the Boldneſs of the Enterprize, quite loſt their Courage, when they came to the Execution: However, the reſt (who were about two hundred and twenty Soldiers) perſiſted in their Reſolution, and made their Eſcape through the Enemy.

About the End of the following Campaign, which is that wherein *Mitylene* was taken, the *Platæans*, who ſtaid behind, being in abſolute Want of Proviſions, and unable to make the leaſt Defence, ſurrendred upon Condition, they ſhould not be puniſh'd but by due Courſe of Law. Five Commiſſioners came for this Purpoſe from *Laconia*, who, without charging them with any Crime, barely ask'd them, whether they had done any Service to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Allies*, during this War. The *Platæans* were greatly ſurpriz'd, as well as puzzled, at this Queſtion; and were ſenſible, it had been ſuggeſted by the *Thebans*, their profeſs'd Enemies, who had vow'd their Deſtruction: Wherefore, they reminded the *Spartans*, of the Services they had done *Greece* in general, both at the Battle of *Artemiſia*, and that of *Plataæ*; and particularly, in *Laconia*, at the Time of the Earthquake, which was follow'd by the Revolt of their Slaves.

The only Reaſon (they declar'd) of their ſince joining with the *Athenians*, was, to defend themſelves from the Hoſtilities of the *Thebans*, againſt whom they had implor'd the Aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* to no Purpoſe. If that was imputed to them as a Crime, which was only their Misfortune, this Crime ought not, however, quite to obliterate the Remembrance of their former Services.

"Caſt your Eyes (ſaid they) on the Monuments
" of your Anceſtors, which you ſee here, to whom
" we annually offer up all thoſe Honours, which
" can be paid to the *Manes* of the Dead. You
" thought fit to intruſt their Bodies with us, and
" make us Eye-Witneſſes of their Bravery; and
" yet you will now give up their Aſhes to Mur-
" therers, in abandoning us to the *Thebans*, who
" fought againſt them at the Battle of *Plataæ*.
" Will you inſlave a Province, where *Greece* re-
" cover'd its Liberty? Will you deſtroy the Tem-
" ples of thoſe Gods, to whom you owe the Vic-
" tory? Will you aboliſh the Memory of their
" Founders, who contributed ſo greatly to your
" Safety? On this Occaſion, we dare preſume to
" ſay it, our Intereſt is inſeparable from your
" Glory; and, if you deliver up your ancient
" Friends and Benefactors, to the unjuſt Hatred
" of the *Thebans*, it will reflect eternal Infamy
" upon you."

One would conclude, theſe juſt Remonſtrances ſhould have made ſome Impreſſion on the *Lacedæmonians*; but they were byaſs'd more by the Anſwer that the *Thebans* made, and which was expreſs'd in the moſt haughty and bitter Terms againſt

againſt the *Platæans*; and beſides, they had brought Orders from *Sparta*. They ſtood, therefore, to their firſt Queſtion, *viz. Whether the* Platæans *had done them any Service ſince the War?* And making them paſs by, one after another, as every one anſwer'd, *No*, he was immediately butcher'd, and not one eſcap'd. About two hundred were kill'd in this Manner; and twenty-five *Athenians*, who were among them, met with the ſame unhappy Fate: Their Wives, who had been taken Priſoners, were made Slaves. The *Thebans* afterwards peopled their City with Exiles from *Megara* and *Platææ*; but the Year after, they raz'd the City. It was in this Manner, that the *Lacedæmonians*, in hopes of reaping great Advantages from the *Thebans*, ſacrific'd the *Platæans* to their Animoſity, ninety-three Years, from the Time they firſt engag'd in Alliance with the *Athenians*.

In the ſixth Year of the War of *Peloponneſus*, the Plague broke out anew in *Athens*, and again ſwept away great Numbers.

CHAP. XI.

The Athenians *poſſeſs themſelves of* Pylus, *and are beſieged in it*; *The* Spartans, *on the other Hand, are ſurrounded in* Sphacteria, *and taken by* Cleon; Artaxerxes Longimanus *dies, and is ſucceeded by* Xerxes II; *Who is murther'd ſoon after by* Sogdianus; *He is likewiſe put to Death, in Return, by* Ochus, *who ſucceeds him*; *He gives his youngeſt Son* Cyrus *the Command of all* Aſia Minor; *The* Athenians *poſſeſs themſelves of the Iſland* Cythera; Braſidas, *in Return, poſſeſſes himſelf of* Amphipolis; *The* Athenians *defeated at* Delium; Braſidas *and* Cleon *kill'd*; *A fifty Years Truce concluded between the* Athenians *and* Lacedæmonians.

WE ſhall paſs over ſeveral particular Incidents of the ſucceeding Campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the *Lacedæmonians* making regularly, every Year, Incurſions into *Attica*, and the *Athenians* into *Peloponneſus*; we ſhall likewiſe omit ſome Sieges of different Places: That of *Pylus*, a little City of *Meſſenia*, ſtanding but four hundred Furlongs from *Laconia*, was one of the moſt conſiderable. The *Athenians*, headed by *Demoſthenes*, had taken that City, and fortify'd themſelves very ſtrongly in it, in the ſeventh Year of the War. The *Lacedæmonians* left *Attica* immediately, in order to recover, if poſſible, that City; and accordingly, they invaded it both by Sea and Land; on which Occaſion, *Braſidas*, one of their Leaders, ſignaliz'd himſelf by the moſt extraordinary Bravery. Juſt oppoſite to the City was a little Iſland, call'd *Sphacteria*, from whence the Beſiegers might have greatly annoy'd the *Athenians*, and block'd up the Harbour; wherefore, they poſted a ſelect Body of *Lacedæmonians* therein, conſiſting of four hundred and twenty, excluſive of the *Helotes*. Hereupon, a naval Engagement was fought, in which the *Athenians* were victorious; and accordingly, they ſet up a Trophy. This done, they ſurrounded the Iſland; and put a Guard in every Part of it; to prevent any of the Inhabitants from going out, or any Proviſions from being brought in to them.

The News of this Defeat having reach'd *Sparta*, the Magiſtrate thinking it an Affair of the utmoſt Importance, ſet out himſelf for the Place, that he might be better able to take proper Meaſures; when concluding, that it would be impoſſible for him to ſave thoſe who were in the Iſland; and that they muſt, at laſt, neceſſarily be ſtarv'd out, or be taken by ſome other Means, he propos'd an Accommodation. A Suſpenſion of Arms was then agreed on, in order to give the *Lacedæmonians* Time to ſend to *Athens*; but, upon Condition, that, in this Interval, they ſhould ſurrender up all their Gallies; and not attack *Pylus*, either by Sea or Land, till the Return of the Ambaſſadors: That, if they comply'd with theſe Conditions, the *Athenians* would permit them to carry a certain Quantity of Proviſions to thoſe who were in the Iſland; and that the Whole ſhould be done publickly, and in Sight of both Armies. That, in caſe this Agreement ſhould be ever ſo little infringed, the Truce ſhould be broke; otherwiſe, that it ſhould continue in full Force, till the Return of the Ambaſſadors; whom the *Athenians* obliged themſelves, by the Articles, to convey backwards and forwards; and then the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould have their Ships reſtor'd them, in the ſame Condition in which they had been deliver'd up. Such were the Articles of the Treaty; and the *Spartans* began to put it in Execution, by ſurrendring about threſcore Ships; after which they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Athens*.

Being admitted to Audience before the People, they began by ſaying, that they were come to the *Athenians* to ſue for Peace, which they themſelves were, a little before, in a Condition to have granted them: that they might then acquire the Glory of having reſtor'd all *Greece* to a wiſh'd for Tranquillity, ſince the *Lacedæmonians* would permit them to be Mediators in the Treaty: That the Danger to which their Citizens were expos'd in the Iſland, had determin'd them to take ſuch a Step, as could not but be very grating to *Spartans*: However, that their Affairs were far from being deſperate; and therefore, that now was the Time

Time to eſtabliſh, between the two Nations, a firm and ſolid Friendſhip; becauſe the Affairs of both were ſtill fluctuating, and Fortune had not yet declar'd abſolutely in Favour of either: That the Gods frequently abandon thoſe, whoſe Succeſs ſwells them with Pride, by ſhifting the Scene, and making them as unfortunate, as they before had been happy: That they ought to conſider, the Fate of Arms is very uncertain; and the Way to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace, is not for the Victor to triumph over his Enemy, by oppreſſing him, but to agree to a Reconciliation, on juſt and reaſonable Terms: For then, conquer'd by Generoſity, and not by Violence, his future Thoughts being all employ'd, not on Revenge, but Gratitude, he is delighted, and thinks it his Duty to obſerve the ſeveral Articles ſtipulated with inviolable Fidelity.

The *Athenians* had now a noble Opportunity to have ended the War, by a Peace, which would have been as glorious to them, as advantageous to all *Greece:* But *Cleon*, who had a great Aſcendant over the People, prevented ſo great a Bleſſing. They anſwer'd, therefore (by his Direction) that thoſe, who were in the Iſland, ſhould firſt ſurrender at Diſcretion; and afterwards be carry'd to *Athens*, on Condition of being ſent back, aſſoon as the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould have reſtor'd what the *Athenians* had been forc'd to give up by the laſt Treaty; and this being done, a firm and laſting Peace ſhould be concluded. The *Lacedæmonians* requir'd to have Deputies nominated; and inſiſted, that the *Athenians* ſhould promiſe to agree to what theſe ſhould determine. But *Cleon* exclaim'd againſt this Propoſal, and ſaid, it was plain they did not deal fairly; ſince they would not tranſact with the People, but with particular Men, whom they might eaſily bribe; and that, if they had any Thing to offer, they ſhould do it immediately. The *Lacedæmonians*, therefore, finding there was no Poſſibility for them to treat with the People, without adviſing with their *Allies*, and that, if any Thing ſhould be granted by them to their Prejudice, they muſt be reſponſible for it, went away without concluding any Thing; fully perſuaded, that they muſt not expect equitable Treatment from the *Athenians*, now Fortune had rais'd them to ſo great a Height of Power.

Aſſoon as they were return'd to *Pylus*, the Suſpenſion ceas'd: But, when the *Lacedæmonians* came to demand back their Ships, the *Athenians* refus'd to give them up; upon Pretence that the Treaty had been infringed in ſome Particulars of little Conſequence. Hereupon, the *Spartans* exclaim'd bitterly againſt this Propoſal, as being a manifeſt, and baſe, Perfidy; after which they immediately prepar'd for War, with greater Vigour and Animoſity than before. An haughty Carriage in Succeſs, and Inſincerity, with Regard to the Obſervation of Treaties, ſeldom fail, at laſt, to involve a People in great Calamities; as will appear, by what follows.

The *Athenians* continued to keep a watchful Guard round the Iſland, to prevent any Proviſions being brought into it; and hop'd they ſhould ſoon be able to ſtarve out the Inhabitants. But the *Lacedæmonians* prompted the whole Country, by the Views of Lucre, to relieve them; laying a heavy Tax upon Proviſions, and giving ſuch Slaves their Freedom, as would venture to convey any into it. Proviſions were, therefore, now brought (at the Hazard of Mens Lives) from all Parts of *Peloponneſus:* There were even Divers, who ſwam from the Coaſt to the Iſland, oppoſite to the Harbour, and drew after them Goats-Skins fill'd with pounded Linſeed, and Poppies mix'd with Honey.

Thoſe who were beſieged in *Pylus*, were reduc'd to almoſt as great Extremities, being in Want both of Water and Proviſions; wherefore, when Advice was brought to *Athens*, that their Country-men, ſo far from reducing the Enemy by Famine, were themſelves almoſt ſtarv'd; it was fear'd, that, as it would not be poſſible for the Fleet to ſubſiſt, during the Winter, on a Deſert-Coaſt, which belong'd to the Enemy; nor to lie at Anchor in ſo dangerous a Road, the Iſland muſt, by that Means, be leſs ſecurely guarded, which would give the Priſoners an Opportunity of making their Eſcape. But the Circumſtance they chiefly dreaded was, that the *Lacedæmonians*, after their Country-men were once extricated from their Danger, would refuſe to hearken to any Conditions of Peace; ſo that they now repented their having refus'd it when offer'd them.

Cleon ſaw plainly, that all the Blame of the Refuſal would be laid upon him; wherefore, he aſſerted, the Report of the extream Want of Proviſions, to which the *Athenians*, both within, and without *Pylus*, were ſaid to be reduc'd, was intirely falſe. He exclaim'd alſo before the People, againſt the Supineneſs and Inactivity of the Leaders who beſieged the Iſland; pretending, if they exerted but ever ſo little of their Bravery, they might ſoon take the Iſland; and, had he commanded, he would ſoon have taken it. On ſaying this, he was immediately appointed to head the Expedition; *Nicias*, who was to command it, reſigning voluntarily that Honour to him; either through Weakneſs, for he was naturally fearful; or in a politick View, in order that the ill Succeſs, which it was generally believ'd *Cleon* would meet with in this Enterprize, might loſe him the Favour of the People. Hereupon, *Cleon* was greatly ſurpriz'd, as well as puzzled; for, he never imagin'd the *Athenians* would have taken him at his Word; being a much better Talker than Fighter, and managing his Tongue much better than a Sword: Wherefore, he deſir'd Leave to wave the Honour they offer'd him; for which he alledg'd ſeveral Excuſes: But finding, the more he declin'd the Command, the more they preſs'd him to accept of it, he changed his Note; and ſupplying his Want of Courage with Rhodomontade, declar'd before the whole Aſſembly, with a firm and reſolute Air, he would bring, in twenty Days, thoſe of the Iſland as Priſoners, or loſe his Life. On hearing this, the whole Aſſembly burſt into a Laughter, as knowing his Character but too well.

Nevertheleſs, *Cleon*, contrary to the Expectation of every one, made good his Words: In Conjunction with *Demoſthenes* (the other Chief) he landed in the Iſland, attack'd the Enemy with great Vigour, repuls'd them from Poſt to Poſt; and gaining Ground perpetually, at laſt, drove them a great Way up the Iſland. The *Lacedæmonians* had poſſeſs'd themſelves of a Fort, that was thought inacceſſible: There they drew up in Battle-Array, and facing about to that Side, on which only they

could be attack'd, defended themſelves like ſo many Lions.

As the Engagement had held the greateſt Part of the Day, and the Soldiers were oppreſs'd with Heat and Wearineſs, and parch'd with Thirſt; the General of the *Meſſenians*, directing himſelf to *Cleon* and *Demoſthenes*, ſaid, all their Efforts would be to no Purpoſe, unleſs they charged their Enemy in the Rear; and promis'd, if they would give him but ſome Arrchers, to turn and wind about, till he met with a Paſſage. Accordingly, he and his Followers climb'd up certain ſteep and craggy Places, which were not guarded; when coming down, unperceiv'd, into the Fort, he appear'd, on a ſudden, at the Backs of the *Lacedæmonians*; which quite ſunk their Courage, and afterwards compleated their Overthrow. They now made but a very feeble Reſiſtance; and being oppreſs'd with Numbers, attack'd on all Sides, and dejected with Wearineſs, and Deſpair, began to give Way: But the *Athenians* ſeiz'd on all the Paſſes, to cut off their Retreat. Then *Cleon* and *Demoſthenes* finding, that, ſhould the Combat continue, not a Man of them would eſcape; and being deſirous of carrying them alive to *Athens*, commanded their Soldiers to deſiſt; and caus'd Proclamation to be made by an Herald, for them to lay down their Arms, and ſurrender at Diſcretion.

At theſe Words, the greateſt Part lower'd their Shields, and clapp'd their Hands, in Token of Approbation. A Kind of Suſpenſion of Arms was now agreed upon; and their Commander deſir'd Leave might be granted him, to diſpatch a Meſſenger to the Camp, to know the Reſolution of the Generals. This was not allow'd, but they call'd Heralds from the Coaſt; and after ſeveral Meſſages, a *Lacedæmonian* advanc'd forward, and cry'd aloud, they were permitted to treat with the Enemy, provided they did not ſubmit to diſhonourable Terms. Hearing this, they held a Conference; after which they ſurrendred at Diſcretion, and were kept till the next Day. The *Athenians* then raiſing a Trophy, and reſtoring the *Lacedæmonians* their Dead, embark'd for their own Country; having firſt diſtributed the Priſoners among the ſeveral Ships, and committed the Guard of them to the Captain of the Gallies.

In this Battle fell an hundred and twenty-eight *Lacedæmonians*, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their Number at firſt; ſo there ſurviv'd not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were Citizens of *Sparta*. The Siege of the Iſland (from the Beginning) and including the Time employ'd in the Truce) had laſted ſeventy-two Days. They all now left *Pylus*; and *Cleon*'s Promiſe, though ſo vain and raſh, prov'd literally true. But, the moſt ſurprizing Circumſtance was, the Agreement that had been made; for, it was believ'd, the *Lacedæmonians* would have dy'd, every Man, Sword in Hand, rather than have ſurrendred their Arms.

Being come to *Athens*, they were order'd to remain Priſoners, till a Peace ſhould be concluded; provided the *Lacedæmonians* did not make any Incurſions into their Country, in which Caſe they were all to be put to Death; this done, they left a Garriſon in *Pylus*. The *Meſſenians* of *Naupactus*, who had formerly poſſeſs'd it, ſent thither the Flower of their Youth, who very much infeſted the *Lacedæmonians* by their Incurſions; and, as theſe *Meſſenians* ſpoke the Language of the Country, they prevail'd with a great Number of Slaves to join them. Hereupon, the *Lacedæmonians*, dreading a greater Evil, ſent ſeveral Deputations to *Athens*, but to no Purpoſe; the *Athenians* being too elate with their Proſperity; and eſpecially, with their late Succeſs, to liſten to any reaſonable Terms.

In the ſeventh Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, *Artaxerxes* ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* an Ambaſſador, nam'd *Artaphernes*, with a Letter written in the *Aſſyrian* Language, in which he ſaid; he had receiv'd many Embaſſies from them, but the Purport of them all differ'd ſo widely, he could not comprehend, in any Manner, what it was they requeſted: That, in this Uncertainty, he had thought proper to ſend a *Perſian*, to acquaint them, if they had any Propoſal to make, they ſhould ſend a truſty Perſon along with him, from whom he might be exactly inform'd what it was they deſir'd. This Ambaſſador, arriving at *Eion*, ſtanding on the River *Strymon* in *Thrace*, was there taken Priſoner, about the Cloſe of this Year, by one of the Admirals of the *Athenian* Fleet, who ſent him to *Athens*. He there was treated with the utmoſt Civility and Reſpect; the *Athenians* being extreamly deſirous of recovering the Favour of the King his Maſter.

The Year following, aſſoon as the Seaſon would permit the *Athenians* to put to Sea, they ſent the Ambaſſador back in a Ship belonging to the Common-wealth, at the publick Expence; and appointed ſome of their Citizens to wait upon him to the Court of *Perſia*, in Quality of Ambaſſadors. On their landing at *Epheſus*, they heard *Artaxerxes* was dead; whereupon, the *Athenian* Ambaſſadors, thinking it not adviſable to proceed farther, after this News, took Leave of *Artuphernes*, and return'd to their own Country.

Artaxerxes Longimanus dy'd about the Beginning of the forty-ninth Year of his Reign. *Xerxes*, who ſucceeded him, was the only Son which his Queen brought him: But he had ſeventeen others by his Concubines; among whom was *Sogdianus* (who is call'd *Secondianus* by *Cteſias*) *Ochus* and *Arſites*. *Sogdianus*, in Concert with *Pharnacias*, one of the Eunuchs of *Xerxes*, went treacherouſly, one Feſtival-Day, to the new King (who, after drinking too immoderately, was retir'd to his Chamber, in order to give the Fumes of the Wine Time to evaporate) and kill'd him without any Difficulty, after he had reign'd but forty-five Days; which done, *Sogdianus* ſtepp'd into the Throne.

Scarce was he ſeated in it, but he put to Death *Bagorazus*, the moſt faithful of all his Father's Eunuchs: It was he, who had been appointed to ſuperintend the Interrment of *Artaxerxes*, and of the Queen, Mother to *Xerxes*, who dy'd the ſame Day with her Royal Conſort. After having depoſited the two Bodies in the *Mauſolæum*, where the Kings of *Perſia* were interr'd; he found, at his Return, *Sogdianus* on the Throne, who did not receive him favourably, becauſe of a Conteſt he had had with him, in his Father's Reign; but the new King did not ſtop here; for, not long after, taking an Opportunity to quarrel with him for ſome Trifle, relating to the Obſequies of his Father, he caus'd him to be ſton'd

Theſe two Murders, that of his Brother *Xerxes*, and

and of *Bagoraæus*, ſoon made him deteſted by the Army and the Nobles; ſo that he did not think himſelf ſafe on a Throne, to which he had forc'd his Way by ſuch horrid Murthers. He likewiſe ſuſpected his Brothers harbour'd the ſame Deſign; but *Ochus*, to whom his Father had left the Government of *Hyrcania*, was the chief Object of his Suſpicion: Accordingly, he ſent for him, with an Intent to have him murther'd the Moment he arriv'd. However, *Ochus*, who ſaw through it, delay'd coming, upon various Pretences; and continued ſo to do, till he march'd forward at the Head of a ſtrong Army; which he openly declar'd he would employ, to revenge the Death of his Brother *Xerxes*. This Declaration brought over to him great Numbers of the Nobility, and ſeveral Governors of Provinces, who were juſtly diſſatisfy'd with the ill Conduct, and unnatural Cruelty of *Sogdianus*: They put, therefore, the *Tiara* on the Head of *Ochus*, and proclaim'd him King.

Hereupon, *Sogdianus*, ſeeing himſelf abandon'd in this Manner, was as mean and cowardly, in the ſlight Defence he made to maintain his Crown, as he had been before unjuſt and barbarous in uſurping it. Contrary to the Advice of his beſt Friends, and the wiſeſt Perſons who ſtill adher'd to him, he concluded a Treaty with his Brother; who, ſeizing *Sogdianus*, caus'd him to be thrown into Aſhes, where he dy'd a cruel Death. This was a Kind of Puniſhment peculiar to the *Perſians*, and exercis'd only on great Criminals. One of the higheſt Towers was fill'd, to a certain Height, with Aſhes: Then the Criminal was thrown headlong from the Top of the Tower into them; after which, the Aſhes were, by a Wheel, turn'd perpetually round him, till he was ſuffocated. Thus this wicked Prince loſt his Life and Empire, which he enjoy'd but ſix Months, and fifteen Days.

By the Death of this Brother, *Ochus* finding himſelf poſſeſs'd of the Empire, thought proper, aſſoon as he was well ſettled therein, to change his Name from *Ochus* to *Darius*: To diſtinguiſh him, Hiſtorians add the Epithet *Nothos*, or *Nothus*; ſignifying the *Baſtard*: He reign'd nineteen Years.

In the mean While, *Arſites*, another of his Brothers, obſerving how *Sogdianus* had ſupplanted *Xerxes*, and had himſelf been dethron'd by *Ochus*, deſign'd to have ſerv'd the latter in the ſame Manner. Accordingly, though he was Brother to *Ochus*, by the Mother's Side, as well as Father's, he broke out into open Rebellion againſt him, and was aſſiſted in it by *Artyphius*, the Son of *Megabyzus*.

Hereupon, *Ochus*, whom, hereafter, we ſhall always call *Darius*, ſent *Artaſyras*, one of his Generals, againſt *Artyphius*; and himſelf, at the Head of another Army, march'd againſt *Arſites*. *Artyphius*, with the *Grecian* Troops in his Pay, defeated the General twice who had been ſent againſt him: But, engaging a third Time, the laſt mention'd Troops were corrupted; and he himſelf was beaten, and forc'd to ſurrender, upon his being flatter'd with Hopes, that a Pardon would be granted him. The King would have had him put to Death, but was diverted from that Reſolution by Queen *Paryſatis*, his Queen and Siſter; ſhe being the Daughter of *Artaxerxes*, but not by the ſame Mother as *Darius*: She was an intriguing, artful Woman; and the King, her Husband, was govern'd by her on moſt Occaſions.

The Counſel ſhe gave was perfidious to the laſt Degree: She adviſ'd him to exerciſe his Clemency towards *Artyphius*, and ſhow him kind Uſage, in order that his Brother, when he heard of his treating a rebellious Servant with ſo much Generoſity, might hope, that he himſelf ſhould meet, at leaſt, with as mild Treatment; and be thereby prompted to lay down his Arms. She added, that, when once he had ſeiz'd that Prince, he then might diſpoſe both of him and *Artyphius* as he pleas'd: *Darius* fellow'd her Counſel, and it was ſucceſsful. *Arſites*, being inform'd of the gentle Uſage which *Artyphius* met with, concluded, that, as he was Brother to the King, he, conſequently, ſhould meet with ſtill more indulgent Treatment; and, being flatter'd with this Hope, concluded a Treaty, and ſurrendred himſelf. *Darius* was very much inclin'd to ſave his Life: But *Paryſatis*, by inculcating to him, that he ought to puniſh this Rebel to ſecure himſelf; at laſt, prevail'd with him to put his Brother to Death; and accordingly, he was ſuffocated in Aſhes with *Artyphius*. However, *Darius* had a violent Struggle with himſelf, before he could give Orders for this Sacrifice; having a very tender Affection for this Brother: He afterwards put ſome other Perſons to Death, which Executions did not procure him the Tranquillity he had expected from them: For, his Reign was afterwards diſturb'd with ſuch violent Commotions, that he enjoy'd but little Repoſe.

One of the moſt dangerous of theſe was that, occaſion'd by the Inſurrection of *Piſuthnes*; who, being Governor of *Lydia*, wanted to break off from his Allegiance to the *Perſian* Empire, and make himſelf King of that Province. The Circumſtance, which flatter'd him with the Hopes of ſucceeding on this Occaſion, was, his having rais'd a conſiderable Army (which he himſelf paid) of *Greeks*, under the Command of *Lycon*, the *Athenian*. Againſt this Rebel, *Darius* ſent *Tiſaphernes*, and conferr'd upon him, at the ſame Time that he gave him a conſiderable Army, the Commiſſion of Governor of *Lydia*, of which he was to diſpoſſeſs *Piſuthnes*. Hereupon, *Tiſaphernes*, who was an artful Man, and capable of acting in all Characters, found the Means to tamper with the *Greeks* under *Piſuthnes*; and, by Dint of Preſents and Promiſes, gain'd the Troops, and their General, who came over to him. Wherefore, the Rebel, who, by this Deſertion, was unable to carry on his Deſigns, ſurrendred, upon being flatter'd with the Hopes of obtaining his Pardon; but the Inſtant he was brought before the King, he was ſentenc'd to be ſuffocated in Aſhes; and accordingly, met with the ſame Fate as the reſt of the Rebels. But his Death did not put an End to all the Troubles; for, *Amorges*, his Son, with the Remainder of his Army, ſtill oppos'd *Tiſaphernes*; and, for two Years, laid waſte the maritime Provinces of *Aſia Minor*; till, at laſt, he was taken by the *Greeks* of *Peloponneſus*, in *Iaſus*, a City of *Ionia*, and deliver'd up by the Inhabitants to *Tiſaphernes*, who put him to Death.

After this, *Darius* was involv'd in freſh Troubles by one of his Eunuchs: Theſe Officers, for many Years,

Years, uſurped a ſovereign Power in the Court of *Perſia*; and we ſhall find by the Sequel of this Hiſtory, that they always govern'd there abſolutely. We may know their Characters, and the Danger to which they expoſe Princes, by the Picture which *Dioclefian*, after he had reſigned the Empire, and reduced himſelf to a private Station of Life, drew of Freedmen, who, in like Manner, tyrannized over the *Roman* Emperors. "Four or five "Perſons, ſays he, who are cloſely united, and "reſolutely determin'd to impoſe on a Prince, "may do it very eaſily. They never exhibit "Things to him but in ſuch a Light, as they are "ſure will pleaſe: They conceal whatever would "contribute to enlighten him; and as they, only, "beſiege him continually, he cannot be inform'd "of any Particulars but ſuch as they pleaſe to tell "him, and he does nothing but what they think "proper to bid him. Hence it is, that he be-"ſtows Employments on thoſe to whom he ought "to refuſe them; and, on the other Side, re-"moves from their Poſts, ſuch Perſons as are "moſt worthy of filling them. In a Word, the "beſt Prince is often ſold by theſe Men, though "he be ever ſo watchful, and even ſuſpicious." *Quid multa?* "*Ut* Dioclefianus *ipſe dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur Imperator.*

In this Manner was the Court of *Darius* govern'd; three Eunuchs had uſurp'd all the Power; an infallible Mark that a Government is bad, and the Prince has not the leaſt Merit. But one of thoſe three Eunuchs, whoſe Name was *Artoxares*, preſided over, and govern'd the reſt. He had found the weak Side of *Darius*, by which he inſinuated himſelf into his Confidence: He had ſtudied all his Paſſions, in order that he might ſeek every Opportunity to indulge them, and govern his Prince by their Means: He for ever immerſed him in Pleaſures and Amuſements, purpoſely that he himſelf might enjoy all the regal Authority. In fine, under the Name and Protection of Queen *Paryſatis*, to whoſe Will he was a faithful Slave, he diſpoſed of the whole Adminiſtration, and nothing was tranſacted but by his Orders. Intoxicated by the ſupreme Authority, which the Favour of his Sovereign gave him, he reſolved to make himſelf King, inſtead of being prime Miniſter; and accordingly form'd a Deſign to get *Darius* out of the Way, and afterwards aſcend the Throne. However, his Plot being diſcover'd, he was ſeized, and deliver'd up to *Paryſatis*, who put him to a moſt ignominious and cruel Death.

But the greateſt Evil which happen'd in the Reign of *Darius*, was the Revolt of the *Egyptians*. This dreadful Calamity broke out the ſame Year with the Rebellion of *Piſuthnes*: But *Darius* could not reduce *Egypt* as he had done that Rebel. The *Egyptians*, tired with the *Perſian* Government, flock'd from all Parts to *Amyrtæus* of *Sais*, who at laſt was come out of the Fens, where he had defended himſelf, ever ſince the Inſurrection of *Inarus* had been quell'd. The *Perſians* were driven out, and *Amyrtæus* proclaimed King of *Egypt*, where he reign'd ſix Years.

After having fix'd himſelf ſecurely on the Throne, and quite driven the *Perſians* out of *Egypt*, he prepared to purſue them as far as *Phœnicia*, and had already concerted Meaſures, with the *Arabians*, to attack them in that Country. News of this being brought the King of *Perſia*, he recalled his Fleet, which he had promiſed the *Lacedæmonians*, in order that they might guard his own Dominions.

Whilſt *Darius* was carrying on the War in *Egypt* and *Arabia*, the *Medes* rebelled; however, they were defeated, and reduced to their Allegiance by Force of Arms. To puniſh them for this Rebellion, their Yoke (till then eaſy enough) was made heavier: A Fate, that rebellious Subjects ever meet with, when the Gouernment, which they endeavour to ſubvert, gains the Upper-hand.

The Army of *Darius* ſeem to have had the like Succeſs againſt the *Egyptians*. *Amyrtæus* dying after he had reign'd ſix Years, *Herodotus* obſerves, it was by the Aſſiſtance of the *Perſians* that *Pauſiris* his Son ſucceeded him in the Throne. To effect this, they muſt have been Maſters of *Egypt*; at leaſt, they muſt have had the ſtrongeſt Party in that Kingdom.

After having cruſh'd the Rebels in *Media*, and reſtor'd the Affairs of *Egypt* to their former Situation, *Darius* gave to *Cyrus*, the youngeſt of his Sons, the ſupreme Command of all the Provinces of *Aſia-minor*: An important Commiſſion, by which he commanded over all the Governors of particular Cities, *&c.* in that Part of the Empire.

We ſhall now leave the *Perſians* for a while, and return to the Hiſtory of the *Greeks*; of whom it is neceſſary to obſerve, that the three or four Campaigns which followed the Reduction of the little Iſland of *Sphacteria*, were diſtinguiſh'd by very few conſiderable Events: Only the *Athenians*, headed by *Nicias*, took the little Iſland of *Cythera*, ſituated on the Coaſt of *Lacedæmonia*, near Cape *Malea*, from whence they infeſted the whole Country. On the other Hand, *Braſidas* march'd towards *Thrace*; to undertake which Expedition, the *Lacedæmonians* were induced, by more than one Motive. They imagined they ſhould thereby oblige the *Athenians*, who had fallen upon them in *Laconia*, to divide their Forces: The *Thracians* alſo had invited them thither, and offer'd to pay the Army: Beſides, they were extremely glad to embrace that Opportunity, in order to rid themſelves of the *Helotes*, whom they expected to riſe in Rebellion, ever ſince the taking of *Pylus*.

They had already made away with two thouſand of them, in a moſt ſhocking Manner. Upon the ſpecious Pretence of rewarding Merit, even in Slaves, but, in Reality, to get rid of a Body of Men, whoſe Courage they dreaded; they cauſed Proclamation to be made, that ſuch of thoſe Slaves as had done the greateſt Service to the State, in the laſt Campaigns, ſhould enter their Names in the publick Regiſters; in order to their being made free. Accordingly, two thouſand gave in their Names. They then were carried in Proceſſion by the Temples, with Chaplets of Flowers on their Heads, as though they were really to be ſet at Liberty. After this Ceremony, they all diſappear'd, and were never heard of more. We have here an Inſtance, in what Manner a jealous Policy, and a ſuſpicious Power, prompt Men to the Commiſſion of the blackeſt Crimes; not ſcrupling to make even Religion itſelf, and the Authority of the Gods, ſubſervient to their dark Deſigns.

They

They ſent, therefore, ſeven hundred *Helotes*, with *Braſidas*, whom they had appointed General in this Enterprize; and who gain'd over ſeveral Cities, either by Force, or by Intelligence; and ſtill more, by his Wiſdom and Moderation. The Chief of theſe were *Acanthus* and *Stagyra*, which were two Colonies from *Andros*. He alſo march'd afterwards towards *Amphipolis*, an *Athenian* Colony, on the River *Strymon*. Hereupon, the Inhabitants diſpatch'd immediately a Meſſenger to *Thucydides* the *Athenian* General, and famous Hiſtorian, who was then in *Thaſus*, a little Iſland of the *Ægæan* Sea, half a Day's Journey from *Amphipolis*. The *Athenian* ſail'd that Moment, with ſeven Ships, to ſecure that Place, before *Braſidas* could ſeize upon it; or, if he fail'd in that, to get into *Eion*, which lay very near *Amphipolis*. But *Braſidas* being apprehenſive of the Arrival of *Thucydides*, becauſe of his great Credit in that Country, where he was poſſeſſed of ſome Gold-Mines, made all the Diſpatch imaginable, to get thither before him; and offer'd ſuch advantagious Conditions to the Beſieged, who did not expect Succours ſo ſoon, that they ſurrender'd. *Thucydides* arrived the ſame Evening at *Eion*; and had he fail'd coming that very Day, *Braſidas* would have had Poſſeſſion thereof next Morning, by Day-Break: But, notwithſtanding *Thucydides* had made all poſſible Haſte, and thereby preſerved *Eion*, the *Athenians*, with their uſual Injuſtice, imputed to his Negligence the taking of *Amphipolis*, and accordingly ſentenced him to Baniſhment.

They were greatly afflicted at the Loſs of that City, both becauſe they drew great Revenues from it, and Timber to build their Ships, and becauſe it was a kind of Paſs to enter *Thrace*. They were afraid that all their *Allies*, in that Neighbourhood, would revolt; eſpecially as *Braſidas* diſcover'd great Moderation and Juſtice, and always declar'd, that he came with no other View but to free the Country from the *Athenian* Yoke; aſſuring them, that at his leaving *Sparta*, he had taken an Oath, in Preſence of the Magiſtrates, to leave all thoſe the Enjoyment of their Liberties, who would conclude an Alliance with him; and that he ought to be conſider'd as the moſt abandon'd of Men, ſhould he employ Oaths to enſnare their Credulity. "For, (he uſed to ſay) a Fraud that is "cloak'd with a ſpecious Pretence, reflects infi-"nitely greater Diſhonour on Perſons in high Sta-"tions, than open Violence; becauſe, the latter "is the Effect of the Power which Fortune has "put into their Hands; whilſt the Former is built "wholly on Perfidy, which is the Peſt of Society. "Now, (continued he) I ſhould do a great Diſ-"ſervice to my Country, beſides bringing an eter-"nal Odium on it, if, by procuring it ſome ſlight "Advantages, I ſhould ruin the Reputation it "enjoys of being juſt and faithful to its Promiſes; "which renders it much more powerful than all "its Forces united together, becauſe the former "acquires them the Eſteem and Confidence of o-"ther Nations." By ſuch noble and equitable Principles as theſe, *Braſidas* always ſhap'd his Conduct; believing, that the ſtrongeſt Bulwark of a Nation is Juſtice, Moderation, Integrity; and the firm Perſuaſion which their Neighbours and *allies* entertain, that they are not ſo baſe as to harbour a Deſign to uſurp their Territories, or deprive them of their Liberty. By this Conduct he gained over great Numbers of the Enemy's *Confederates*.

In the mean while, the *Athenians*, under the Command of *Demoſthenes* and *Hippocrates*, had enter'd *Bœotia*, expecting that ſeveral Cities would join them, the Moment they appeared. Hereupon, the *Thebans* march'd out to meet them near *Delium*; where a conſiderable Engagement was fought, in which the *Athenians* were defeated, and put to Flight. *Socrates* was in this Battle; and *Laches*, who accompanied that great Man in it, gives the following Teſtimony of him in *Plato*: That had the reſt of the Combatants behaved as gallantly as *Socrates*, the *Athenians* would not have ſuſtain'd ſo great a Loſs before *Delium*. He was forced along with the Crowds who fled, and was on Foot; but *Alcibiades*, who was on Horſeback, ſeeing him in that Diſtreſs, rode up to him, and did not ſtir from him, but defended him with the utmoſt Bravery from the Attacks of the Enemy, who were purſuing him.

The *Athenians* being thus routed, the Victors laid Siege to the City; in carrying on which, among other Engines, they uſed one of a very extraordinary Kind. This was a long Piece of Timber, cut into two Parts, and afterwards dug hollow, and join'd again, ſo that its Shape reſembled very much that of a Flute. At one of the Ends was fix'd a long Iron Tub, at the End of which hung a large Kettle; ſo that by blowing a large Pair of Bellows, at the other End of the Piece of Timber, the Wind being carried from thence into the Tube, blew up great, and fierce Fire, with Pitch and Brimſtone, wherewith the Kettle was fill'd. This Engine being carried on Carts, as far as the Rampart, to that Part where it was lin'd with Stakes and Faſcines, threw out ſo great a Flame, that the Rampart being immediately abandon'd, and the Paliſſades burnt, the City was eaſily taken.

In the mean while the Loſſes and Advantages on both Sides were pretty equal; and the two Nations began to grow tired of a War, which put them to great Expence, and did not procure them any real Benefit. A Truce, for a Year, was therefore concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. The former were prompted to it, in order to check the Progreſs of *Braſidas*; to ſecure their Cities and Strong-holds; and afterwards to conclude a general Peace, in caſe they judged it would be of Advantage to them; and the latter were induced thereto, in order, by the Sweets of Repoſe, to make them wiſh for Peace; and to get out of their Hands, ſuch of their Citizens, as the *Athenians* had taken Priſoners in the Iſland of *Sphacteria*; and which they could never expect to do, ſhould *Braſidas* extend his Conqueſts farther. The News of this Accommodation plunged *Braſidas* into the deepeſt Grief, ſince this check'd him in the Midſt of his Career, and diſconcerted all his Projects. He could not even prevail with himſelf to abandon the City of *Scione*, which he had taken two Days before, but without knowing that a Truce was concluded. He went ſtill farther; and did not ſcruple to take *Mende*, a little City, not far from *Scione*, that ſurrender'd to him as the former had done, which was a direct Violation of the Treaty: But *Braſidas* pretended he had other Infractions to object to the *Athenians*.

It will naturally be ſuppoſed, that a People ſo haughty, were no Ways pleaſed with this Conduct of *Braſidas*: In Effect, *Cleon*, in all publick Aſſemblies, was for ever inflaming the Minds of the *Athenians*, and blowing up the Fire of War. His great Succeſs in the Expedition of *Sphacteria* had raiſed his Credit infinitely with the People: He now was grown inſupportably proud, and his Audacioufneſs was not to be reſtrain'd. He was Maſter of a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of Eloquence, which prevail'd over the Minds of his Auditors, not ſo much by the Strength of his Arguments, as by the Boldneſs and Fire of his Style and Utterance. It was *Cleon* who firſt ſet the Example of bawling in Aſſemblies, where the greateſt Decorum and Moderation had till then been obſerved; of throwing his Robe behind him, to give him the more Liberty to diſplay his Arms; of ſtriking his Thigh; and of running up and down the *Roſtra* whilſt he was making his Speech. In a Word, he firſt introduced among the Orators, and all thoſe who were in publick Employments, an ungovernable Licentiouſneſs, and a Contempt of Decency: A Licentiouſneſs and Contempt, which ſoon introduced a dreadful Confuſion in the publick Affairs.

Thus two Men oppoſed, ſeverally, the Tranquillity of *Greece*, and raiſed, but in a very different Way, an invincible Obſtacle to his Peace: Theſe were *Cleon* and *Braſidas*. The former was incited thereto, becauſe the War ſcreen'd his Vices and evil Conduct; and the latter, becauſe it added a new Luſtre to his Virtues: And indeed, it gave *Cleon* an Opportunity of doing very unjuſt Things, and *Braſidas* of performing many great and noble Actions: But their Death, which happen'd about the ſame Time, healed the Diviſions between the two Nations.

The *Athenians* had appointed *Cleon* to head the Troops which were to oppoſe *Braſidas*, and reduce thoſe Cities that had revolted from their Allegiance. There was none, for whoſe Preſervation the *Athenians* were ſo ſollicitous, as *Amphipolis*; wherefore, *Braſidias* threw himſelf into that City, in order to defend it. *Cleon* had written to *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*, and to the King of the *Odomanti*, to furniſh him with as many Troops as poſſible, and with the utmoſt Expedition. He waited for them, and had reſolved not to advance immediately towards the Enemy: But finding his Soldiers, who had follow'd him involuntarily, and with Regret, grew tired of continuing ſo long inactive; and compar'd his Cowardice and Inexperience, with the Ability and Valour of *Braſidas*, he could no longer bear their Contempt and Murmurs; and imagining himſelf a great Captain, by his taking *Sphacteria*, now fancied the ſame good Fortune would attend him at *Amphipolis*.

He approached it, therefore, merely, as he ſaid, to take a View of the Place, and till ſuch Time as all his Forces ſhould be come up; not that he thought he had Need of any to win that City, or that he doubted in any Manner his Succeſs, (for he was perſuaded that no one would dare to oppoſe him;) but only to inable him to inveſt the Place on all Sides, and afterwards to take it by Storm. Accordingly he incamped before *Amphipolis*; when, viewing very leiſurely its Situation, he fondly ſuppoſed, that it would be in his Power to retire whenever he pleaſed, without drawing the Sword; for not a Man came out, or appeared on the Walls; and all the Gates of the City were kept ſhut; ſo that *Cleon* began to repent his not having brought up the Engines, imagining that he wanted only theſe to make himſelf Maſter of the City. *Braſidas*, who was perfectly well acquainted with *Cleon's* Diſpoſition and Character, ſtudiouſly affected an Air of Fear and Reſerve, to increaſe his Temerity, and the good Opinion he had of himſelf: Beſides, he knew that *Cleon* had brought with him the Flower of the *Athenian* Forces, and the choiceſt Troops of *Lemnos*, and of *Imbrus*.

Accordingly *Cleon*, greatly deſpiſing an Enemy who did not dare to appear before him, but ſhut himſelf up, in a cowardly Manner, in the City; went boldly, and inadvertently, from Place to Place; during which, there was the utmoſt Neglect of Diſcipline among his Soldiers. Hereupon *Braſidas*, whoſe Intention was, to attack him on a Sudden, before all his Forces ſhould be come up, thought this the critical Juncture: He had before concerted proper Meaſures, and given out the Orders neceſſary. He ſallied out then, at once, on the *Athenians*, who were greatly ſurprized and confounded; accordingly the Left Wing immediately drew off from the main Body, and fled; whereupon *Braſidas* turn'd the whole Force of his Arms againſt the Right Wing, where he found a vigorous Reſiſtance. Here he was wounded and diſabled, upon which his Soldiers carried him off, unperceived by the *Athenians*. As for *Cleon*, having no Inclination for Fighting, he fled, and was taken Priſoner by a common Soldier, who happen'd to meet him, and killed him. The Troops he commanded defended themſelves for ſome Time, and ſuſtained two or three Attacks, without giving Ground, but at laſt they were broke through, and all gave Way: *Braſidas* was then carried into the City, where he ſurvived his Victory but a few Moments.

The whole Army being return'd from the Purſuit, ſtripp'd the Slain, and afterwards ſet up a Trophy. Then all the *Allies*, under Arms, ſolemnized the funeral Obſequies of *Braſidas*, in a publick Manner; and the Inhabitants of *Amphipolis* celebrated funeral Honours, every Year, to his Memory, as to a Hero; with Games, Combats, and Sacrifices. They conſider'd him as their Founder; and, to ſecure this Title the better to him, they demoliſh'd all the Monuments of *Agnon* who had really founded their City, in order to ſhew, that they did not owe their Eſtabliſhment to an *Athenian*; and, at the ſame Time, to ingratiate themſelves the more with the *Lacedæmonians*, on whom they depended wholly for their Security. The *Athenians*, after having carried off their Dead, with the Conſent of their Victors; return'd to *Athens*, during which the *Lacedæmonians* ſettled the Affairs of *Amphipolis*.

A Saying is related of the Mother of *Braſidas*, which greatly illuſtrates the *Spartan* Character. As ſome Perſons were applauding, in her Preſence, the fine Qualities and exalted Actions of her Son, and declared him ſuperiour to all other Generals: *You are miſtaken*, ſays ſhe; *my Son was a valiant Man, but* Sparta *has many Citizens who are ſtill braver than he.* A Mother's Generoſity, in thus preferring the Glory of the State to that of her own

own Son, was admir'd, and did not go unrewarded; for the *Ephori* paid her publick Honours.

After this laſt Engagement, in which the two Perſons, who were the greateſt Obſtacles to the Peace, loſt their Lives, both Nations ſeem'd more inclin'd to an Accommodation, and the War was ſuſpended, as it were, on both Sides. The *Athenians*, ever ſince the Loſs of the Battles of *Delium* and *Amphipolis*, had very much lower'd their Haughtineſs; and were undeceiv'd, with Regard to the Opinion they had hitherto entertain'd of their own Strength; which had made them refuſe the moſt advantageous Offers of their Enemies. Beſides, they were afraid of the Revolt of their *Allies*, who, being diſcouraged by their Loſſes, might thence be prompted to abandon them, as ſeveral had already done. Theſe Reflections made them ſtrongly repent their not having concluded a Treaty, after the Advantages they had gain'd in *Pylus*. The *Lacedæmonians*, on the other Side, no longer flatter'd themſelves with the Hopes of being able to ruin the *Athenians*, by laying waſte their Country; and were likewiſe diſheartned and terrify'd at their Loſs in the Iſland, the greateſt they had ever ſuſtain'd hitherto. They alſo conſider'd, that their Country was depopulated, by the Garriſons of *Pylus* and *Cythera*; that their Slaves deſerted; that they had Reaſon to dread a greater Inſurrection; and that, as the Truce they had concluded with the Inhabitants of *Argos* was near expiring, they had Reaſon to be apprehenſive of being abandon'd by ſome of their *Allies* in *Peloponneſus*, as they accordingly were. Theſe ſeveral Motives, inforc'd, by the Deſire they had of recovering the Priſoners, the greateſt Part of which were the moſt conſiderable Citizens of *Sparta*, made them deſire a Peace.

Thoſe who were moſt ſollicitous for having it concluded, and whoſe Intereſt it was chiefly to wiſh it, were the Chiefs of the two States, *viz. Pliſtonax*, King of *Sparta*, and *Nicias*, General of the *Athenians*. The former was lately return'd from Baniſhment, to which he had been ſentenc'd, on Account of his being ſuſpected to have receiv'd a Bribe, in order to draw off his Troops from the *Athenian* Territories; and to this precipitate Retreat, ſeveral Misfortunes which enſued were aſcribed. He alſo was charged with having corrupted, by Gifts, the Prieſteſs of *Delphos*, who had commanded the *Spartans*, in the Name of the God, to recal him from Exile. *Pliſtonax* was, therefore, deſirous of Peace, in order to put an End to the Reproaches, which, on Account of the perpetual Calamities of the War, were daily reviv'd. As for *Nicias*, the moſt fortunate General of his Age, he was afraid leſt ſome unhappy Accident ſhould tarniſh the Glory of his Laurels; and he was very glad to enjoy the Fruits of Peace in Eaſe and Tranquillity, and to have his Country poſſeſs the ſame Happineſs.

The two Nations began, by agreeing to a Suſpenſion of Arms for twelve Months; during which Time, being every Day together, and taſting the Sweets of Security and Repoſe, and the Pleaſure of correſponding both with their Friends, and Foreigners; they grew paſſionately deſirous of leading an eaſy, undiſturb'd Life, far remov'd from the wild Tumults of War, and the Horrors of Blood and Slaughter. They gave the utmoſt Demonſtrations of Joy, in hearing the Chorus of their Tragedies ſing, *May Spiders henceforward weave their Cobwebs on our Lances and Shields!* And they remembred with Pleaſure him who ſaid, *Thoſe who ſleep in balmy Peace, do not ſtart from it at the Sound of the Trumpet; and nothing interrupts their ſweet Slumbers but the peaceful crowing of the Cock.*

The whole Winter was ſpent in Conferences, and Interviews; in which each Party exhibited their Rights and Pretenſions. At laſt, a fifty Years Peace was agreed upon, and ratify'd; one of the chief Articles of which was, that they ſhould reciprocally give up the Priſoners on each Side. This Treaty was concluded ten Years, and ſome Days, from the firſt Declaration of the War. The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians* were exceedingly diſguſted at it; and, for that Reaſon, ſet every Engine at Work, in order to excite freſh Troubles. But *Nicias* perſuaded the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* to apply the laſt Seal, as it were, to this Peace, by concluding an Alliance offenſive and defenſive; which would ſtrike a greater Awe into all thoſe who ſhould want to break off from them, and make them ſurer of one another. The *Athenians*, in Conſequence of this Treaty, at laſt, reſtor'd the Priſoners taken by them in the Iſland of *Sphacteria*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Alcibiades *makes his firſt Appearance in the publick Aſſemblies; His Character; An odd Action of his, to prevent having his Vices talk'd of; His treacherous and baſe Stratagem, to kindle the War afreſh between the* Lacedæmonians *and* Athenians; *A remarkable and prophetic Saying of* Timon *the Man-Hater to* Alcibiades; *The People of* Egeſta, *in* Sicily, *implore the Relief of the* Athenians; Alcibiades *involves them in the* Sicilian *War; He is impeach'd of Sacrilege, but, nevertheleſs, appointed one of the Generals on that Expedition; He is recall'd; flies; is ſentenc'd to die, as an Outlaw; and retires to* Sparta *for Refuge; where he gains the Eſteem of all the* Lacedæmonians.

ALCIBIADES began now to advance himſelf in the State, and appear in the publick Aſſemblies. *Socrates* had devoted himſelf to that renown'd *Grecian* many Years, and adorn'd his Soul with a great Variety of the nobleſt Learning. This ſtrict Intimacy between *Alcibiades* and *Socrates*, is one of the moſt remarkable Circumſtances in his Life. That Philoſopher finding him poſſeſs'd of excellent natural Qualities, which were greatly heighten'd by the Beauty of his Perſon; beſtow'd incredible Pains in cultivating ſo valuable a Plant, for Fear, leſt being neglected, it ſhould ſhoot up wildly, or quite wither away. And indeed, *Alcibiades* was expos'd to numberleſs Dangers, by the Greatneſs of his Extraction; his vaſt Riches; the Credit, and Authority of his Family; the Reputation of his Tutors; his perſonal Talents; his exquiſite Beauty; and, ſtill more than theſe, by the flattering Arts employ'd by all who approach'd him. One would have concluded, ſays *Plutarch*, that Fortune had ſurrounded and inveſted him with all theſe pretended Advantages, as with ſo many Ramparts and Bulwarks, to make him invulnerable to all the Darts of Philoſophy; to thoſe ſalutary Darts, which ſtrike to the very Heart, and leave in it the ſtrongeſt Incitements to Virtue, and ſolid Glory: But thoſe very Obſtacles redoubled the Zeal of *Socrates*.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrong Endeavours that were us'd, to divert this young *Athenian* from a Correſpondence, which alone was capable of ſecuring him from all the abovemention'd Temptations, he yet cultivated it very aſſiduouſly. As *Alcibiades* was a Man of the fineſt Senſe, he was fully ſenſible of the rare and uncommon Merit of *Socrates*; and could not reſiſt the Charms of his ſweetly-inſinuating Eloquence; which, at that Time, had a greater Aſcendant over him than the Allurements of Pleaſure. He was ſo zealous a Diſciple of this able Maſter, that he follow'd him wherever he went; took the utmoſt Delight in his Converſation; was extreamly well-pleas'd with his Principles; receiv'd his Inſtructions, and even his Reprimands, with wonderful Docility; and would be ſo mov'd with his Diſcourſes, as even to ſhed Tears, and abhor himſelf; ſo weighty was the Force of Truth in the Mouth of *Socrates*; and in ſo odious, and frightful a Light, did he repreſent the Vices to which *Alcibiades* abandon'd himſelf.

Alcibiades, in thoſe Moments when he liſtned to *Socrates*, differ'd ſo much from himſelf, that he appear'd quite another Man. However, his headſtrong, fiery Temper, and his natural Fondneſs for Pleaſure, which was heightned and inflam'd by the Diſcourſes, and Advice of young People, plunged him again into his former Irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his Maſter; who then was obliged to run after him, as if he had been a Slave who had eſcap'd. This Viciſſitude of Flights and Returns, of virtuous Reſolutions, and Relapſes into Vice, continued a long Time; but ſtill *Socrates* was not diſheartned at his Ficklneſs, but hop'd he ſhould, at laſt, make a Proſelyte of him to the Cauſe of Virtue. And to this certainly was owing the ſtrong Mixture of Good and Evil, which were for ever blended in his Conduct; the Inſtructions which his Maſter had inſtill'd into him, ſometimes triumphing; and, at other Times, the Fire of his Paſſions dragging him, as it were, againſt his own Will, to Things of a quite oppoſite Nature.

This Intimacy, however, which continued as long as they liv'd. did not paſs uncenſur'd: But ſome Perſons of great Learning pretend, that theſe Cenſures and Suſpicions, when duly examin'd, will diſappear; and that they ought to be conſider'd, as the Effect of the Malice of both their Enemies. *Plato*, in one of his Dialogues, gives us a Converſation between *Socrates* and *Alcibiades*, wherein is repreſented the Genius and Character of the latter; who, henceforward, will have a very great Share in the Adminiſtration, at the Head of which he will make a very conſpicuous Figure. We ſhall give a ſhort Extract thereof in this Place, which, we hope, will not be unacceptable to our Readers.

In this Dialogue, *Socrates* is introduc'd converſing with *Alcibiades*; who, at that Time, was under the Guardianſhip of *Pericles*. He was then very young, and had been educated like the reſt of the *Athenians*; that is, he had been taught polite Literature, and to play on Inſtruments; and had practis'd Wreſtling, and other bodily Exerciſes. It does not appear, that *Pericles* had hi-

[illegible] taken much Pains in the Education of *Alcibiades* (a Fault too common in the greateſt Men) ſince he had put him under the Tutorage of *Zopyrus*, a *Thracian*, who was far advanc'd in Years; and who, of all the Slaves of *Pericles*, both from his Turn of Mind and Age, was the leaſt qualify'd to educate this young *Athenian*. And, indeed, *Socrates* told *Alcibiades*, that, ſhould he make a Compariſon between himſelf and the Youths of *Sparta*, who diſplay'd a Spirit of Valour, a Greatneſs of Soul, a ſtrong Thirſt of Glory, and Love of Labour; and all theſe heightned by Gentleneſs, Modeſty, Temperance, and a perfect Obedience to the Laws and Diſcipline of *Sparta*, he would ſeem but a Child to them.

Nevertheleſs, his high Birth, his Riches, the great Families he was related to, and the Credit of his Tutor, had puff'd him up to a prodigious Degree: He was extreamly conceited of himſelf, and had the utmoſt Contempt for moſt Men. He was preparing to enter upon publick Buſineſs; and, to judge from his own Talk, he was ſure of eclipſing the Fame and Glory of *Pericles*; and of attacking the King of *Perſia*, even upon his Throne. Hereupon, *Socrates*, ſeeing him, one Day, going to mount the *Roſtra*, to give the People ſome Advice, about the publick Affairs, demonſtrated to him, by ſome Queſtions he ask'd, and by the Anſwers of *Alcibiades* thereto, that he was quite ignorant of the Subject upon which he was going to ſpeak, ſince he had never made it his Study.

After forcing *Alcibiades* to confeſs this, he paints, in the ſtrongeſt Colours, the Abſurdity of his Conduct, and makes him ſenſible thereof. What, cry'd *Socrates*, would *Ameſtris* ſay, were ſhe to hear, there is a Man now in *Athens*, who is meditating a War againſt her Son; and even intends to dethrone him. She, doubtleſs, would ſuppoſe him to be ſome veteran General; a Man of intrepid Courage, great Wiſdom, and the moſt conſummate Experience; that he is able to raiſe a mighty Army, and march it whitherſoever he pleaſes; and, at the ſame Time, that he has long before taken the proper Meaſures for putting ſo vaſt a Deſign in Execution. But, were ſhe to hear, that the Caſe is quite the Reverſe, and that the Perſon ſpoken of, is not twenty Years old; that he is utterly unskill'd in State-Affairs, has not the leaſt Knowledge of War, and no Credit with the Citizens or the *Allies*; would it be poſſible for her to refrain from Laughter, at the Folly and Extravagance of ſuch an Enterprize? This, nevertheleſs, ſays *Socrates* (directing himſelf to *Alcibiades*) is your Picture; and, unhappily it reſembles moſt Men, who fill the publick Employments.

Socrates, however, excepts *Pericles* on this Occaſion; his rare Merit, and exalted Reputation, being the Fruit of the ſerious Study he had made, during a long Courſe of Years, of all thoſe Sciences which were capable of improving his Mind, and of qualifying him for publick Employments. *Alcibiades* could not deny the Truth of all theſe Aſſertions; he now was aſham'd of his Conduct, and bluſhing to ſee himſelf ſo void of Merit, he ask'd how he muſt act to acquire it. *Socrates*, being unwilling to diſcourage his Pupil, tells him, that, as he is ſo young, theſe Evils might be remedy'd. He afterwards inſtill'd the wiſeſt Counſels into *Alcibiades*, who had full Leiſure to improve by them, ſince there were upwards of twenty Years, between the Time of this Converſation, and that when he engag'd in State Affairs.

Alcibiades was of ſuch a flexible Caſt of Mind, as would take any Impreſſion, which the Difference of Seaſons and Junctures might require; forming his Mind either to Good or Evil, with equal Eaſe and Ardor; and ſhifting, almoſt in an Inſtant, from one Extream to its Oppoſite; ſo that People apply'd to him, what *Homer* obſerves of the Land of *Egypt*: *That it produces a great Number of very excellent medicinal Drugs, and likewiſe many Poiſons.* It might have been ſaid of *Alcibiades*, that he was not one ſingle Man, but (if ſo bold an Expreſſion may be us'd) a Compound of ſeveral Men; either ſerious or gay; auſtere or affable; an imperious Maſter, or a groveling Slave; a Friend to Virtue, and to the virtuous; or abandon'd to Vice, and vicious Men; capable of ſupporting the moſt painful Fatigues and Toils, or inſatiably deſirous of the moſt voluptuous Pleaſures.

His Irregularity and diſſolute Conduct were become the Talk of the whole City; and *Alcibiades* would very willingly have put a Stop to theſe Reports, but without changing his Courſe of Life, as appears by one particular Action. He had a very handſome Dog, of a prodigious Size, which had coſt him ſeventy *Minæ*, about thirty Pounds *Sterling*: By which we may find, that a Fondneſs for Dogs is of great Antiquity. *Alcibiades* caus'd his Tail, which was his greateſt Beauty, to be cut off; and his Friends cenſuring him very much on that Account; and telling him, that the whole City murmur'd at him, and blam'd him very much, for ſpoiling the Beauty of ſo handſome a Creature. *That is the very Thing I want*, reply'd *Alcibiades* with a Smile. *I would have the Athenians diſcourſe about what I have done to my Dog, in order that it may keep them from other Subjects, and from ſaying worſe Things of me.*

Among the various Paſſions that were diſcover'd in him, the ſtrongeſt, and moſt prevailing, was a haughty Turn of Mind, which would force all Things to ſubmit to it, and could not bear a Superior, or even an Equal. Although his Birth, and uncommon Talents, ſmooth'd the Way to his attaining the higheſt Employments in the Republick; yet there was nothing to which he was ſo deſirous of owing the Credit and Authority he wanted to gain over the People, as to the Force of his Eloquence, and the perſuaſive Grace of his Orations. To compaſs this, his ſtrict Intimacy with *Socrates* might be of great Service.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd, *Alcibiades* being of ſuch a Temper, as has been deſcrib'd, was not born for Repoſe; and accordingly, had ſet every Engine at Work to traverſe the Treaty lately concluded between the two Nations; but not ſucceeding in his Attempt, he endeavour'd to prevent its taking Effect. He was diſguſted at the *Lacedæmonians*, becauſe they directed themſelves only to *Nicias*, of whom they had a very high Opinion; and, on the contrary, ſeem'd to take no Manner of Notice of him, though his Anceſtors had enjoy'd the Right of Hoſpitality among them.

The firſt Thing he did to infringe the Peace, was this; having been inform'd, that the People of *Argos* only wanted an Opportunity to break off from

from the *Spartans*, whom they equally hated and fear'd; he flatter'd them ſecretly with the Hopes, that the *Athenians* would ſuccour them; by ſuggeſting to them, that they were ready to break a Peace, which was not any Way advantageous to them.

And indeed, the *Lacedæmonians* were not very careful to obſerve the ſeveral Conditions thereof religiouſly; having concluded an Alliance with the *Bœotians*, in direct Oppoſition to the Deſign and Tenor of Treaty; and having ſurrendred up the Fort of *Panacton* to the *Athenians*, not fortify'd, and in the Condition it was in at the concluding of the Treaty, as they had ſtipulated to do, but quite diſmantled. *Alcibiades* obſerving the *Athenians* to be extreamly incens'd at this Breach of Faith, did his utmoſt to exaſperate them ſtill more; and taking this Opportunity to perplex and anger *Nicias*, he made him odious to the People, by cauſing them to entertain a Suſpicion of his being too ſtrongly attach'd to the *Spartans*; and by charging him with Crimes, which were not altogether improbable, though they were abſolutely falſe.

This new Attack quite confounded *Nicias*; but, happily for him, there arriv'd, at that very Inſtant Ambaſſadors from *Sparta*, who were inveſted with full Powers to put an End to all the Diviſions. Being introduc'd into the Council or Senate, they ſet forth their Complaints, and made their Demands, which every one of the Members thought very juſt and reaſonable: The People were to give them Audience the next Day; whereupon, *Alcibiades*, who was afraid they would ſucceed with them, us'd his utmoſt Endeavours to engage the Ambaſſadors previouſly in a Conference with him. He repreſented to them, that the Council always behav'd with the utmoſt Moderation and Humanity towards thoſe who addreſs'd them; but that the People were haughty and extravagant in their Pretenſions; that, ſhould the Ambaſſadors mention full Powers, they (the People) would not fail to take Advantage of this Circumſtance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they ſhould take it into their Head to ask. He concluded, with aſſuring them, that he would aſſiſt them with all his Credit, in order to get *Pylus* reſtor'd to them; to prevent the Alliance of the People of *Argos*; and to get theirs renew'd: And he confirm'd all theſe Promiſes with an Oath. The Ambaſſadors were extreamly well pleas'd with this Conference, and greatly admir'd the profound Policy, and vaſt Abilities of *Alcibiades*, whom they look'd upon as an extraordinary Man; and, indeed, they were not miſtaken in their Conjecture.

On the Morrow, the People being aſſembled, the Ambaſſadors were introduc'd. *Alcibiades* ask'd them, in the mildeſt Terms, the Subject of their Embaſſy, and the Purport of the Powers with which they were inveſted. They immediately anſwer'd, that they were come to propoſe an Accommodation, but were not impower'd to conclude any Thing. Theſe Words were no ſooner ſpoken, but *Alcibiades* exclaims againſt them; declares them to be treacherous Deceivers; calls upon the Council as Witneſſes to what they had ſaid the Night before; and deſires the People not to believe, or hear Men, who ſo impudently advanc'd Falſhoods; and prevaricated ſo unaccountably, as to ſay one Thing one Day, and the very Reverſe the next.

Words can never expreſs the Surprize, Affliction with which the Ambaſſadors were ſeiz'd, who, gazing wildly on one another, could not believe either their Eyes or Ears. *Nicias*, who did not know the Origin of this inſidious Stratagem of *Alcibiades*, could not conceive the Motive of this Change, and tortur'd his Brain, to no Purpoſe, to find out the Reaſon thereof: And the People were that Moment going to ſend for the Ambaſſadors of *Argos*, in order to conclude the League with them, when, a great Earthquake came to the Aſſiſtance of *Nicias*, and broke up the Aſſembly. It was with the utmoſt Difficulty he prevail'd ſo far, next Day, as to have a Stop put to the Proceedings, till ſuch Time as Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Sparta*. *Nicias* was appointed to head them; but they return'd without having done the leaſt Good. The *Athenians* then repented very much, their having deliver'd up, at his Perſuaſion, ſuch Priſoners taken by them in *Sphacteria*, as were related to the greateſt Families in *Sparta*. However, though they were highly exaſperated at *Nicias*, yet they did not impeach, or even reproach him in any Manner; but only appointed *Alcibiades* their General; made a League with the Inhabitants of *Mantinea* and *Elis*, who had broken off from the *Lacedæmonians*; join'd the *Argives*; and ſent Troops to *Pylus*, in order for them to lay waſte *Laconia*. In this Manner, they again involv'd themſelves in the War, which they were deſirous of avoiding.

Plutarch, after relating this Action of *Alcibiades*, ſays as follows: "No one can approve the "Methods he employ'd to ſucceed in his Deſign; "however, it was a Maſter-Stroke, thus to diſu"nite and ſhake almoſt every Part of *Peloponne*"*ſus*; and raiſe up, in one Day, ſo many Ene"mies againſt the *Lacedæmonians*." In our Opinion, this is too mild a Cenſure of ſo baſe and villanous a Perfidy; which, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might have been, could not but appear infamous to all good Men; and, as ſuch, be deteſted by them.

There was in *Athens* a Citizen, *Hyperbolus* by Name, a very wicked Man, whom the Comic Poets generally made the Object of their Raillery and Invectives. He was hardned in Evil, and become inſenſible to Infamy, by erazing from his Mind all Sentiments of Honour; which argued a Soul of the blackeſt Caſt, and abſolutely loſt to Virtue. *Hyperbolus* was not agreeable to any one; and yet the People made Uſe of him, to humble thoſe in high Stations, and bring them into Trouble. Two Citizens, *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, ſhar'd, at that Time, all the Authority in *Athens*. The diſſolute Life of the latter ſhock'd the *Athenians*, who likewiſe, at the ſame Time, dreaded his fiery Temper. On the other Side, *Nicias*, by always oppoſing, without the leaſt Reſerve, their unjuſt Deſires; and, by obliging them to take the moſt uſeful Meaſures, was become very odious to them. One would have imagin'd, that, as the People were thus alienated from both, they would not have fail'd to put the *Oſtraciſm* in Force againſt one of them. Of the two Parties, which prevail'd at that Time in the City; one, which conſiſted of the young Men, who thirſted after War; and the other of the old Men, who were deſirous of Peace; the former endeavour'd to procure the Baniſhment of *Nicias*, and the latter of *Alcibiades*. *Hyperbolus*, whoſe

whose only Merit was his Impudence, in the Hopes of succeeding, which soever of them should be remov'd, declar'd openly against them, and was eternally exasperating the People against both. However, the two Factions being afterwards reconcil'd, he himself was banish'd by (and put an End to) the *Ostracism*; which seem'd to have been disparaged, and debased, in being employ'd against a Man of so base a Character; for, till then, there was a Kind of Honour and Dignity annex'd to this Punishment. *Hyperbolus* was, therefore, the last, who was sentenc'd by the *Ostracism*; as *Hipparchus*, a near Relation of *Pisistratus* the Tyrant, had been the first.

We shall pass over several inconsiderable Events, to hasten to the Relation of that of the greatest Importance, *viz.* the Expedition made by the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, to which they were particularly instigated by *Alcibiades*.

Alcibiades had gain'd a surprizing Ascendant over the Minds of the People, though they were perfectly acquainted with his Character. For, his great Qualities were blended with still greater Vices, which he did not take the least Pains to conceal. He was for ever immers'd in the utmost Excess of Luxury; and led such an effeminate and dissolute Life, as was a Scandal to the City. Nothing was seen in his Palace but Festivals, Rejoicings, and riotous Carousals. He shew'd very little Regard to the Customs of his Country, and less to Religion, and the Gods. All Persons of Sense and Judgment, besides the strong Aversion they had to these irregular Proceedings, dreaded exceedingly the Consequences of this Audaciousness, this Profusion, and utter Contempt of the Laws; which they look'd upon as so many Steps, by which *Alcibiades* would, one Day, rise to tyrannical Power.

Aristophanes, in one of his Comedies, shews admirably well, in a single Verse, how the Minds of the People were dispos'd towards him; *They hate* Alcibiades (says he) *and yet cannot do without him.* And indeed, the prodigious Sums he squandred on the People; the pompous Games and Shows he exhibited to please them; the rich Gifts, which exceed all Belief, he bestow'd on the City; the Grace and Beauty of his whole Person; his Eloquence, and bodily Strength, join'd to his Courage and Experience: In a Word, this Assemblage of great Qualities made the *Athenians* wink at his Faults, and bear them patiently; they, on all Occasions, endeavour'd to lessen and screen them under soft and favourable Names; calling them Sports and polite Pastimes; and affirming, that they were an Indication of his Humanity and Good-Nature.

But *Timon*, the Man-Hater, though so very savage, form'd a better Judgment of this Conduct of *Alcibiades*. Meeting him, one Day, as he was coming out of the Assembly, vastly pleas'd at his having been gratify'd in all his Demands, and to see the greatest Honours paid him by the People in general, who were attending him in Crowds to his House: So far from shunning him, as he did all other Men, he, on the contrary, ran to meet him; and stretching out his Hand to him in a friendly Way; *Courage, my Son*, says he, *thou dost right in pushing thy Fortune; for, thy Advancement will be the Ruin of the* Athenians. The War of *Sicily* will shew that *Timon* was not mistaken therein.

The *Athenians*, ever since the Time of *Pericles*, had meditated the Conquest of *Sicily*. However, that wise Leader had always endeavour'd to check this ambitious and wild Project. He us'd frequently to inculcate to them, that, by living in Peace, looking after their Navy, and contenting themselves with the Conquests they had already atchiev'd, and by not engaging in hazardous Enterprizes; they would raise their City to a flourishing Condition, and be for ever superior to their Enemies. The Authority he had at that Time over the People, though it kept them from invading *Sicily*, it yet could not suppress the Desire they had to conquer it, and their Eyes were ever fix'd on that Island.

Some Time after the Death of *Pericles*, the *Leontini*, being invaded by the *Syracusans*, had sent a Deputation to *Athens*, requesting Succour. They were originally of *Chalcis*, an *Athenian* Colony. The Deputies were headed by *Gorgias*, a famous Rhetorician, who was reputed the most eloquent Man of the Age. His elegant, flowry Diction, heightned by shining Figures, which he first employ'd, won over the *Athenians*, who were prodigiously affected with the Beauties and Charms of Eloquence. Accordingly, the Alliance was concluded, and they sent Ships to *Rhegium*, to succour the *Leontini*. The Year following, they fitted out a greater Number for the same Purpose. Two Years after, they dispatch'd a new Fleet, which was a little stronger than the former; but the *Sicilians* having put an End to all their Divisions, by the Advice of *Hermocrates*, the Fleet was sent back; and the *Athenians*, not being able to prevail with themselves to pardon their Generals, for not conquering *Sicily*, condemn'd two of them, *Pythodorus* and *Sophocles* to Banishment; and sentenc'd the third, who was *Eurymedon*, to pay a heavy Fine; their Prosperity having blinded them to so prodigious a Degree, that they were persuaded no Power was able to resist them. They made several Attempts afterwards; and, upon Pretence of sending, from Time to Time, Arms and Soldiers to such Cities, as were unjustly treated or oppress'd by the *Syracusans*, by that Means, were preparing to invade them with a greater Force.

But he who most inflam'd this Ardor was *Alcibiades*; by his feeding the People with splendid Hopes, with which he himself was for ever fill'd, or rather intoxicated. He was every Night, in his Dreams, taking *Carthage*, subduing *Africa*, crossing from thence into *Italy*, and possessing himself of all *Peloponnesus*; looking upon *Sicily*, not as the Scope and End of this War, but as the Beginning, and the first Step of the Exploits he revolv'd in his Mind. He had the Favour of all the Citizens; who, without inquiring seriously into Matters, were inchanted with the mighty Hopes he gave them. This Expedition was the only Topick of all Conversation. The young Men, in the Places where the publick Exercises were perform'd, and the old Men in their Shops, and elsewhere, were employ'd in nothing but drawing the Plan of *Sicily*; in discoursing on the Nature, and Quality of the Sea, with which it is surrounded; on its good Harbours, and flat Shores towards *Africa*: For, these People, infatuated by the Speeches of *Alcibiades*, were, like him, persuaded, that they should make *Sicily* only their Place of

Arms,

Arms, and their Arſenal; whence they ſhould ſet out, and conquer *Carthage*, and make themſelves Maſters of all *Africa*, and the Sea, quite to the Pillars of *Hercules*.

Athens was in this State and Diſpoſition, when Ambaſſadors were ſent from the People of *Egeſta*, who, in Quality of their *Allies*, came to implore their Relief againſt the Inhabitants of *Selinus*, who were aſſiſted by the *Syracuſans*: This was in the ſixteenth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War. They repreſented, among other Particulars, that, ſhould they be abandon'd, the *Syracuſans*, after ſeizing their City, as they had done that of *Leontium*, would poſſeſs themſelves of all *Sicily*, and not fail to aſſiſt the *Peloponneſians*, who were their Founders; and, that they might put them to as little Charge as poſſible, they offer'd to pay the Troops that ſhould be ſent to their Aſſiſtance.

Hereupon, the *Athenians*, who had long waited for an Opportunity to declare themſelves, ſent Deputies to *Egeſta*, to inquire into the State of Things, and ſee whether there was Money enough in the Treaſury, to defray the Expence of ſo mighty a War: Which the Inhabitants of that City foreſeeing, had been ſo artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring Nations, a great Number of Gold and Silver Veſſels, worth an immenſe Sum, whereof they made a ſplendid Show, when the *Athenians* were arriv'd. Deceiv'd by theſe Appearances, the Deputies return'd with thoſe of *Egeſta*, who brought threeſcore Talents, in Ingots, as a Month's Pay due to the Crew of ſixty Gallies, which they demanded; and a Promiſe of larger Sums, which, they affirm'd, were ready, both in the publick Treaſury, and in the Temples. The People, ſtruck with this pompous Diſplay of Riches, not ſuſpecting any Deceit lay under ſo ſpecious an Outſide, nor giving themſelves Leiſure to examine into it, and ſeduc'd by the advantageous Report which their Deputies made, in the View of pleaſing them, immediately gratify'd the Inhabitants of *Egeſta* in their Demands; and appointed *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus*, to command the Fleet; with full Power, not only to aſſiſt *Egeſta*, and reſtore the Inhabitants of *Leontium* to their City; but alſo to regulate the Affairs of *Sicily*, in ſuch a Manner as might be for the Intereſt of the Republick.

Nicias was appointed one of the Generals, to his very great Regret; for, beſides other Motives, which made him dread that Poſt, he ſhunn'd it, becauſe *Alcibiades* was to be his Collegue. But the *Athenians* promis'd themſelves greater Succeſs from this War, ſhould they not reſign the whole Conduct of it to *Alcibiades*, but temper his Ardor and Intrepidity with the Sedateneſs and Wiſdom of *Nicias*.

Five Days after, to haſten the Execution of the Decree, and make the ſeveral Preparations neceſſary, a ſecond Aſſembly was held: Whereupon, *Nicias*, who had had Time enough to reflect deliberately on the Affair propos'd, and was ſtill better convinc'd of the Difficulties and Dangers which would enſue from it; thought himſelf oblig'd to ſpeak with ſome Earneſtneſs againſt a Project, the Conſequence of which he foreſaw might be very fatal to the Republick. To this End, he urged very juſtly, "That it was ſurpri-
"zing, ſo important an Affair ſhould have been
"determin'd the Moment almoſt after it was de-
"bated upon: That, without once inquiring into
"Matters, they had given Credit to whatever
"was told them by a Parcel of Foreigners; who
"were very laviſh of their Promiſes; and whoſe
"Intereſt it was to offer mighty Things, to ex-
"tricate themſelves from their imminent Danger.
"After all, what Advantage (ſays he) can accrue
"from thence to the Republick? Have we ſo few
"Enemies at our Doors, that we need go in ſearch
"of others at a Diſtance from us? Will you act
"wiſely, in hazarding your preſent Poſſeſſions,
"on the vain Hopes of an uncertain Advantage?
"To meditate new Conqueſts, before you have
"ſecur'd your ancient ones? To ſtudy nothing
"but the aggrandizing of your State, and quite
"neglect your own Safety? Can you depend in
"any Manner on a Truce, which you yourſelves
"know to hang by a Thread; which you are
"ſenſible has been infringed more than once;
"and which, the leaſt Defeat on our Side, may
"ſuddenly change into an open War? You are
"not ignorant how the *Lacedæmonians* have always
"been, and ſtill continue, diſpos'd, with Regard
"to us. They deteſt our Government, as being
"contrary to theirs; it is with Grief and Diſdain,
"they ſee us poſſeſs'd of the Empire of *Greece*;
"they conſider our Glory as their Shame and Con-
"fuſion; and there is nothing they would not
"attempt, to humble a Power which excites their
"Jealouſy, and keeps them perpetually in Fear.
"Theſe are our real Enemies, and it is them we
"ought to guard againſt. Will it be a proper
"Seaſon to make theſe Reflections, when (after
"having divided our Troops, and at a Time that
"our Arms will be employ'd elſewhere, and un-
"able to reſiſt them) we ſhall be attack'd at once
"by all the Forces of *Peloponneſus*? We do but
"juſt begin to breathe, after the Calamities
"in which War, and the Plague had involv'd us;
"and we are now going to plunge ourſelves in
"a greater Danger. If we are ambitious of car-
"rying our Arms into diſtant Countries, would it
"not be expedient to march, and reduce the Re-
"bels of *Thrace*, and other Nations, who are ſtill
"wavering, and not yet fix'd in their Allegiance,
"than to fly to the Relief of the Inhabitants of
"*Egeſta*, about whoſe Welfare we ought to be
"very indifferent? And, will it ſuit our Intereſt,
"to attempt to revenge their Injuries, at a Time
"when we do not diſcover the leaſt Reſentment
"for thoſe we ourſelves receive? Let us leave the
"*Sicilians* to themſelves; and not engage in their
"Quarrels, which it is their Buſineſs to decide.
"As the Inhabitants of *Egeſta* undertook the War
"without us, let them extricate themſelves from
"it, as well as they can. Should any of our Ge-
"nerals adviſe you to this Enterprize, from an
"ambitious, or ſelf-intereſted View; merely to
"make a vain Parade of his ſplendid Equipages,
"or to raiſe Money to ſupport his Extravagance;
"be not guilty of ſo much Imprudence, as to ſa-
"crifice the Intereſt of the Republick to his; or
"permit him to involve it in the ſame Ruin with
"himſelf. An Enterprize of ſo much Importance
"ought not to be committed wholly to the Con-
"duct of a young Man. Remember it is Pru-
"dence, not Prejudice, and Paſſion, that gives
"Succeſs to Affairs." Having thus ſaid, *Nicias* concluded, with declaring it as his Opinion, that it would be proper to debate again on the Matter in Hand; to prevent the fatal Conſequences with which

which their taking rash Resolutions might be attended.

It was plain he had *Alcibiades* in View, and that his horrid Luxury was the Object of his just Censure. And, indeed, he carried it to an incredible Height; and lavish'd prodigious Sums of Money, on Horses, on Equipages and Moveables; not to mention the Delicacy and Sumptuousness of his Table. He contested for the Prize in the *Olympic* Games with seven Sets of Chariot-Horses, which no private Man had ever done before him; and he was crown'd, more than once, on that Occasion. Extraordinary Supports were necessary; and, as Avarice often serves as a Support to Ambition, there were some Grounds to believe, that *Alcibiades* was as sollicitous of conquering *Sicily* and *Carthage*, (which he intended to possess afterwards as his own) to enrich his Family, as to cover it with Glory. The Reader will naturally suppose, that *Alcibiades* did not let this Speech of *Nicias* go unanswer'd.

"This, says *Alcibiades*, is not the first Time "that Merit has excited Jealousy, and Glory "been made the Object of Envy. That very "Thing which is imputed to me for a Crime, is, "I will presume to say it, the Honour of my "Country, and ought to gain me Applause. The "Splendor in which I live; the great Sums I ex-"pend, particularly in the publick Assemblies; "besides their being just and lawful, at the same "Time give Foreigners a greater Idea of the "Glory of *Athens*; and shew, that it is not in "such Want of Money, as our Enemies imagine. "But this is not our present Business. Let the "World form a Judgment of me, not from Pas-"sion and Prejudice, but from my Actions.

"Was it an inconsiderable Service I did the Re-"publick, in gaining over, in one Day, to its "Alliance, the People of *Elis*, of *Mantinea*, and "of *Argos*; that is, the chief Forces of *Peleponnesus*? Make Use, therefore, to aggrandize "your Empire, of the Youth and Folly of *Alcibiades* (since his Enemies give it that Name) as "well as of the Wisdom and Experience of *Nicias*; and do not repent, from vain and idle "Fears, your engaging in an Enterprize, that "is publickly resolved upon, and which may re-"dound infinitely both to your Glory and Ad-"vantage. The Cities of *Sicily*, tired with the "unjust and cruel Government of their Princes, "and still more with the tyrannical Authority "which *Syracuse* exercises over them; wait only "for a favourable Opportunity to declare them-"selves; and are ready to open their Gates to "whoever will offer to take off the Yoke under "which they have so long groaned.

"Though the Citizens of *Egesta*, in Quality of "your Allies, should not have a Right to your "Protection; yet the Glory of *Athens* ought to "engage you to support them. Republicks ag-"grandize themselves, by succouring the Oppres-"sed, and not by living inactive. In the pre-"sent State of your Affairs, the only Way to di-"spirit your Enemies, and shew that you are not "afraid of them, will be, to harrass one Nation, "to check the Progress of another, to keep them "all employ'd, and carry your Arms to distant "Countries. *Athens* was not form'd for Ease; "and it was not by Inactivity that your Ancestors "raised it to the Height in which we now see "it.

"By the Way, what Hazards will you run by "engaging in this Enterprize? If it should be "crown'd with Success, you will then possess "yourselves of all *Greece*; and should it not an-"swer your Expectations, your Fleet will give "you an Opportunity of retiring whenever you "please. The *Lacedæmonians* indeed may make "an Incursion into our Country; but, besides that "it would not be in your Power to prevent it, "though we should not invade *Sicily*; we still "shall preserve the Empire of the Sea, in Spite "of them; a Circumstance, which makes our E-"nemies quite despair of their ever being able to "conquer us. Be not therefore byassed by the "Reasons of *Nicias*; which only tend to sow the "Seeds of Discord between the young and old "Men, who can do nothing without one another; "since it is Wisdom and Courage, Counsel and "Execution, that give Success to all Enterprizes: "And this, in which we are going to imbark, can-"not but turn to your Advantage."

Hereupon, the *Athenians*, flatter'd, and pleased, with this Speech of *Alcibiades*, persisted in their first Opinion; however *Nicias* did not recede from his; but, at the same Time, did not dare oppose *Alcibiades* any farther; being naturally of a soft and timid Disposition. He was not, like *Pericles*, Master of that lively and vehement Eloquence, which rushes along like a Torrent, and oberbears all Things in its Way: For that great Statesman, on several Occasions, and at several Times, had check'd the wild Starts of the Populace; who, even then, meditated the Expedition into *Sicily*; because he was ever resolutely invariable, and never loosen'd the Reins of that Authority which he had obtain'd over the Minds of Men; whereas *Nicias*, by both acting and speaking, in an easy, gentle Manner, was so far from gainning over the People, that he suffered himself to be forcibly and involuntarily drawn away from the Truth: and accordingly he at last yielded to the People, and accepted the Command, in a War, which he plainly foresaw would be attended with the most fatal Consequences.

Nicias, however, though he durst not oppose *Alcibiades* any longer openly, endeavour'd to do it indirectly, by starting a great Number of Difficulties, arising from the prodigious Expence, which this Expedition would necessarily require. Accordingly he represented to them, that since they were resolved upon War, they ought to carry it on in such a Manner, as might suit the exalted Reputation, to which *Athens* had attained: That a Fleet alone was not sufficient, to oppose so formidable a Power as that of the *Syracusans*, and their Allies: That they must raise an Army, composed of choice Horse and Foot, if they were desirous of acting in a Manner so worthy of so grand a Design: That besides their Fleet, which was to gain them the Empire of the Seas, they must have a great Number of Transports, to carry Provisions perpetually to the Army, which otherwise could not possibly subsist in an Enemy's Country: That they must carry vast Sums of Money with them, without waiting for that promised them by the Citizens of *Egesta*, who perhaps were ready in Words only, and very probably might break their Promise: That they ought to weigh and examine

the Diſparity there was between themſelves and their Enemies, with Regard to the Wants of the Army; the *Syracuſans* being in their own Country, in the Midſt of powerful *Allies*, who were prompted by Inclination, as well as engaged by Self-intereſt, to aſſiſt them with Men, Arms, Horſes, and Proviſions; whereas the *Athenians*, would carry on War in a far diſtant Country, which was poſſeſſed by their Enemies; where, in the Winter, News could not be brought them under four Months Time; a Country, where all Things would oppoſe the *Athenians*, and nothing be procured but by Force of Arms: That it would reflect the greateſt Ignominy on the *Athenians*, ſhould they be forced to lay aſide their Enterprize; and thereby become the Scorn and Contempt of their Enemies, by their neglecting to take all the Precautions, which ſo important a Deſign required: And that, as for himſelf, he was determin'd not to go, unleſs he was provided with all Things neceſſary for the Expedition; becauſe the Safety of the whole Army depended on that Circumſtance; and he would not rely on Caprice, or the Promiſes of the *Allies*.

Nicias had flatter'd himſelf, that this Speech would cool the Ardor of the People, whereas it only enflamed it the more. Immediately the Generals had full Powers given them, to raiſe as many Troops, and fit out as many Gallies, as they might think neceſſary; and the Levies were accordingly carried on, in *Athens* and other Places, with inexpreſſible Activity and Alacrity.

But when all Things were ready for their Departure, and the Sails already hoiſted, there happen'd ſeveral melancholy, ominous Signs, which fill'd the Minds of the People with Trouble and Diſquietude. The Women were, at that Time, celebrating the Feſtival of *Adonis*, during which, the whole City was in Mourning, full of Images repreſenting dead Perſons, and funeral Proceſſions; and every part echoed with the Cries and groans of the Women who follow'd them with Floods of Tears: Whence it was fear'd, that this gay and magnificent Armament would ſoon loſe all its Splendor, and wither away like a Flower.

The general Affliction was increaſed by another Accident. The Statues of *Mercury*, which ſtood at the Entrance of private Houſes and Temples, were all mutilated in one Night, and particularly in the Face; and although a great Reward was promiſed to any Perſon who ſhould diſcover the Authors of this bold Attempt, yet no one was impeach'd. The Citizens could not forbear conſidering this uncommon Event, not only as an unlucky Omen, but likewiſe as a Contrivance of ſome factious Men, who harbour'd very ill Deſigns. Some young People had already been accuſed of committing much the like Crime, in the Midſt of their Cups; and particularly of having wantonly mimick'd the Ceremonies and Myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*; with *Alcibiades*, who repreſented the High-prieſt, at their Head. It highly concerns all thoſe in exalted Stations, to be extremely careful of every Step they take; and not to give the leaſt Opportunity to the moſt inveterate Malice to cenſure them. They ought to call to Mind, that the Eyes of all Men are fix'd on their Conduct, and that they are ever Eagle-ey'd on theſe Occaſions; that, not only their outward Actions undergo the moſt ſevere Scrutiny, but that they penetrate to their moſt private Apartments, and take the ſtricteſt Notice of their Diſcourſes, their Diverſions, and the moſt ſecret Things tranſacted by them. It was this Dread of the piercing Eye of the People, that kept *Themiſtocles* and *Pericles* perpetually on their Guard; and obliged them to refrain from moſt of thoſe Pleaſures in which others indulged themſelves.

As for *Alcibiades*, he did not know what it was to put a Reſtraint upon himſelf in any Manner; and accordingly, as his Character was ſo well known, the People were of Opinion, that, in all Probability, he had been concern'd in the late Riot. His Luxury, his Diſſoluteneſs, and Impiety, made this Charge ſeem not unlikely; neither were the Accuſers afraid of mentioning his Name This Attack ſtagger'd the Conſtancy and Reſolution of *Alcibiades*; but hearing the Soldiers and Sailors declare, that they were prompted to engage in this Expedition, from no other Motive, but their Affection to him; and that, ſhould the leaſt Injury be done him, they would all leave the Service; he took Heart, and appeared at his Trial, on the Day appointed for that Purpoſe. His Enemies, however, upon Pretence that it was neceſſary for the Fleet to ſet ſail, got the Judgment ſuperſeded. It was to no Purpoſe for *Alcibiades* to inſiſt upon being tried, in caſe he was guilty, and not be ruined in his Abſence; and to repreſent, that it would be the moſt ſhocking and barbarous Injuſtice to oblige him to embark on ſo important an Expedition, without firſt making due Enquiry into the Accuſations and horrid Slanders which were caſt upon him, the bare Thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual Fear and Uneaſineſs: None of theſe Remonſtrances proved effectual, and the Fleet was ordered to ſet Sail.

Accordingly they prepared ſo to do, after having appointed *Corcyra* the Rendezvous for moſt of the *Allies*, and ſuch Ships as were to carry the Proviſions, *&c.* whilſt all the Citizens, and Foreigners, in *Athens*, flock'd by Day-break to the Harbour. The former attended on their Children, Relations, Friends, or Companions, with a Joy intermingled with Sorrow; upon their bidding Adieu to Perſons that were as dear to them as Life, and who were ſetting out on a far diſtant, and very dangerous Expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, though their Kindred flatter'd themſelves with the Hopes that it would be ſucceſsful. The Foreigners went thither to feed their Eyes with a Sight which was highly worthy their Curioſity; for no ſingle City in the World had ever fitted out ſo gallant a Fleet. Thoſe indeed which had been ſent againſt *Epidaurus* and *Potidæa*, were as conſiderable, with Regard to the Number of Soldiers and Ships; but then they were not equipped with ſo much Magnificence, neither was their Voyage ſo long, nor their Enterprize ſo important.

Here were ſeen a land, and a naval Army, provided with the utmoſt Care, and at the Expence of particular Perſons, as well as of the Publick, with all Things neceſſary, on Account of the Length of the Voyage, and the Duration of the War. The City furniſh'd an hundred empty Gallies; that is, threeſcore light ones, and forty to tranſport the Soldiers heavily arm'd. Every Sailor received daily a Drachm, or Seven-pence Half-penny, for his Pay, excluſive of what the Captains of

of Ships gave to the chief Rowers. Add to this, the Pomp and Magnificence that was diſplay'd univerſally; every one ſtriving to eclipſe the reſt, and each Captain endeavouring to make his Ship the lighteſt, and, at the ſame Time, the gayeſt, in the whole Fleet. We ſhall not enlarge upon the Choice which was made of the Soldiers and Sailors, they being the Flower of the *Athenians*; nor of their Emulation, with Regard to the Beauty and Neatneſs of their Arms and Equipage; any more than of their Officers, who had laid out conſiderable Sums purely to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and to give Foreigners an advantageous Idea of their Perſons and Circumſtances; ſo that this Sight had the Air of a Tournament, in which the utmoſt Magnificence is diſplay'd, rather than of a warlike Expedition. But the Boldneſs and Greatneſs of the Deſign, ſtill exceeded its Expence and Splendor.

When the Ships were loaded, and the Troops got on Board, the Trumpet ſounded, and ſolemn Prayers were offer'd up for the Succeſs of the Expedition; Gold and Silver Cups were filling every where with Wine, and the accuſtom'd Libations were poured out; the People who lined the Shore ſhouting at the ſame Time, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, to wiſh their Fellow-citizens a good Voyage, and Succeſs. The Hymn being ſung, and the Ceremonies ended, the Ships ſail'd, one after another, out of the Harbour; after which they ſtrove to outſail one another, till the whole Fleet met at *Ægina*. From thence it made for *Corcyra*, where the Ships of the *Allies* were rendezvouzing with the reſt of the Navy.

Advice of this Expedition coming to *Syracuſe*, from all Quarters, it was thought ſo improbable, that no one there would give Credit to it. But as it was more and more confirm'd, every Day, the *Syracuſans* began to think ſeriouſly of making the requiſite Preparitions; and diſpatch'd Deputations to every Part of the Iſland, to ask Aſſiſtance of ſome, and ſend Succours to others. They garriſon'd all the Caſtles and Forts in the Country; review'd all the Soldiers and Horſes; examin'd the Arms in the Arſenals; and ſettled and prepared all Things, as though the Enemy had been in their Country.

In the mean Time the Fleet, divided into three Squadrons, each under the Command of its particular General, ſet Sail. It conſiſted of an hundred and thirty-ſix Ships, an hundred whereof belong'd to *Athens*, and the reſt to the *Allies*. On Board theſe Ships were five thouſand Soldiers, heavily arm'd, two thouſand two hundred of whom were *Athenian* Citizens, *viz.* fifteen hundred of thoſe who had Eſtates, and ſeven hundred who had none, but were equally Citizens; the reſt conſiſted of the *Allies*. With Regard to the light Infantry, there were eighty Bowmen of *Crete*, and four hundred of other Countries; ſeven hundred *Rhodian* Slingers, and an hundred and twenty *Megarenſian* Exiles. There was but one Company of Horſe, conſiſting of thirty Troopers, who had embark'd on Board a Veſſel proper for tranſporting Cavalry.

Both the Fleet, and the Land-Forces, were afterwards increaſed conſiderably. Thirty Veſſels carried the Proviſions and Cooks, with Maſons, Carpenters, and their ſeveral Tools: The whole follow'd by an hundred ſmall Veſſels, for the Service, excluſive of Merchant-Ships, of which there were great Numbers. All this Fleet had ſailed together for *Corcyra*; from whence they procceded to *Tarentum*, and *Locris*, from which People they met with but an indifferent Reception; wherefore they ſailed with a favourable Wind for *Rhegium*, where they made ſome Stay. The *Athenians* were very urgent with the Inhabitants of this City, to ſuccour thoſe of *Leontium*, who came originally from *Chalcis*, as well as themſelves; but were anſwer'd, that they were determined to ſtand neuter, and to undertake nothing, but in Concert with the reſt of *Italy*. There they debated on the Manner in which this War ſhould be carried on, and waited for the coming up of thoſe Ships that had been ſent out upon the Diſcovery, in order to ſee for ſome Landing-place, and to enquire whether the Citizens of *Egeſta* had got their Money ready. Being return'd, they declared, that there were but thirty Talents in the Treaſury. This *Nicias* had foreſeen, but no Regard had been paid to his ſalutary Counſels.

He did not fail, the Inſtant this News was brought, to expatiate on the Counſel he had given at *Athens*; to ſhew the wrong Step they had taken in engaging in this War, and to amplify the fatal Conſequences which might be expected from it: In all which he acted very imprudently. It was extremely judicious in *Nicias* to oppoſe it in the Beginning, and to ſet every Engine at Work to cruſh, if poſſible, this ill-fated Project. But, as it was reſolved upon, and he himſelf had accepted of the Command, he ought not to have been perpetually looking backward, and inceſſantly declaring, that the War had been undertaken in Oppoſition to all the Maxims of Prudence; and, by that Means, to diſhearten his two Colleagues in the Command, to diſpirit the Soldiers, and blunt that Edge of Confidence and Ardor, which gives Succeſs to the greateſt Atchievements. On the contrary, he ſhould have advanced boldly towards the Enemy; have attack'd them with Vigour, and have ſpread an univerſal Terror, by a ſudden and unexpected Onſet.

But *Nicias* acted in a quite different Manner: His Opinion in the Council of War, was, that they ſhould ſail for *Selinus*, which had firſt been the Occaſion of this Expedition; and then, if the Citizens of *Egeſta* perform'd their Promiſe, and gave a Month's Pay to the Army, to proceed forward; or otherwiſe, to oblige them to furniſh Proviſions for the ſixty Gallies they had demanded, and continue in that Road till they ſhould have concluded a Peace between the Citizens of *Selinus*, either by Force of Arms, or ſome other Way. He added, that after having thus made a Parade of their Forces, and the Succours they gave their *Allies*, they ſhould return to *Athens*; unleſs they ſhould have an Opportunity of making ſome Attempt in Favour of the *Leontini*, or of gaining over ſome City to their Alliance.

Alcibiades anſwer'd, that it would be inglorious, after their ſailing out with ſo noble a Fleet, to return without atchieving the leaſt Conqueſt; and that they ſhould firſt endeavour to conclude an Alliance with the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, in order to detach them from the *Syracuſans*, and procure Troops and Proviſions from them; and eſpecially, to ſend a Deputation to *Meſſina*, which was a kind of Key to *Sicily*, and its Harbour capacious enough

to

to hold all the Fleet. He declared farther, that after ſeeing who were their Friends, and who their Enemies, and ſtrengthned themſelves by the Addition of a new Reinforcement, they then ſhould attack either *Selinus*, or *Syracuſe*; in Caſe the one ſhould refuſe to conclude a Peace with *Egeſta*, and the other not permit the *Leontini* to return to their City.

Lamachus offer'd a third Opinion, which perhaps was the moſt prudent; and this was, to ſail directly for *Syracuſe*, before its Citizens had Time to recover from their Surprize, or prepare for their Defence. He obſerved, that the ſudden Arrival of an arm'd Force always ſtrikes the greateſt Terror; and that when Enemies are allow'd Time to reflect and make Preparations, it alſo revives their Courage; whereas, when they are ſuddenly attack'd, and ſtill in Confuſion, they are generally overcome; that, as they would be Maſters of the open Country, they ſhould not be in Want of any Thing, but on the contrary, would oblige the *Sicilians* to join with one or other of the Parties: That at leaſt they ſhould ſettle in *Megara*, which was quite deſerted, and a near Neighbour to *Syracuſe*, and there lay up their Fleet in Safety. However, his Counſel not being follow'd, he agreed to that of *Alcibiades*: Accordingly they ſailed for *Sicily*, where *Alcibiades* took *Catana* by Surprize.

This was the firſt and laſt Exploit perform'd by *Alcibiades* in this Expedition, he being immediately recall'd by the *Athenians*, in order to take his Trial. For, ever ſince the Departure of the Fleet, his Enemies, who had no Regard to the Welfare of their Country; and who, upon the ſpecious Pretence of Religion, which often is made a Cloak to cover the darkeſt Deſigns, meditated nothing but the ſatiating of their Hatred and Vengeance; taking Advantage of his Abſence, had carried on his Proſecution with greater Vigour than ever. All thoſe againſt whom Informations were lodged, were thrown into Priſon, without ſo much as being ſuffer'd to be heard, and that too on the Evidence of the moſt profligate and abandon'd Citizens; as though, ſays *Thucydides*, it was not as great a Crime to puniſh the Innocent, as to ſuffer the Guilty to eſcape. One of the Informers was proved to be perjured by his own Words; he vouching, that he ſaw and knew one of the Accuſed by Moon-light; whereas it appeared, that there was no Moon at that Time. But notwithſtanding this manifeſt Perjury, ſtill the Populace were as furious as ever. The Remembrance of the Tyranny of the *Piſiſtratides* made them apprehenſive of the like Fate; and being ſtrongly poſſeſſed with this Fear, they would not give Ear to any Thing.

At laſt, they ſent out the Ship of *Salamis*, ordering the Captain, not to carry off *Alcibiades* by Force, for Fear of raiſing a Tumult in the Army; but only to order him to return to *Athens*, to pacify the People by his Preſence. *Alcibiades* obey'd the Command, and went immediately on Board the Galley; but the Inſtant he arrived at *Thurium*, and had got on Shore, he diſappeared, and eluded the Purſuit of thoſe who ſought after him. Being asked, hereupon, whether he would not rely upon the Judgment of his Country: "I would not, ſays "he, rely on my Mother, for Fear leſt ſhe ſhould "inadvertently miſtake a black Bean for a white "one." It being cuſtomary for the Judges, to paſs Sentence by Balloting, wherein thoſe, who condemned the Priſoner, made uſe of a black Bean, and they who acquitted him, of a white one.

Much about this Time, *Diagoras* of *Melia* was proſecuted at *Athens*: He had ſettled himſelf in the latter, and there taught *Atheiſm*, and was proſecuted on that Account. *Diagoras* eſcaped the Puniſhment which would have been inflicted on him, by flying; but could not wipe away the Ignominy of the Sentence which condemned him to Death. The *Athenians* had ſo great an Abhorrence of the impious Principles inculcated by him, that they even ſet a Price upon his Head, and promiſed a Reward of a Talent, to any Man who ſhould bring him, dead or alive.

About twenty Years before, a like Proſecution had been carried on againſt *Protagoras*, for having only treated upon that Subject as doubtful. He had ſaid, in the Beginning of one of his Books, "If the Gods do, or do not exiſt, is a Queſtion "which I know not whether I ought to affirm or "deny: For our Underſtandings are too much "clouded, and the Life of Man is too ſhort, to "clear up ſo nice and difficult a Point." But the *Athenians* could not bear to have a Subject of this Nature doubted of; and for this Reaſon, they ordered Proclamation to be made by the publick Crier, for all Perſons, who had any Copies of that Book, to bring them to the Magiſtrates: After which they were burnt, as infamous Pieces, and the Author was baniſh'd, for ever, from all the Territories of the *Athenians*.

After *Alcibiades* had left his Country, *Nicias* had enjoy'd the whole Authority: For *Lamachus*, his Collegue, though a Man of Bravery and Experience, had no Credit, becauſe of his extreme Poverty, for which he was deſpiſed by the Soldiers. But the *Athenians* had not been always of this Opinion; for we have ſeen that *Ariſtides* was not leſs eſteemed or reſpected on that Account: But in this laſt Expedition, the People in general, had imbibed a Paſſion for Luxury and Magnificence; the natural Conſequence of which is, a Love of Wealth. As *Nicias*, by this Means, govern'd all Affairs ſolely, his whole Conduct was of the ſame Stamp, as his Diſpoſition, that is, timorous, and dilatory; and every Thing was in a languid State; which was owing, either to his continuing inactive, to his only ſailing up and down the Coaſt, or his loſing Time in conſulting and deliberating. This, on one Hand, ſoon abated the Ardour, and Bravery, wherewith the Soldiers had been animated at their ſetting out; and diſpell'd, on the other, the Fear and Terror with which the Enemy had been ſeized, at the Sight of ſo terrible an Armament. He beſieg'd *Hybla*; and though it was but a ſmall City, was forced to raiſe the Siege ſome Days after, which brought him into the higheſt Contempt. He retired at laſt to *Catana*, after having perform'd but one Exploit, *viz.* the ruining of *Hyccara*, a ſmall Town, inhabited by *Barbarians*; where, it is ſaid, *Lais* the Courtezan, at that Time very young, was ſold with the reſt of the Captives, and carried to *Peleponneſus*.

In the mean Time, *Alcibiades* having left *Thurium*, was arrived at *Argos*; and as he quite diſpair'd of ever being recall'd home, he ſent a Meſſenger to the *Spartans*, deſiring Leave to reſide among

among them, under their Guard and Protection. In order to obtain this, he promiſed in the moſt ſolemn Manner, that if they would conſider him as their Friend, he would perform greater Service for their State, than before he had done them Injuries; whereupon the *Spartans* received him with open Arms, and ſoon after his Arrival in their City, he gained the Love and Eſteem of all its Inhabitants.

He charm'd, and even inchanted them, by his conforming himſelf ſo eaſily to their Way of living. Such People as ſaw *Alcibiades* ſhave himſelf to the Skin, bath in cold Water; eat of the coarſe, heavy Cakes, which were their uſual Food, and be ſo well ſatisfy'd with their black Sauce; could not perſuade themſelves, that a Man who ſubmitted ſo chearfully to this kind of Life, had ever kept Cooks in his Palace; had uſed Eſſences and Perfumes; had wore the rich Stuffs of *Miletus*; in a Word, that he had hitherto lived in the Midſt of Plenty, and the moſt riotous Profuſion of all Things. But Flexibility was the Characteriſtick that chiefly diſtinguiſh'd *Alcibiades*. *Camelion*-like, he could aſſume all Shapes and Colours, to gain the Favour of thoſe among whom he reſided. He would preſently form himſelf to their Cuſtoms; and ſhape himſelf to all their Inclinations, as if they had been innate in him; and though he inwardly had an Averſion to them, he yet would cover his Diſguſt with an eaſy, ſimple, and unconſtrained Air. In one Company, he would appear in all the Graces and Vivacity of the moſt frolickſome Youth; and in another, would aſſume the Gravity of old Age. In *Sparta*, he was laborious, frugal and rigid; in *Ionia*, he immerſed himſelf wholly in Idleneſs, and the moſt voluptuous Pleaſures; in *Thrace*, he was always on Horſeback, or carouzing; and when he reſided with *Tiſſaphernes*, the *Satrapa*, he exceeded the *Perſians* in the Extravagance of his Luxury and Profuſion.

But he was not ſatisfied with barely gaining the Eſteem of the *Lacedæmonians*: He inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the Affection of *Timea*, the Wife of King *Agis*, that he had a Son by her, who, in Publick, went by the Name of *Leotychides*; though his Mother, in Private, and among her Women and female Friends, did not bluſh to call him *Alcibiades*; ſo diſtractedly fond was ſhe of that *Athenian*. *Agis* was inform'd of this Intrigue, and therefore refuſed to own *Leotychides* for his Son; for which Reaſon he was afterwards excluded the Throne.

CHAP. XIII.

The Deſcription of Syracuſe; Nicias *beſieges it*; Lamachus *kill'd*; *The City reduc'd to the greateſt Extremities*; *They reſolve to capitulate*; *The Arrival of* Gyllipus *changes the Face of Affairs*; *He gains divers Advantages over the* Athenians; Nicias *is forc'd, againſt his Will, to hazard a Battle by Sea, and loſes it*; *The* Athenians *are alſo defeated by Land*; *They again hazard a Sea-Fight, and are defeated*; *They reſolve to retire by Land*; *but, being cloſely purſu'd, and prodigiouſly harraſs'd by the* Syracuſans, *are forc'd to ſurrender*; *They are cruelly treated*; Nicias, *and* Demoſthenes, *the two Generals, are ſentenc'd to be ſcourged, and put to Death*; *which is accordingly executed*; *the terrible Conſternation of the* Athenians, *upon the News of the total Deſtruction of their Forces in* Sicily.

AS we ſhall now return to the *Athenian* Forces, whom we left in *Sicily*, near *Catana*; and, as we ſhall ſoon find them beſieging *Syracuſe*, which is one of the moſt conſiderable Events in the *Grecian* Hiſtory, it will be neceſſary, before we enter thereupon, to give our Readers ſome Idea of the State of that City, at that Time.

Syracuſe ſtood on the *Eaſtern* Coaſt of *Sicily*. Its vaſt Extent, its advantageous Situation, the Conveniency of its double Harbour; its Fortifications built with the utmoſt Care and Labour; and the Multitude and Wealth of its Inhabitants; made it one of the greateſt, the handſomeſt, and moſt powerful among the *Grecian* Cities. We are told, its Air was ſo clear, that there was no Day in the Year, how ſtormy ſoever, wherein the Sun did not appear ſome Part of it. It was founded by *Archias*, the *Corinthian*, a Year after *Naxos* and *Megara* had been founded on the ſame Coaſt.

At the Time the *Athenians* beſieg'd this City, it was divided into three Parts, *viz.* the *Iſland*, *Achradina*, and *Tyche*. The *Iſland*, ſituated to the *South*, was call'd *Neſos*, ſignifying, in *Greek*, an Iſland, and *Ortygia*: It was join'd to the Continent by a Bridge. It was in this Iſland that the *Syracuſans* afterwards built the Citadel, and the Palace for their Kings. This Quarter, or Diviſion of the City, was of very great Importance; becauſe it might render thoſe who poſſeſs'd it, Maſter of the two Ports which ſurrounded it. It was for this Reaſon, that the *Romans*, when they took *Syracuſe*, would not ſuffer any *Syracuſans* to inhabit the *Iſland*.

Achradina, ſituated intirely on the Seaſide, and looking *Eaſtward*, was the moſt ſpacious, the moſt

beautiful, and beſt fortify'd Diviſion in the City. *Tyche*, ſo call'd from the Temple of *Fortune* (which fickle Goddeſs was call'd by the *Greeks*, *Tyche*) extended along *Achradina*, *Weſtward*, from the *North* towards the *South*, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous Gate, call'd *Hexapylum*, which led into the Country, and was ſituated to the *North* of the City.

Epipolæ, which was added afterwards, was a Hill ſtanding without the City, which it commanded. It was ſituated between *Hexapylum* and the Point of *Euryelus*, towards the *North* and *Weſt*. It was exceedingly ſteep in ſeveral Places; and, for that Reaſon, of very difficult Acceſs. At the Time of the Siege, it was not ſurrounded with Walls; and the *Syracuſans* defended it with a Body of Troops againſt the Attacks of the Enemy. *Euryelus* was the Paſs, or Entrance, which led to *Epipolæ*. On the ſame Hill of *Epipolæ* was a Fort, call'd *Labdalon*, or *Labdalum*.

It was not till a great Number of Years after (under *Dionyſius* the Tyrant) that *Epipolæ* was ſurrounded with Walls, and incloſ'd in the City, of which it form'd a fifth Part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth Diviſion had been added before, call'd *Neapolis*; that is, the new City, which cover'd *Tyche*.

The River *Anapis* ran at almoſt half a League Diſtance from the City. They were ſeparated by a large and beautiful Plain, terminated by two Fens, or Moors; the one call'd *Syraco*, whence the City was nam'd; and the other *Lyſimelia*. This River empty'd itſelf into the great Harbour. Near its Mouth, *Southward*, was a Kind of Caſtle, call'd *Olympia*, from the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius* ſtanding there, and in which were great Riches. It was five hundred Paces from the City.

Syracuſe had two Harbours, very near one another, and ſeparated only by the *Iſland*, *viz.* the great Harbour, and the ſmall one, call'd otherwiſe *Laccus*. The greateſt Harbour was a little above five thouſand Paces, or two Leagues, in Circumference: It had a Gulph, call'd *Daſcon*. The Entrance of this Port was but five hundred Paces wide. It was form'd, on one Side, by the Point of the Iſland *Ortygia*; and, on the other, by the little Iſland and Cape of *Plemmyrium*, which was comanded by a Fort, or Caſtle, of the ſame Name. Above *Achradina* was a third Port, call'd the Harbour of *Trogilus*.

Having thus premis'd, we ſhall return to *Nicias*; to whom, at the End of the Summer, News was brought, that the *Syracuſans*, having recover'd their Courage, intended to march forward, and attack him. Already their Cavalry advanc'd with an Air of Inſolence, to attack him even in his Camp; and ask'd him with a loud Laugh, whether he was come into *Sicily*, to ſettle in *Catana*. Theſe ſevere Reproaches rouz'd him a little, ſo that he reſolv'd to ſail for *Syracuſe*; however, the Enterprize was bold and dangerous; for, *Nicias*, without running the utmoſt Hazard, could neither attempt to land in Preſence of an Enemy, who waited for him with the greateſt Reſolution; and would not fail to attack him with all his Forces, the Inſtant he ſhould offer to make a Deſcent: Nor was it ſafer for him to conduct his Troops by Land; becauſe, as he had no Cavalry, the *Syracuſan* Horſe, who were very numerous, the Moment they had Advice of their March, would fall upon them, and cut them in Pieces.

To extricate himſelf from this Perplexity, and enable himſelf to ſeize without Oppoſition upon an advantageous Poſt, which a *Syracuſan* Exile had diſcover'd to him, *Nicias* had Recourſe to the following Stratagem: He caus'd a Report to be ſpread amongſt the Enemy; that, by Reaſon of a Conſpiracy, which was to take Effect on a certain Day, they might ſeize on his Camp, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the Arms and Baggage. The *Syracuſans*, prepoſſeſs'd with this Opinion, march'd towards *Catana*, and pitch'd their Camp near *Leontium*. The Moment the *Athenians* had Advice of this, they embark'd with all their Troops and Ammunition; and, in the Evening, ſteer'd for *Syracuſe*. They arriv'd, by Day-break, in the great Harbour; landed near *Olympia*, in the Place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortify'd themſelves.

The Enemy, finding themſelves thus ſhamefully impos'd upon, return'd immediately to *Syracuſe*; and, in the greateſt Rage, drew up in Battle-Array, ſome Days after, before the Walls of the City. *Nicias* then march'd out of the Trenches, and a Battle was fought. Victory was a long Time doubtful, but a very heavy Shower of Rain, accompany'd with Thunder and Lightning, coming unexpectedly; the *Syracuſans*, who were unexperienc'd, the greateſt Part of them having never carry'd Arms before, were frighted at the Tempeſt; whilſt their Enemies laugh'd at it, as being the meer Effects of the Seaſon; and had Regard to nothing but the Enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the Storm: Wherefore, the *Syracuſans*, after making a long, and vigorous Reſiſtance, were forc'd to give Way. The *Athenians* could not purſue them far; becauſe their Horſe, which were ſtill in a Body, and had not been defeated, cover'd their Retreat. They, therefore, return'd back in good Order into the City; after having thrown a Body of Soldiers into the Temple of *Olympia*, to prevent its being plundred.

This Temple ſtood pretty near the Camp of the *Athenians*, who were very deſirous of taking it, becauſe it was fill'd with Gold and Silver Offerings, which the Superſtition of divers Kings and Nations had conſecrated. *Nicias* having delay'd ſending Troops to ſeize it, loſt the Opportunity; and gave the *Syracuſans* Time to throw a Detachment into it to defend it, as was before obſerv'd. It was thought he did this on Purpoſe, and out of Reverence to the Gods; becauſe, had the Soldiers plundred this Temple, the Publick would not have reap'd any Benefit by it, and himſelf only would have been accus'd of the Sacrilege.

After the Battle, the *Athenians*, who were not yet in a Condition to attack *Syracuſe*, retir'd with their Fleet to *Naxos* and *Catana*, to winter there; in order to return in the Beginning of the next Spring, and lay Siege to the City. To do this, they wanted Money, Proviſions, and particularly, Horſe; of which laſt they had none. The *Athenians* depended upon procuring Part of theſe Succours from the Nations of *Sicily*, who they ſuppos'd would join them, the Inſtant they ſhould hear of their Victory; and at the ſame Time they ſent an Expreſs to *Athens*, to ſollicit the like Aid. They alſo addreſs'd the *Carthaginians* for their Alli-

liance; and ſent Deputies to ſome Cities of *Italy*, ſituated on the Coaſt of the *Tuſcan* Sea, which had promis'd to aſſiſt them.

In the mean While, the *Syracuſans* were far from deſponding: *Hermocrates*, who, of all their Leaders, was moſt diſtinguiſh'd for his Valour, Judgment, and Experience, repreſented to them, in order to raiſe their Hopes, that they had not been wanting in Courage, but in Conduct; that the Enemies, though very brave, ow'd their Victory to their good Fortune, rather than to their Merit; that the having a Multitude of Leaders (they were fifteen in Number) from which Confuſion and Diſobedience were inſeparable, had done them Prejudice; that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to chuſe experienc'd Generals, to keep the reſt in their Duty, and exerciſe their Forces continually during the Winter-Seaſon. This Advice being follow'd, *Hermocrates*, and two more, were elected Generals; after which they ſent Deputies to *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon*, to renew the Alliance, and, at the ſame Time, to engage them to make a Diverſion, in order to oblige, if poſſible, the *Athenians*, to recal their Troops from *Sicily*; or, at leaſt, to prevent their ſending a Reinforcement thither. But their chief Care was to fortify *Syracuſe*; in order to which, they inclos'd within the City, by a Wall, all that Tract of Land which looks towards *Epipolæ*, from the *Northern* Extremity of *Tyche*, deſcending *Weſtward*, towards the Quarter, or Diviſion of the City, call'd afterwards *Neapolis*. This they did, to keep the Enemy at a greater Diſtance, and give them more Trouble in making their Countervallation; by obliging them to make it of a larger Extent: This, in all Probability, had been neglected before, becauſe it ſeem'd to be ſufficiently defended by its rugged and ſteep Situation. They alſo garriſon'd *Megara* and *Olympia*; and drove Stakes into all thoſe Parts of the Sea-ſhore, where the Enemy might eaſily make a Deſcent. Hearing afterwards, that the *Athenians* were at *Naxos*, they went and burnt the Camp of *Catana*; and retir'd, after they had laid waſte the Country adjacent.

The Ambaſſadors of *Syracuſe* being arriv'd among the *Corinthians*, ask'd Succour of them, as having been their Founders, which was immediately granted; and, at the ſame Time, they ſent an Embaſſy to the *Lacedæmonians*, to invite them to declare in their Favour. *Alcibiades* inforc'd their Demand with all his Credit and Eloquence; which his Reſentment againſt *Athens* inflam'd prodigiouſly. He adviſ'd and exhorted the *Lacedæmonians*, to appoint *Gylippus* their General, and ſend him into *Sicily*; and, at the ſame Time, to invade the *Athenians*, in order to make a powerful Diverſion. In the third Place, he counſell'd them to fortify *Decelia* in *Attica*, which quite compleated the Ruin of the City of *Athens*, it not being ever able to recover that Blow: For, by this Fort, the *Lacedæmonians* made themſelves Maſters of the Country; by which the *Athenians* were depriv'd of their Silver Mines of *Laurium*, and of the Revenues of their Lands; nor could they be aſſiſted by their Neighbours, *Decelia* being now become the *Aſylum* of all the Malecontents and Partizans of *Sparta*.

Nicias had receiv'd ſome Succours from *Athens*, which conſiſted of two hundred and fifty Troopers, who, the *Athenians* ſuppos'd would be furniſh'd with Horſes in *Sicily* (the Troopers bringing only the Furniture) and of thirty Archers, likewiſe Cavalry, with three hundred Talents, that is, about ſixty thouſand Pounds. *Nicias* now began to prepare for Action. He was accus'd of often letting Opportunities ſlip, by his loſing Time in deliberating, arguing, and concerting Meaſures; however, when once he entred upon Action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been ſlow and fearful in contriving, as he ſince ſhew'd on the preſent Occaſion.

The *Syracuſans* hearing that the *Athenians* had a Reinforcement of Cavalry, and would ſoon march, and lay Siege to their City; and knowing they could not poſſibly approach it, or make a Countervallation, unleſs they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the Hills of *Epipolæ*, which commanded *Syracuſe*, reſolv'd to guard the Avenues to it; that being the only Paſs, by which the Enemy could poſſibly get up to it, every other Part being rugged and inacceſſible. Marching, therefore, down into the Meadow or Plain, bounded by the River *Anapis*, and reviewing their Troops in it, they appointed ſeven hundred Foot, under the Command of *Diomilus*, to guard this important Poſt; and commanded them to repair to it, at the firſt Signal, which ſhould be given for that Purpoſe. But *Nicias* conducted his Deſign with ſo much Prudence, Expedition, and Secreſy, that they had not Time to do this. He ſail'd from *Catana* with all his Fleet, unſuſpected in any Manner by the Enemy. Being arriv'd at the Port of *Trogilus* near *Leontium*, which is but a Quarter of a League from *Epipolæ*; he put his Land-Forces on Shore, after which he retir'd with his Fleet to *Thapſus*, a ſmall *Peninſula* of *Syracuſe*; the Entrance to which he ſhut up with a Barrier of Stakes.

Being landed, the Forces ran immediately to ſeize on *Epipolæ*, by the Paſs of *Euryelus*; before the Enemy, who were in the Plains of *Anapis*, and at above a League's Diſtance, had the leaſt Notice of their Arrival. At the firſt News of this, the ſeven hundred Soldiers under the Command of *Diomilus*, advanc'd forward in Confuſion, but were eaſily defeated; and three hundred of them, with their Leader, were left dead in the Field. The *Athenians*, after ſetting up a Trophy, built a Fort in *Labdalon*, on the Summit of *Epipolæ*; in order to ſecure in it their Baggage, and their moſt valuable Effects, whenever they ſhould be forced to fight, or work at the Countervallation.

Soon after, the Inhabitants of *Egeſta* ſent the *Athenians* three hundred Troopers; and to theſe ſome of their *Sicilian* Allies added a hundred more; which, with the two hundred and fifty ſent before by the *Athenians*, and who had furniſh'd themſelves with Horſes in *Sicily*, made a Body of ſix hundred and fifty Cavalry.

The Plan laid down by *Nicias*, for taking *Syracuſe*, was, to ſurround all the City on the Land-ſide with a ſtrong Countervallation, in order to prevent the Beſieg'd from having any Communication with any Forces by Land; doubtleſs, ſuppoſing, that his Fleet would afterwards enable him to prevent the *Syracuſans* from receiving any Succours, or Proviſions by Sea.

Nicias

Nicias then left a Garriſon in *Labdalon*; which done, he march'd down the Hill, advanc'd towards the *Northern* Extremity of *Tyche*, and halting there, employ'd the whole Army in raiſing a Wall of Countervallation, to incloſe the City, *Northward*, from *Tyche* as far as *Trogilus*. This Work was carry'd on with ſuch a Rapidity, as quite terrify'd the *Syracuſans*; wherefore, judging it their Intereſt to oppoſe the Progreſs thereof, they made ſome Sallies and Attacks, but always with Diſadvantage; and even their Cavalry was routed. The Day after the Action, the Countervallation, *Northward*, was continu'd by Part of the Army, during which, the reſt carry'd Stones, and other Materials, towards *Trogilus*, in order to compleat that Work.

However, the Beſieg'd, by the Advice of *Hermocrates*, thought it adviſable, not to venture a ſecond Battle with the *Athenians*; but only endeavour'd to put a Stop to their Works; or, at leaſt, to render them of no Service, by raiſing a Wall themſelves, which ſhould cut through the Spot, along which the *Athenians* intend to carry on theirs. They imagin'd, that, in caſe no one ſhould interrupt their Works, and they ſhould be ſuffer'd to compleat their Wall, it would be impoſſible for the *Athenians* to make any farther Advances: Or, that, ſhould they advance forward, in order to oppoſe them, they ſhould then have no more to do but to ſend out a conſiderable Part of their Forces againſt them; after having fortify'd ſuch Avenues, as were moſt acceſſible, with ſtrong Paliſades: And, that the *Athenians*, on the contrary, would be oblig'd to ſend for all their Forces, and quite abandon their Works.

Accordingly, they came out of their City, and working with inexpreſſible Ardor, began to raiſe a Wall; and, in order to carry it on with leſs Moleſtation, they cover'd it with ſtrong Paliſades; and flank'd it with Wooden Towers, at proper Diſtances, to defend it. The *Athenians* ſuffer'd the *Syracuſans* to carry on their Works undiſturb'd; ſince, had they march'd only Part of their Troops againſt them, they would have been too weak; and, if they had brought them all, they muſt have been oblig'd to diſcontinue their Works, which they were reſolv'd not to do. The Work being compleated, the *Syracuſans* left a Body of Men to defend the Paliſade, and guard the Wall, and then return'd into the City.

In the mean Time, the *Athenians* cut off the Canals, by which Water was convey'd into the City; and obſerving the *Syracuſans*, who had been left to guard the Walls, very negligent in their Duty; ſome returning at Noon, either into the City, or their Huts, and the reſt not keeping a proper Guard, they detach'd three hundred choſen Men, and ſome light Infantry, to attack that Poſt; during which, the reſt of the Army march'd towards the City, to keep any Succours from ſallying out. Accordingly, the three hundred Soldiers having forc'd the Paliſade, purſu'd thoſe who guarded it, as far as that Part of the City-Wall, which cover'd *Temenos*; where, pouring in indiſcriminately with them, they were repuls'd by the Inhabitants with Loſs. However, the whole Army afterwards demoliſh'd the Wall; forc'd the Paliſades out of the Intrenchment, and carry'd them off.

After this Succeſs, whereby the *Athenians* were Maſters of the *Northern* Parts, they began, the very next Day, a ſtill more important Work, at which would have quite finiſh'd their Incloſure of the City; this was to carry a Wall from the Hills of *Epipolæ*, *Weſtward*, through the Plain, and the Fens, as far as the great Harbour. To prevent this, the Beſieg'd, beginning the ſame Kind of Work as they had carry'd on on the other Side; drew from the City, through the Fens, a *Foſſe*, or Ditch, lin'd with Paliſades, to prevent the *Athenians* from carrying their Countervallations as far as the Sea. But the latter, after finiſhing the firſt Part of the Wall, on the Hills of *Epipolæ*, reſolv'd to attack the lin'd *Foſſe*. To this End, they order'd their Fleet to ſail from *Thapſus* to the great Harbour of *Syracuſe*, it having continu'd in that Road hitherto; and the Beſieg'd had always the Sea open, by which Means, the Beſiegers were oblig'd to get their Proviſions from *Thapſus* by Land.

The *Athenians* came down, therefore, from *Epipolæ*, into the Plain, before Day-break; when, throwing Planks and Beams on that Part where the Fen was only ſlimy, and more firm than in other Places; they immediately carry'd the greateſt Part of the *Foſſe* that was lin'd with Paliſades; and then, having beat th *Syracuſans*, who gave Way, and retir'd, they deſtroy'd the Reſt thereof. Not content with this, three hundred choſen *Athenian* attempted to cut off the Paſſage of the *Syracuſans*; and to that End, flew towards the Bridge: But the Enemy's Cavalry, the greateſt Part of which were drawn up in Battle-Array, repuls'd them; and afterwards ruſh'd on the Right-Wing of the *Athenians*, and put the firſt Batallion into Diſorder. *Lamachus* perceiving this, from the Left-Wing where he commanded, ran thither with the *Argivi*, and ſome Archers; but, having forc'd his Way over a Ditch, and being abandon'd by his Men, he was kill'd, with five or ſix who follow'd him. The Body of the Enemy immediately croſs'd to the other Side of the River; and ſeeing the reſt of the Army come up, they retir'd.

At the ſame Time, their Right-Wing, which had return'd towards the City, recover'd their Spirits by this Succeſs, and advancing, drew up in Order of Battle before the *Athenians*; after having detach'd ſome Troops to attack the Fort built on the Hills of *Epipolæ*, which ſerv'd as a Magazine to the Enemy, and was thought to be undefended. This they did with ſuch Succeſs, that they forc'd an Intrenchment which cover'd the Fort, but *Nicias* ſav'd it. He was ſick in this Fort, and at that Time in his Bed, with only his Domeſticks about him. Animated, however, by the Danger, and Preſence of the Enemy, he ſtruggles with his Indiſpoſition, riſes up, and commands his Servants to ſet Fire immediately to all the Timber, lying between the Intrenchment and the Fort for the military Engines, and to the Engines themſelves.

This unexpected Conflagration ſtopp'd the *Syracuſans*; ſav'd *Nicias*, the Fort, and all the rich Effects of the *Athenians*; for theſe haſted to aſſiſt their General. At the ſame Time, the Fleet was ſeen ſailing into the great Harbour, according to the Orders given for that Purpoſe. The *Syracuſans* having perceiv'd this from the Hill, and fearing they ſhould be attack'd from behind, and overpower'd by the Land-Forces, retir'd, and return'd

to

City with all their Forces; now no longer ſafting, after having loſt their *Foſſe* lin'd with paliſades, that it would be poſſible for them to prevent the Enemy from carrying on their Countervallation as far as the Sea.

In the mean Time, the *Athenians*, who had contented themſelves with building a ſingle Wall on the Hills of *Epipolæ*, and through ſuch Places, as were craggy, and of difficult Acceſs, being come down into the Plain, began to build, at the Foot of the Hills, a double Wall, intending to carry it as far as the Sea; *viz.* a Wall of Countervallation againſt the Beſieg'd, and another of Circumvallation againſt thoſe *Syracuſan* Troops, which were out of the City, and ſuch of the *Allies*, as might come to relieve it.

From that Day, *Nicias*, who was now the ſole General, conceiv'd great Hopes; for, ſeveral Nations of *Sicily*, which hitherto had not declar'd for either Side, came and join'd him; and there arriv'd to him, from all Quarters, Veſſels laden with Proviſions for his Army; all Parties being eager to go over to him, becauſe he had now got the Upper-Hand, and been vaſtly fortunate in all his Undertakings. Already the *Syracuſans*, ſeeing themſelves block'd up both by Sea and Land, and loſing all Hopes of being able to defend their City any longer, offer'd to come to an Accommodation.

Gylippus, who was juſt arriv'd from *Lacedæmonia* to their Aſſiſtance, having heard, in his Paſſage, the Extremity to which they were reduc'd, and looking upon the whole Iſland as loſt, ſail'd forward, nevertheleſs; not with a View of defending *Sicily*, but only to preſerve for the Colonies of *Italy*, ſuch Cities as were ſubject to them in that Iſland, if it were not too late, and if it could be done: For, Fame had reported, in all Places, that the *Athenians* had already poſſeſs'd themſelves of the whole Iſland, and were headed by a General, whoſe Wiſdom, and good Fortune, rendred him invincible. Nay, *Nicias* himſelf, now (contrary to his natural Diſpoſition) confiding in his own Strength, and elate with his Succeſs; perſuaded alſo by the ſecret Advices brought him daily from *Syracuſe*, and the Meſſengers who were ſent to him, that the City would immediately capitulate, made no Account of the Approach of *Gylippus*. He did not, therefore, endeavour to prevent his landing: Eſpecially, when he heard, that he brought but very few Veſſels; calling him a trifling Pyrate, not worthy, in any Manner, his Notice. But, a General ought to be extreamly careful, not to grow remiſs in the Midſt of Succeſs, becauſe the leaſt Negligence may prove his Deſtruction. Had *Nicias* ſent the ſmalleſt Detachment, to oppoſe the Landing of *Gylippus*, he would have taken *Syracuſe*, and the whole Affair had been ended.

The Fortifications of the *Athenians* were now almoſt compleated; and they had drawn a double Wall, near half a League in Length, along the Plain, and the Fens towards the great Port, and had almoſt reach'd it. There now remain'd, on the Side towards *Trogilus*, only a ſmall Part of the Wall to be finiſh'd. The *Syracuſans* were, therefore, on the Brink of Ruin; and had no Hopes left, ſince they were no longer able to defend themſelves, and did not expect any Succours. For this Reaſon, they reſolv'd to ſurrender: Accordingly, a Council was held, to ſettle Articles of Capitulation, in order to preſent them to *Nicias*; and ſeveral were of Opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate ſoon, before the City was entirely inveſted.

It was at that very Inſtant, and in the moſt critical Juncture, that an Officer, *Gongylcs*, by Name, arriv'd from *Corinth*, on board a Galley, call'd a *Triremis*; that is, as is generally believ'd, which had three Benches of Oars. At his Arrival, all the Citizens flock'd round him. He then declar'd aloud, that *Gylippus* would be with them immediately, and was follow'd by a great many other Gallies, which were coming to relieve them. The *Syracuſans* aſtoniſh'd, or rather ſtupify'd, as it were, with this News, durſt not give Credit to it: Whilſt they were thus fluctuating, and in Doubt, a Courier ſent by *Gylippus* came up, who acquainted them with the Arrival of that General, and order'd them to march out all their Troops to meet him. In the mean While, that *Spartan*, after having taken a Fort, in his Way, march'd in Battle-Array, directly for *Epipolæ*; and coming up by *Euryelus*, as the *Athenians* had done, he began to prepare to attack them from without; whilſt the *Syracuſans* were to charge them, on their Side, with their Forces. The *Athenians*, ſurpriz'd beyond Imagination at his coming, drew up haſtily, and without Order, under the Walls. As to *Gylippus* himſelf laying down his Arms when he was come near, he ſent Word by an Herald that he would allow the *Athenians* only five Days to leave *Sicily*: *Nicias* did not condeſcend to make the leaſt Anſwer; and ſome of his Soldiers laughing in the Herald's Face, ask'd him, *Whether the Preſence of a* Lacedæmonian *Privateer, and a trifling Wand, could create any Change in the preſent State of the City.* Both Sides, therefore, prepar'd for Battle.

Gylippus, for his firſt Exploit, ſtorm'd *Labdalon*, and cut in Pieces all who were found in it: The ſame Day an *Athenian* Galley was taken, as it ſail'd into the Harbour. Then the Beſieged drew a Wall from the City, towards *Epipolæ*, in order to cut (about the Extremity of it) the ſingle Wall of the *Athenians*; and to take away from them all Communication, with the Troops, poſted in thoſe Intrenchments, which ſurrounded the *North* Side, towards *Tyche* and *Trogilus*. The *Athenians*, after having finiſh'd the Wall, which extended as far as the Sea, towards the great Harbour, were return'd to the Hills. Wherefore *Gylippus* obſerving, in the ſingle Wall which the *Athenians* had built on the Hills of *Epipolæ*, a Part that was weaker and lower than the Reſt, march'd thither in the Night with his Troops; but being diſcover'd by the *Athenians* who were encamp'd without, he was forced to retire, upon his ſeeing them advance directly towards him. They raiſed the Wall higher, and themſelves undertook the Guard of it; after having fix'd their *Allies* in the ſeveral Poſts on the Remainder of the Intrenchment.

On the other Side, *Nicias*, thought proper to fortify the Cape of *Plemmyrium*, which, by its running into the Sea, ſtraitned the Mouth of the great Harbour; and his Deſign thereby was, to procure Proviſions, and all other Things he might want, the more eaſily; becauſe the *Athenians*, by poſſeſſing themſelves of that Poſt, drew near the little Port, wherein lay the chief naval Forces of

the *Syracuſans*, and were the better able to obſerve the various Motions of it; and beſides, by having the Sea open, they would not be forced to draw all their Proviſions from the Bottom of the great Harbour; as they muſt neceſſarily do, ſhould the Enemy, by ſeizing on the Mouth of it, force them to keep cloſe in the Harbour, in the Manner they then did. For *Nicias*, ever ſince the Arrival of *Gylippus*, had no Hopes left but from Sea. Sending, therefore, his Fleet, and Part of his Troops thither, he built three Forts, by which the Ships were enabled to lie at Anchor; and there ſecur'd a great Part of the Baggage and Ammunition. It was then that the Seafaring People ſuffer'd very much; for, as they were obliged to go a great Way to fetch Wood and Water, they were ſurrounded by the Enemy's Horſe; the third Part of which were poſted at *Olympia*, to prevent the Garriſon of *Plemmyrium* from ſallying out; and were Maſters of the Field. Advice being brought *Nicias*, that the *Corinthian* Fleet was coming up, he ſent twenty Gallies againſt it; ordering them to have an Eye on the Enemy towards *Locris*, *Rhegium*, and the Reſt of the Avenues of *Sicily*.

In the mean Time, *Gylippus*, employing thoſe very Stones, which the *Athenians* had got together for their Uſe, went on with the Wall, which the *Syracuſans* had begun to carry through *Epipolæ*; and drew up daily in Battle Array before it, as did the *Athenians*. When he judg'd it was a proper Time for engaging, he began the Battle in the Spot lying between the two Walls; and the Want of Room having made his Cavalry and Archers of no Uſe, he came off with Loſs, and the *Athenians* ſet up a Trophy. Hereupon, *Gylippus*, to rouze up the Spirits of his Soldiers, by doing them Juſtice, was ſo ingenuous, as to reproach himſelf for the ill Succeſs they had met with; and to declare publickly, that he, not they, had occaſion'd the late Defeat, becauſe he had made them fight in too narrow a Spot of Ground. However, he promis'd ſoon to give them an Opportunity of recovering both their Honour, and his; and accordingly, the very next Day, he led them againſt the Enemy, after having exhorted them, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to behave in a Manner worthy of their ancient Fame and Reputation.

On the other Hand, *Nicias* perceiving, though he ſhould not be deſirous of coming to a Battle, yet it would be abſolutely neceſſary for him, to prevent the Enemy from extending their Wall beyond the Countervallation, to which they had already got very near; (becauſe, otherwiſe this would be granting them a certain Victory) march'd out againſt the *Syracuſans*. *Gylippus* then brought up his Troops beyond that Place, where the Walls terminated on each Side, in order that he might leave the more Room to extend his Forces; when charging the Enemy's Left Wing with his Horſe, he put it to Flight, and ſoon after defeated the Right Wing. We have here an Inſtance of the mighty Effects, which the Experience and Abilities of a great Captain are capable of producing: For, *Gylippus*, with the ſame Men, the ſame Arms, the ſame Horſes, and on the ſame Ground, by only changing his Order of Battle, defeated the *Athenians*, and beat them quite to their Camp. The following Night, the Victors carry'd on their Wall beyond the Countervallation of the *Athenians*, and thereby depriv'd them of all Hopes of being able to ſurround them.

After this Succeſs, the *Syracuſans*, to whoſe Aid the *Corinthian* Fleet was arriv'd, unperceiv'd by that of the *Athenians*, recover'd their Courage, arm'd ſeveral Gallies, and marching into the Plains with their Cavalry, and other Forces, took a great Number of Priſoners. They ſent alſo Deputies to *Lacedæmonia*, and *Corinth*, to deſire a Reinforcement; whilſt *Gylippus* went in Perſon to all the Cities of *Sicily*, to ſollicit them to join him; and gain'd over the greateſt Part of them, who accordingly ſent him powerful Aſſiſtance. Hereupon, *Nicias*, finding his Troops leſſen daily, and thoſe of the Enemy increaſe, began to be diſheartned; and not only ſent Expreſſes to the *Athenians*, to acquaint them with the Situation of Affairs, but likewiſe wrote to them in the ſtrongeſt Terms.

The *Athenians* were ſtrongly affected with his Letter, and it made as great an Impreſſion on their Minds, as *Nicias* expected. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a Succeſſor; and only nominated two Officers who were under him, *viz. Menander*, and *Euthydemus*, to aſſiſt him, till ſuch Time as other Generals ſhould be ſent. *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes* were choſen to ſucceed *Lamachus* and *Alcibiades*. The former ſet out immediately with ten Gallies, and ſome Money, about the Winter Solſtice, that is about the tenth of *December*, to aſſure *Nicias*, that a ſpeedy Reinforcement ſhould be ſent him; during which, the latter was raiſing Troops and Contributions, in order to ſet Sail the following Spring.

On the other Side, the *Lacedæmonians* being ſupported by the *Corinthians*, were very induſtrious, in preparing Reinforcements to ſend to *Sicily*, and to enter *Attica*, in order to keep the *Athenian* Fleet from ſailing towards that Iſland. Accordingly, they entred *Attica* early, under the Command of King *Agis*; and, after having laid waſte the Country, they fortify'd *Decelia*; having divided the Work among all their Forces, to make the greater Diſpatch. This Poſt is about an hundred and twenty Furlongs from *Athens*; that is, about fifteen Miles, and the ſame Diſtance from *Bœotia*. *Alcibiades* was perpetually haranguing the *Lacedæmonians*; and could not be eaſy, till he had prevail'd with them to begin that neceſſary Work.

This annoy'd the *Athenians* moſt of all; for, hitherto, the Enemy retiring, after they had laid waſte the *Athenian* Territories, the latter were unmoleſted all the Reſt of the Year; but, from the Time that *Decelia* was fortify'd, the Garriſon left in it were for ever making Incurſions, and fill'd the *Athenians* with perpetual Alarms; inſomuch that *Athens* was now become a Kind of Fortreſs; for, in the Day-Time, a Guard was mounted at all the Gates; and in the Night, all the Citizens were, either on the Walls, or under Arms. Such Veſſels as brought Proviſions from the Iſland of *Eubœa*, and which before had a much ſhorter Paſſage by *Decelia*, were forced to go round about, in order to double the Cape of *Surium*; by which Means, Proviſions, as well as Goods imported, grew much dearer. To heighten the Calamity, upwards of twenty Thouſand Slaves, the greateſt Part of whom were Artificers, went over to the Enemy, to avoid the extream Miſery with which the

o the ity was afflicted. The Cattle likewiſe of all ſpe dy'd; and moſt of the Horſes were lame, by being continually upon Guard, or making Incurſions. To increaſe their Diſtreſs yet more, ſo univerſal a Havock being made, and the *Athenians* enjoying no longer the Revenues, which aroſe from the Produce of their Lands, there was a prodigious Scarcity of Money; inſomuch, that they were obliged to take the Twentieth Part of all the Imports, to ſupply their uſual Subſidies.

In the mean Time, *Gylippus*, who had gone round *Sicily*, brought as many Men, as he could poſſibly raiſe in the whole Iſland; and prevail'd with the *Syracuſans*, to fit out the ſtrongeſt Fleet in their Power, and to hazard a Battle at Sea; upon the Preſumption, that the Succeſs would anſwer the Greatneſs of the Enterprize. This Advice was ſtrongly inforc'd by *Hermocrates*, who exhorted the *Syracuſans*, not to reſign to their Enemies the Empire of the Seas: Obſerving to them, that the *Athenians* themſelves had not receiv'd it from their Anceſtors, nor been always poſſeſs'd of it: That the *Perſian* War had, in a Manner, forced them into the Knowledge of Naval Affairs; and to accuſtom themſelves to the Ocean; notwithſtanding two great Obſtacles, their Diſpoſition, and their City, which ſtood at a conſiderable Diſtance from the Sea: That they had made themſelves formidable to other Nations, not ſo much by their real Strength, as by their Courage and Intrepidity: That they ought to copy them; and, ſince they had to do with Enemies, who were ſo enterprizing, it was fit they ſhould be equally daring.

This Advice was approv'd; and accordingly, a large Fleet was equipp'd; when *Gylippus* led out all his Land-Forees in the Night, to attack the Forts of *Plemmyrium*. To this End, thirty-five Gallies of *Syracuſe*, which were in the great Harbour, and forty-five in the leſſer, where was an Arſenal for Ships, were order'd to advance towards *Plemmyrium*; to intimidate the *Athenians*, when they ſhould ſee themſelves attack'd both by Sea and Land, at the ſame Time. The *Athenians*, at this News, went on board alſo; and, with twenty-five Ships, ſail'd to fight the thirty-five *Syracuſan* Veſſels, which were ſailing out againſt them from the great Harbour; and oppos'd thirty-five more to the forty-five of the Enemy, which were come out of the litle Port. A ſharp Engagement was fought at the Mouth of the great Harbour; one Party endeavouring to force their Way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Thoſe who defended the Forts of *Plemmyrium*, having flock'd to the Shore to view the Battle, *Gylippus* attack'd the Forts unexpectedly by Daybreak; and, having carry'd the greateſt of them by Storm, the Soldiers, who defended the other two, were ſo terrify'd, that they were abandon'd in a Moment. After this Advantage, the *Syracuſans* ſuſtain'd a conſiderable Loſs; for, ſuch of their Veſſels, as fought at the Entrance of the Harbour (after having forced the *Athenians*) bulged furiouſly one againſt the other, as they entred it in Diſorder; and, by that Means, ſhifted the Victory to their Enemies, who were not contented with purſuing them, but alſo gave Chaſe to thoſe who were victorious in the great Harbour. Eleven *Syracuſan* Gallies were ſunk, on this Occaſion, and great Numbers of the Sailors in them kill'd; and three taken. The *Athenians* likewiſe loſt three; notwithſtanding which, after towing away thoſe of the Enemy, they rais'd a Trophy in a little Iſland lying before *Plemmyrium*, and retir'd to the Centre of their Camp.

The *Syracuſans* alſo rais'd three Trophies for their taking of the three Forts; and, after razing one of the ſmaller, they repair'd the Fortifications of the other two, and put Garriſons into them. Several *Athenians* had been either kill'd, or made Priſoners there; and great Sums of Money were taken, the Property of the Government, as well as of Merchants, and Captains of Gallies, beſides a large Quantity of Ammunition; this being a Kind of Magazine for the whole Army. They likewiſe loſt the Stores, and Rigging of forty Gallies, with three Ships that lay in the Dock: But, a more conſiderable Circumſtance was, *Gylippus*, thereby, prevented *Nicias* from getting Proviſions and Ammunition ſo eaſily; for, whilſt the latter was poſſeſs'd of *Plemmyrium*, they procur'd theſe ſecurely, and expeditiouſly; whereas, after their being diſpoſſeſs'd of it, it was equally difficult and hazardous; becauſe they could not bring in any Thing, without drawing their Swords; the Enemy lying at Anchor juſt off their Fort. Thus the *Athenians* could get no Proviſions without fighting; which diſpirited the Soldiers very much; and threw the whole Army into a great Conſternation.

There was a little Skirmiſh, afterwards, in defending a Barrier of Stakes; which the Inhabitants had made in the Sea, at the Entrance of the old Harbour, to ſecure the Shipping. The *Athenians*, having rais'd Towers and Parapets on a large Ship, drove it as near as poſſible to this Barrier, in order that it might ſerve as a Bulwark to ſome Ships, which carry'd military Engines, wherewith they forced up the Stakes, by the Help of Pullies and Ropes; excluſive of thoſe, which ſome Divers ſaw'd in two; the Beſieg'd defending themſelves with their Harbour, and the Enemies with their Tower. Such Stakes, as had been forc'd in, level with the Surface of the Water, in order to ſtrand thoſe Veſſels which ſhould come near them, were the hardeſt to force away. The Divers alſo brib'd the Enemy, and moſt of the Stakes were torn up; but then others were immediately drove in their Places. The utmoſt Efforts were us'd on both Sides, in the Attack, as well as in the Defence.

One Circumſtance, which the Beſieged look'd upon as of the greateſt Importance, was, to attempt a ſecond Engagement, by Sea and Land, before the Fleet, and other Supplie ſent by the *Athenians*, ſhould be arrived. They had concerted freſh Meaſures for engaging by Sea, by taking Advantage of the Errors they had committed in the laſt Fight. The Changes made in the Gallies, were, their Stems were much ſhorter, and, at the ſame Time, ſtronger, and more ſolid than before. For this Purpoſe, they fix'd great Pieces of Timber, projecting forward, on each Side of their Heads; and to theſe Pieces they join'd Beams, by Way of Props. Theſe Beams extended to the Length of ſix Cubits on each Side of the Veſſel, both within and without. By this they hop'd to

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gain the Advantage over the Gallies of the *Athenians*, which did not dare, becauſe of the Weakneſs of their Beaks, to attack an Enemy in Front, but only in Flank; not to mention that, ſhould the Battle be fought in the Harbour, they would not have Room to ſpread themſelves, nor to paſs between two Gallies, in which lay their greateſt Art; nor to tack about, after they ſhould have been repulſed, in order to return to the Onſet; whereas the *Syracuſans*, by their being Maſters of the whole Extent of the Harbour, would have all theſe Advantages, and might reciprocally aſſiſt one another. On theſe Circumſtances the latter founded the Hopes they entertained of gaining the Victory. *Gylippus* therefore firſt drew all the Infantry out of the Camp, and advanced towards that Part of the Countervallation of the *Athenians*, which faced the City; whilſt the Troops of *Olympia* marched towards the other, and their Gallies ſet Sail.

In the mean while, *Nicias* did not care to venture a ſecond Battle, alledging, very juſtly, that as he expected a freſh Fleet every Moment, and a great Reinforcement, which *Demoſthenes* was bringing with all Speed; it would betray the greateſt Want of Judgment, ſhould he, as his Troops were inferiour in Number to thoſe of the Enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a Battle, without being forced to it. On the contrary, *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, who had, juſt before, been appointed to ſhare the Command with *Nicias*, till the Arrival of *Demoſthenes*; fired with Ambition, and jealous of thoſe Generals, wanted to perform ſome mighty Exploit, to bereave the one of his Glory, and, if poſſible, eclipſe that of the other. The Pretence they alledged on this Occaſion was, the Fame and Reputation of *Athens*; and they aſſerted, with ſo much Vehemence, that it would be entirely deſtroy'd, ſhould they ſhun the Battle, ſince the *Syracuſans* offered it them; that they at laſt forced *Nicias* to a Compliance. The *Athenians* had ſeventy Gallies, and the *Syracuſans* eighty.

The firſt Day, the Fleets continued in Sight of each other, in the great Harbour, without engaging; and only a few Skirmiſhes were fought, after which, both Parties retired; and it was juſt the ſame with the Land-Forces. The *Syracuſans* did not make the leaſt Motion the ſecond Day; of which *Nicias* taking Advantage, cauſed the Tranſports to draw up in a Line, at ſome Diſtance from one another; in order that his Gallies might retire behind them with Safety, in Caſe he ſhould be defeated. On the Morrow, the *Syracuſans* came up ſooner than uſual, when a great Part of the Day was ſpent in skirmiſhing, after which they retired. The *Athenians* did not ſuppoſe they would return, but imagined that Fear had made them fly: However, having refreſhed themſelves with great Diligence, and returning on Bard their Gallies, they attack'd the *Athenians* a ſecond Time, who were then far from expecting them. Hereupon the latter, being now forced to return immediately on Board their Ships, entered them in great Diſorder, ſo that they had not Time to draw them up in a Line of Battle, and moſt of the Sailors were faſting. Victory did not long continue in Suſpence: The *Athenians*, after making a ſhort and ſlight Reſiſtance, retired behind their Line of Tranſport-Ships. The Enemy purſued them thither, and were ſtopt by the Sail-Yards of thoſe Ships, to which were fix'd Dolphins of Lead, which being very heavy, had they fallen on the Enemy Gallies, would have ſunk them at once. The *Athenians* loſt ſeven Gallies in this Engagement, and a great Number of Soldiers were either killed or taken Priſoners.

This Loſs threw *Nicias* into the utmoſt Conſternation. All the Misfortunes he had met with, ever ſince the Time he had firſt enjoy'd the ſupreme Command, came into his Mind; and he was then involved in greater than any of them, by his complying with the Advice of his Collegues. Whilſt he was thus ruminating on theſe melancholy Thoughts, the Fleet of *Demoſthenes* was ſeen opportunely coming forward, in great Pomp, and with ſuch an Air as was enough to have filled the Enemy with Dread: It was now the Day after the Battle. This Fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-three Gallies, on Board of which were five thouſand fighting Men, and abount three thouſand Archers and Slingers. All theſe Gallies were richly trimmed; their Heads being adorned with ſhining Streamers, manned with ſtout Rowers, commanded by good Officers, and echoing with the Sound of Clarions and Trumpets; *Demoſthenes* having affected an Air of Pomp and Triumph, on Purpoſe to ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy.

In Effect, this gallant Sight did alarm them beyond Expreſſion: They did not ſee any End, or even the leaſt Suſpenſion of their Calamities; all they had hitherto done or ſuffer'd was as nothing, and their Work was to begin again. What Hopes could they entertain, of being able to weary out the Patience of the *Athenians*, ſince, though they had a Camp intrench'd in the Middle of *Attica*, they yet were able to ſend a ſecond Army into *Sicily*, as conſiderable as the former; and that their Power as well as their Courage; ſeem'd, notwithſtanding the mighty Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, inſtead of diminiſhing, to increaſe daily?

Demoſthenes, having made an exact Enquiry into the State of Things, imagined that it would not be proper for him to loſe Time as *Nicias* had done; who, having ſpread an univerſal Terror at his firſt Arrival, became afterwards the Object of Contempt, for his having wintered in *Catana*, inſtead of going directly to *Syracuſe*; and had afterwards given *Gylippus* an Opportunity of throwing Troops into it. He flatter'd himſelf with the Hopes, that he ſhould be able to reduce the City at the firſt Attack, by taking Advantage of the Alarm, which the News of his Arrival would ſpread, in every Part of it; and, by that Means, ſhould immediately put an End to the War: Otherwiſe, he intended to raiſe the Siege, and no longer harraſs and leſſen the Troops, by fighting Battles which were ever undeciſive; nor quite exhauſt the City of *Athens*, by employing its Treaſures in needleſs Expences.

Nicias, frighted at this bold and precipitate Reſolution of *Demoſthenes*, conjured him not to be ſo haſty, but to take Time to weigh Things deliberately, that he might have no Cauſe to repent of what he had done. He obſerved to him, that the Enemy would be ruined by Delays; that their Proviſions, as well as Money, was quite conſum'd; that their *Allies* were going to abandon them; that they muſt ſoon be reduced to ſuch Extremity, for Want of Proviſions, as would force them to ſurrender, as they had before reſolved. For there

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certain Perſons in *Syracuſe*, who carried on a ſecret Correſpondence with *Nicias*, and exhorted him not to be impatient; becauſe the *Syracuſans* were tired both with the War, and with *Gylippus*; and that ſhould the Neceſſity, to which they were reduced, be ever ſo little increaſed, they would then ſurrender at Diſcretion.

As *Nicias* did not explain himſelf clearly, and would not declare in expreſs Terms, that ſure and certain Advices were ſent him of whatever was tranſacted in the City, his Remonſtrances were conſidered as an Effect of the Fear and Dilatorineſs with which he had always been reproached. "Such, ſaid they, are his uſual Delays, and Diſ-"truſt, whereby he has diſcouraged all the Men, "and damp'd all the Fire of the Army, by not "marching them immediately againſt the Ene-"my; but, on the Contrary, by deferring to at-"tack them, till his own Forces were weaken'd "and deſpiſed." This made the reſt of the Generals, and all the Officers, come over to the Opinion of *Demoſthenes*, and *Nicias* himſelf was at laſt forced to acquieſce therewith.

Hereupon, *Demoſthenes*, after having attack'd, to no Purpoſe, the Wall which cut the Countervallation of the Beſiegers, confined himſelf to the Attack of *Epipolæ*; from a Suppoſition, that ſhould he once be Maſter of it, the Wall would be left quite undefended. He therefore took Proviſions for five Days, with Workmen, Implements, and every Thing neceſſary for him to defend that Poſt, after he ſhould be poſſeſſed of it. As there was no going up to it in the Day-time undiſcover'd, he march'd thither in the Night, with all his Forces, together with *Eurymedon* and *Menander*; *Nicias* ſtaying behind to guard the Camp. They went up by the Way of *Euryelus*, as before, unperceived by the Centinels; they attack'd the firſt Intrenchment, and ſtorm'd it, after killing Part of thoſe who defended it. *Demoſthenes*, however, not ſatisfied with this Advantage, to prevent the Ardour of his Soldiers from cooling, and not delay the Execution of his Deſign, march'd forward.

During this Interval, the Forces of the City, ſuſtain'd by *Gylippus*, march, under Arms, out of the Intrenchments: Being ſeized with Aſtoniſhment, which the Darkneſs of the Night increaſed, they were immediately repulſed, and put to Flight. But, as the *Athenians* advanced in Diſorder, to force whatever might reſiſt their Arms, for Fear leſt the Enemy might rally again, ſhould Time be allow'd them to breathe, and recover from their Surprize; they are ſtopt at once by the *Bœotians*, who make a vigorous Stand, and marching againſt them with their Pikes downward, they repulſe them, with great Shouts, and make a dreadful Slaughter. This ſtrikes an univerſal Terror into the reſt of the *Athenians*: Thoſe who fled, either force along ſuch as were advancing to their Aſſiſtance; or elſe, miſtaking them for Enemies, turn their Arms againſt them. They now were all mixed indiſcriminately, it being impoſſible to diſcern Objects in the Horrors of a Night, which was not ſo gloomy as to take away the Sight of them, nor yet light enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe which were ſeen. The *Athenians* fought for one another to no Purpoſe; and from their often asking the *Word*, by which Method only, they were able to find out one another, a ſtrange Confuſion of Sounds was heard, which occaſioned no little Trouble; not to mention that, by this Means, they divulged the Word to the Enemy, and could not learn theirs; becauſe by their being together, and in a Body, they had no Occaſion to repeat it. In the mean Time, thoſe who were purſued precipitated themſelves from the Top of Rocks, and many were daſhed to Pieces by the Fall; and as moſt of thoſe who eſcaped, ſtraggled from one another, up and down the Fields and Woods, they were cut to Pieces the next Day, by the Enemy's Horſe, who purſued them. Two thouſand *Athenians* were ſlain in this Engagement, and a great Number of Arms were taken; thoſe who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to eſcape over the Precipices.

The *Athenian* Generals, after ſuſtaining ſo great a Loſs, were in a prodigious Dilemma: The Soldiers were now in a deſpairing Condition, and died daily; either by the Diſeaſes that reign'd in *Autumn*, or by the bad Air of the Fens, near which they were encamped. *Demoſthenes* was of Opinion, that it would be proper for them to leave the Country immediately, ſince they had been unſucceſsful in ſo important an Enterprize; eſpecially as the Seaſon was not too far advanced for ſailing; and that they had Ships enough to force a Paſſage, in caſe the Enemy ſhould diſpute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater Advantage to oblige the Enemy to raiſe their Blockade of *Athens*, than for them to continue that of *Syracuſe*, by which they exhauſted themſelves to no Purpoſe; that he was certain, a freſh Army would not be ſent them; and that they could not hope to overcome the Enemy, with the feeble Remains under their Command.

Nicias was ſenſible, that the Arguments his Collegue had made uſe of were very juſt, and he himſelf was of his Opinion; but at the ſame Time he was afraid, leſt ſo publick a Confeſſion of the weak Condition to which they were reduced, and their Reſolution to leave *Sicily*, (the Report of which would certainly reach the Enemy) ſhould compleat the Ruin of their Affairs; and perhaps, make them unable to execute their Reſolution, when they ſhould go about it. Beſides, he had ſome little Hopes left, that the Beſieged, being themſelves reduced to great Extremity, by their abſolute Want of Proviſions and Money, would, at laſt, be inclin'd to ſurrender upon honourable Terms. Thus, although he was in Reality uncertain and wavering, he yet ſhew'd by his Expreſſions, that he did not care to quit *Sicily*, till the *Athenians* ſhould have firſt ſent Orders for that Purpoſe; and that otherwiſe, they would be highly diſpleaſed: That, as thoſe who were to judge them, had not been Eye-witneſſes to the State of Things, they would be of a different Opinion; and then, at the Inſtigation of ſome Orator, would certainly condemn them: That, moſt of thoſe Men who now exclaim'd, with the greateſt Vehemence, againſt the Difficulties they laboured under, would then change their Note, and accuſe them of having been brib'd to raiſe the Siege: That, knowing ſo well as he did, the Diſpoſition and Character of the *Athenians*, he choſe to die gloriouſly by the Enemy's Sword, rather than be ignominiouſly condemn'd by his Fellow-Citizens.

Theſe Reaſons, though they appeared very ſtrong, were yet not able to convince *Demoſthenes*; and it was ſtill his Opinion, that the only Way left

them to ſecure themſelves, would be to leave the Country. However, as he had been unſucceſsful in his former Advice, he was afraid of inſiſting upon this; and he yielded the ſooner to the Council of *Nicias*, becauſe he imagined, as did alſo many others, that this General might have ſome ſecret Way to retrieve All, ſince he was ſo firmly reſolved to ſtay.

In the mean while, *Gylippus*, after having gone round *Sicily*, had brought a great Body of Troops with him. This new Reinforcement terrified the *Athenians* exceedingly, whoſe Army diminiſhed daily by Sickneſs; and they now began to repent their not having raiſed the Siege; eſpecially as the Beſieged were preparing to attack them, both by Sea and Land: Beſides, *Nicias* no longer oppoſed this Reſolution, and only deſired to have it kept ſecret. Orders were, therefore, given, as privately as poſſible, for the Fleet to prepare for ſetting Sail, with the utmoſt Expedition.

When all Things were ready, the Moment they were going to ſet Sail, (wholly unſuſpected by the Enemy, who were far from ſurmizing they would leave *Sicily* ſo ſoon) the Moon was ſuddenly eclipſed in the Middle of the Night, and loſt all its Splendor; which terrified *Nicias* and the whole Army, who, from Ignorance and Superſtition, were aſtoniſh'd at ſo ſudden a Change, the Cauſes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the Conſequences. They then conſulted the Soothſayers; and theſe being equally unacquainted with the Reaſons of this Phœnomenon, only ſerved to increaſe the Dread. It was the Cuſtom among theſe *Heathens*, after ſuch Accidents had happen'd, to ſuſpend their Enterprizes but for three Days. The Soothſayers pronounced, that he muſt not ſet Sail till three Times nine Days were paſt, (theſe are the Words of *Thucydides*) which doubtleſs was a myſterious Number in the Opinion of the People. *Nicias*, ſcrupulous to a Fault, and full of a miſtaken Veneration, for theſe blind Interpreters of the Will of the Gods, declared, that he would wait a whole Revolution of the Moon, and not return till the ſame Day of the next Month; as though he had not ſeen the Planet very clearly, the Inſtant it had emerged from that Part, which was darken'd by the Interpoſition of the Earth's Body.

But he was not allow'd Time for this: The News of the intended Departure of the *Athenians* being ſoon ſpread over the City, a Reſolution was taken to attack the Beſiegers both by Sea and Land. The *Syracuſans* began the firſt Day by attacking the Intrenchments, and gained a ſlight Advantage over the Enemy: On the Morrow they made a ſecond Attack; and, at the ſame Time, ſailed with ſeventy-ſix Gallies, againſt eighty-ſix of the *Athenians*. *Eurymedon*, who commanded the Right of the *Athenian* Fleet, having ſpread along the Shore to ſurround them, this Movement proved fatal to him: For, as he was detach'd from the Body of the Fleet, the *Syracuſans*, after forcing the main Battle which was in the Centre, attack'd him, drove him vigorouſly into the Gulf called *Daſcon*, and there defeated him entirely. *Eurymedon* loſt his Life in the Engagement. They afterwards gave Chaſe to the reſt of the Gallies, and ran them athore.

In the mean while *Gylippus*, who commanded the Land-Army, ſeeing the *Athenian* Gallies were forced a-Ground, and not able to return into Batrier; landed with Part of his Troops, in order to charge the Soldiers, in caſe they ſhould be forced to run aſhore; and to give his Friends the more Room to tow ſuch Gallies as they ſhould take. However, he was repulſed by the *Tyrrheni*, who kept Guard on that Side; and obliged by the *Athenians*, who flew to ſuſtain them, to retire with ſome Loſs, as far as the Moor called *Lyſimelia*, which lay near it. The latter ſaved moſt of their Ships, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the *Syracuſans*, and their Crews cut in Pieces. After this, reſolving to burn the reſt, they filled an old Veſſel with combuſtible Materials; and having ſet Fire to it, they drove it, by the Help of the Wind, againſt the *Athenians*; who, nevertheleſs, extinguiſh'd the Fire, and drove off that Ship.

Each Side erected Trophies; the *Syracuſans* for the Defeat of *Eurymedon*, and the Advantage they had gain'd the Day before: And the *Athenians*, for their having drove Part of the Enemy into the Moor, and put the other Part to Flight. But the Minds of the two Nations were very differently diſpoſed: The *Syracuſans*, who had been thrown into the utmoſt Conſternation, at the Arrival of *Demoſthenes* with his Fleet, ſeeing themſelves victorious in a naval Engagement, reſumed freſh Hope, and were perſuaded they ſhould gain a compleat Victory over their Enemies: Whereas the *Athenians*, on the contrary, fruſtrated of their only Refuge, and overcome by Sea, ſo contrary to their Expectations, quite loſt their Courage, and only thought of retiring.

The Enemy, to prevent their eſcapinſh, ſhut the Mouth of the great Harbour, which was about five hundred Paces wide, with Gallies placed croſs-wiſe, and other Veſſels, fixed with Anchors and Iron-Chains; and at the ſame Time made the requiſite Preparations for the Battle, in Caſe they ſhould have the Courage to engage again. When the *Athenians* ſaw themſelves thus hemmed in, the Generals and principal Officers aſſembled, in order to deliberate on the preſent State of Affairs, They were in abſolute Want of Proviſions, which was owing to their having forbid the People of *Catana* to bring any, from the Hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from any other Places, unleſs they were Maſters of the Sea. This made them reſolve to venture a Sea-Fight. In this View, they were determined to leave their old Camp, and their Walls, which extended to the Temple of *Hercules*; and to intrench themſelves on the Shore, near their Ships, in the ſmalleſt Compaſs poſſible. Their Deſign was, to leave ſome Forces in that Place to guard their Baggage and the Sick; and to fight with the reſt on Board all the Ships they could ſave. Their Intention was to retire to *Catana*, in Caſe they ſhould be victorious; otherwiſe, to ſet Fire to their Ships, and to march by Land to the neareſt City belonging to their *Allies*.

This Reſolution being taken, *Nicias* immediately fill'd an hundred and ten Gallies (the others having loſt their Oars) with the Flower of his Infantry; and drew up the reſt of the Forces, particularly the Archers, in Order of Battle, on the Shore. At the ſame Time, as the *Athenians* dreaded very much, the Beaks of the *Syracuſian* Gallies, he had provided Harping-Irons to grapple with

ith them, in order to break the Force of the Blow, d to come immediately to close Fight, as on shore. But, the Enemy perceiving this, cover'd the Prows, and Upper-Parts of their Gallies, with Leather, to prevent being easily laid hold on. The Commanders, on both Sides, had employ'd all their Rhetorick, to animate their Men; and none could ever have been prompted from stronger Motives; for, the Battle, which was going to be fought, was to determine, not only their Lives and Liberties, but also the Fate of their Country.

The Battle was very obstinate, and bloody. The *Athenians*, being arriv'd at the Mouth of the Port, easily took those Ships, which defended the Entrance; but, when they attempted to break the Chain of the Rest, to widen the Passage, the Enemy came up from all Quarters. As near two hundred Gallies came rushing, on each Side, in a narrow Place, there must, necessarily, be a very great Confusion; and the Vessels could not easily advance forward, or retire, nor turn about to renew the Attack. The Beaks of the Gallies, for this Reason, did very little Execution; but, there were very furious, and frequent Discharges of missive Weapons. The *Athenians* were overpower'd with a Shower of Stones, which always do Execution, from what Place soever they are thrown; whereas, they defended themselves only by shooting Darts and Arrows, which, by the Motion of the Ships, toss'd about by the Sea, did not carry true; and, by that Means, most of them did little Execution.

These Discharges being over, the Soldiers, heavily arm'd, attempted to enter the Enemy's Ships, in order to fight Hand to Hand: And it often happen'd, that, whilst they were climbing up one Side, theirs were entred at the other; and two or three Ships would be grappled to one, which occasion'd a great Perplexity and Confusion. Besides, the Noise of the Ships, that bulg'd one against another, the different Cries of the Victors and Vanquish'd, prevented the Orders of the Officers from being heard. The *Athenians* wanted to force a Passage, whatever might be the Consequence, to secure their Return into their own Country; and this the Enemy employ'd their utmost Efforts to prevent, that they might gain a more compleat, and glorious Victory.

The two Land-Armies, which were drawn up on the highest Part of the Shore, and the Inhabitants of the City, who were got upon the Walls; whilst the Rest, kneeling in the Temples, were imploring Heaven, to give Success to their Citizens; all those saw clearly whatever pass'd, because of their small Distance from the Fleets; and contemplated the Battle, as from an Amphitheatre, but not without Dread. Attentive to, and shuddering at every Motion, and the several Changes which happen'd; they discover'd the Interest they took in the Battle; their Fears, or Hopes; their Grief, or Joy; by different Cries, and Gestures; stretching forth their Hands, sometimes towards the Combatants, to animate them; and at other Times towards Heaven, to implore the Assistance and Protection of the Gods.

At last, the *Athenian* Fleet, after sustaining a long Combat, and making a brave Resistance, was put to Flight, and driven ashore. The *Syracusans*, who were Spectators of this Victory, acquainted the whole City, by an universal Shout, with the News of this Victory. The Victors, now Masters of the Sea, and sailing with a favourable Wind towards *Syracuse*, erected a Trophy; whilst the *Athenians*, who were dejected, and overpower'd, did not so much as attempt to request, that the dead Bodies of their Soldiers might be deliver'd them, in order to pay the last sad Duty to their Remains.

They had now but two Ways left to choose; either to attempt the Passage a second Time, for which they had Ships, and Soldiers sufficient; or, to abandon their Fleet to the Enemy, and retire by Land. *Demosthenes* propos'd the former; but the Sailors, in the deepest Affliction, refus'd to obey; fully persuaded, it would be impossible for them to sustain a second Engagement. The second Method was, therefore, resolv'd upon; and, accordingly, they prepar'd to set out in the Night, to conceal the March of their Army from the Enemy.

But *Hermocrates*, who suspected their Design, was very sensible it was of the utmost Importance, not to suffer so great a Body of Forces to escape; since they otherwise might fortify themselves in some Corner of the Island, and there begin a new War. The *Syracusans* were, at that Time, in the Midst of their Festivity and Rejoicings; and meditating nothing, but how they might best divert themselves, after the Toils they had sustain'd in Fight. It was the Festival of *Hercules*, which they were then solemnizing. To desire the *Syracusans* to take up Arms again, in order to pursue the Enemy; and to attempt to draw them from their Diversions, either by Force, or Persuasion, would have been to no Purpose; for which Reason, another Expedient was made Use of. *Hermocrates* sent a few Horsemen, who were to pass for Friends of the *Athenians*, and order'd them to cry aloud: *Bid* Nicias *not retire till Day-Light; for, the* Syracusans *lie in Ambush for him, and have seized on all the Passes.* This false Advice stopp'd *Nicias* at once; and he did not even set out the next Day, in order that the Soldiers might have more Time to prepare for their Departure; and carry off whatever might be necessary for their Subsistence, leaving the Rest behind for the Enemy.

The Enemy had Time sufficient for seizing upon the Avenues. The next Morning early, they possess'd themselves of the most difficult Passes, fortify'd those Places, where the Rivers were fordable, broke down the Bridges, and spread Detachments of Horse up and down the Plain; so that there was not one Pass, through which the *Athenians* could get away without fighting. They set out upon their March, the third Day after the Battle, with the Design of retiring to *Catana*. The whole Army were in an inexpressible Consternation, to see such great Numbers of Men, either dead, or dying; some of whom were left expos'd to wild Beasts, and the Rest to the Cruelty of the Enemy. Those, who were sick and wounded, conjur'd them, with Tears, to take them along with the Army; and held by their Cloaths, when they were going; or else, dragging themseves after them, follow'd as far as their Strength would permit; and, when this fail'd, they had Recourse to Tears, Sighs, Imprecations: And sending up towards Heaven plaintive and dying Groans, they call'd

call'd upon the Gods, as well as Men, to revenge the Cruelty they met with, and every Place ecchoʼd with Lamentations.

In Effect, all were in a deplorable State: Every Man was seiz'd with the deepest Melancholy. They were inwardly tortur'd with Spite and Rage, when they represented to themselves, the Greatness from which they were fallen; the extream Misery to which they were reduc'd; and the still greater Evils, from which, they foresaw, it would be impossible for them to escape. They could not bear the Comparison, which their Thoughts were ever representing to them, of the triumphant State in which they had left *Athens*, in the Midst of the good Wishes, and Acclamations of the People; and the Ignominy of their Retreat, aggravated by the Cries, and Imprecations of their Relations, and Fellow-Citizens.

But, the most melancholy Part of the Spectacle, and that which most deserv'd Compassion, was *Nicias*. Dejected, and worn out by a tedious Illness; depriv'd of the most necessary Things, at a Time when his Age and Infirmities requir'd them most; pierc'd, not only with his particular Grief, but with that of others; all which he bore in his own Mind; this Great Man, superior to all his own Afflictions, thought of nothing but how he might best comfort his Soldiers, and rouze their Courage. He ran up and down in all Places, crying aloud, that Matters were not yet desperate, and, that other Armies had escap'd from greater Dangers; that they ought not to accuse themselves, or grieve too immoderately, for Misfortunes, which they had not occasion'd; that, if they had offended some God, his Vengeance must be satiated by this Time; that Fortune, after having so long favour'd the Enemy, would, at last, be tir'd of persecuting them; that their Bravery, and their Numbers, still made them formidable, (they being then near forty Thousand strong) that no City in *Sicily* would be able to withstand them, nor prevent their settling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do, but to take Care, severally, of themselves, and march in good Order; that, by a prudent, and couragious Retreat, which was now become their only Refuge, they would not only save themselves, but also their Country, and enable it to recover its former Grandeur.

The Army then march'd in two Bodies, both drawn up in the Form of a *Phalanx*; the first being commanded by *Nicias*, and the second by *Demosthenes*, with the Baggage in the Centre. Being come to the River *Anapis*, they forc'd the Passage; and afterwards were charg'd by all the Enemy's Cavalry, as well as the Archers, who made continual Discharges of Arrows upon them. They were annoy'd in this Manner, during several Days March; every one of the Passes being guarded, and the *Athenians* oblig'd to fight every Inch of their Way. The Enemy, however, very prudently took Care, not to hazard a Battle against an Army, which Despair alone might render invincible; and, the Instant the *Athenians* presented the *Syracusans* Battle, the latter retir'd; but, whenever the former would have proceeded on their March, they advanc'd, and fell upon them in their Retreat.

Hereupon, *Demosthenes* and *Nicias*, seeing the miserable Condition to which the Troops were reduc'd, being in extream Want of Provisions, and great Numbers of them wounded, judg'd it advisable to retire towards the Sea, by a contrary Way from that in which they were then going; and to march directly towards *Camarina* and *Gela*, instead of proceeding to *Catana*, as they first intended. Accordingly, they set out in the Night, having first kindled several Fires, to conceal their Retreat; which was made in great Confusion and Disorder, as generally happens to great Armies in the gloomy Horrors of the Night, especially when the Enemy is not far off.

However, the Vanguard, commanded by *Nicias*, advanc'd in good Order; but, above half the Rear-Guard, with *Demosthenes* at their Head, drew off from the main Body, and lost their Way. Next Day, the *Syracusans*, who, on the Report of their Retreat, had march'd with the utmost Diligence, came up with him about Noon; and, having surrounded him with their Horse, drove him into a narrow Place, inclos'd with a Wall, where his Soldiers fought like Lions. At the Close of Day, the *Syracusans* perceiving that the Enemy were oppress'd with Weariness, and cover'd with Wounds, they gave the *Sicilians* Leave to retire, which some of them accepted; and they afterwards spar'd the Lives of the rest, who surrendred at Discretion with *Demosthenes*, after having stipulated, that they should not be put to Death, nor sentenc'd to perpetual Imprisonment: Upon which Conditions, about six thousand Soldiers laid down their Arms.

Nicias arriv'd the same Evening at the River *Erineus*; and crossing it, incamp'd on a Mountain, where the Enemy came up with him the next Day; and summon'd him to surrender at Discretion, as well as *Demosthenes*: But *Nicias* could not be brought to believe that it was true; however, he desir'd Leave to send some Troopers for his Satisfaction: Who bringing him Word, it was too true, he offer'd to pay the Expences of the War, upon Condition, that they would permit him to leave the Country with his Forces; and to give as many *Athenians* for Hostages, as they should be oblig'd to pay Talents. But the Enemy rejected this Proposal with Disdain and Insolence, and renew'd the Onset. Hereupon, *Nicias*, though in absolute Want of all Things, sustain'd the Attack the whole Night, after which he march'd towards the River *Asinarus*. When they were got to the Banks of it, the *Syracusans* advancing up to them, threw most of them into the Stream; the rest having already plung'd voluntarily into it, to quench their Thirst.

Here the greatest, and most bloody Havock was made; the poor Wretches being butcher'd, without the least Pity, as they were drinking: And *Nicias*, finding all lost, and unable to bear this dismal Spectacle, surrendred at Discretion; upon Condition, that *Gylippus* should discontinue the Fight, and spare the rest of his Army. A great Number were kill'd, and more taken Prisoners, so that all *Sicily* was fill'd with them. The *Athenians* seem'd to have been displeas'd with their General, for surrendring in this Manner at Discretion; and, for this Reason, his Name was omitted in a publick Monument, on which were engraven the Names of those Commanders, who had lost their Lives, in fighting for their Country.

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The Victors embellish'd, with the Arms taken from the Prisoners, the finest and largest Trees they could find on the Banks of the Rivers, and made a Kind of Trophies of those Trees; when crowning themselves with Chaplets of Flowers, dressing their Horses in the richest Caparisons, and cropping those of their Enemies; they entred triumphantly into *Syracuse*, after having ended auspiciously the most considerable War, in which they had ever been engag'd with the *Greeks*; and won, by their Strength and Valour, a most signal and most compleat Victory.

Next Day, a Council being held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the Prisoners, *Diocles*, one of the Leaders of greatest Authority among the People, propos'd as follows: That all the *Athenians*, who were born of free Parents, and all such *Sicilians* as had join'd with them, should be imprison'd in the Stone-Quarries; where only two Measures of Flower, and one of Water, should be given them daily; that the Slaves, and all the *Allies* should be publickly sold; and that the two *Athenian* Generals should be first scourg'd with Rods, and afterwards put to Death.

This last Article shock'd, in a prodigious Degree, all wise and compassionate *Syracusans*. *Hermocrates*, who was very famous for his Probity and Justice, attempted to make some Remonstrances to the People; but they would not hear him; and the Shouts which eccho'd from all Sides, prevented him from continuing his Speech. Hereupon, *Nicolaus*, an ancient Man, venerable for his great Age and Gravity, who, in this War, had lost two Sons, the only Heirs to his Name and Estate, made his Servants carry him to the *Rostra*; if we may be allow'd that Term. The Instant he appear'd a profound Silence was made. "You here behold (says he) an unfortunate Fa- "ther, who has felt more than any other *Syra-* "*cusan*, the fatal Effects of this War, by the Death "of two Sons, who form'd all the Consolation, "and were the only Supports of his Old-Age. I "cannot, indeed, forbear admiring their Courage "and Felicity, in sacrificing, to the Welfare of "their Country, a Life, of which they would, "one Day, have been depriv'd by the common "Course of Nature: But then I cannot but be "strongly affected with the cruel Wound, which "their Death has made in my Heart; nor forbear "hating and detesting the *Athenians*, who first "lighted up this unhappy War, as the Murderers "of my Children. Nevertheless, I cannot con- "ceal one Circumstance, which is, that I am less "sensible of my private Affliction, than of the "Honour of my Country: And I see it expos'd "to eternal Infamy, by the barbarous Advice "which is now given you. The *Athenians*, in- "deed, merit the worst Treatment, and every "Kind of Punishment that can be inflicted on "them, for so unjustly declaring War against us; "but, have not the Gods, the just Avengers of "Crimes, punish'd them, and reveng'd us suffici- "ently? When their Generals laid down their "Arms, and surrendred, did they not do this, "upon a Promise of having their Lives spar'd? "And, if we put them to Death, will it be pos- "sible for us to avoid the just Reproach, of our "having violated the Law of Nations, and dis- "honour'd our Victory, by an unheard-of Cruelty? "How will you suffer your Glory to be thus ful- "ly'd in the Face of the whole World; and have "it said, that a Nation, who first dedicated a "Temple in their City to *Clemency*, had not found "any in yours? Surely, Victories and Triumphs "do not give immortal Glory to a City; but ex- "ercising Mercy towards a vanquish'd Enemy, "using Moderation in the greatest Prosperity, "and fearing to anger the Gods, by an haughty "and insolent Pride? You, doubtless, cannot for- "get, that this *Nicias*, whose Fate you are go- "ing to pronounce, was the very Man, who "pleaded your Cause in the Assembly of the *A-* "*thenians*; and employ'd all his Credit, and the "whole Power of his Eloquence, to dissuade his "Countrymen from embarking in this War. "Should you, therefore, pronounce Sentence of "Death on this worthy General; would it be a "just Reward, for the Zeal he show'd for your "Interest? With Regard to Myself, Death would "be less grievous to me, than the Sight of so "horrid an Injustice, committed by my Country- "men and Fellow-Citizens."

The People seem'd mov'd to Compassion at this Speech; especially, as they had expected, when this venerable old Man first went up into the *Rostra*, to hear him cry aloud for Vengeance on those who had brought all his Calamities upon him, instead of suing for their Pardon. But, the Enemies of the *Athenians*, having expatiated with Vehemence, on the unheard-of Cruelties, which their Republick had exercis'd on several Cities belonging to their Enemies, and even to their ancient *Allies*; the Inveteracy, which their Commanders had shown against *Syracuse*, and the Evils they would have made it suffer, had they been victorious; the Afflictions and Groans of a numberless Multitude of *Syracusans*, who bewail'd the Death of their Children, and near Kindred, whose *Manes* could be appeas'd no other Way, than by the Blood of their Murderers: On these Representations, we say, the People return'd to their sanguinary Resolution, and follow'd the Advice of *Diocles*, in every Respect. *Gylippus* us'd his utmost Endeavours, but in vain, to have *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* given up to him (especially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to *Sparta*. But his Demand was rejected with an haughty Scorn, and the two Generals were put to Death.

All wise and compassionate Men, could not forbear shedding Tears, for the tragical Death of two such illustrious Personages; and particularly, for *Nicias*, who, of all Men of his Time, seem'd least to merit so ignominious, and untimely an End. When Men recollected the Words he had spoken, and the Remonstrances he had made, to prevent this War; and, on the other Side, when they consider'd how high a Regard he had ever shown to all Things relating to Religion; the greatest Part of them were tempted to exclaim against Providence, in seeing, that a Man, who had ever shown the highest Reverence for the Gods; and had always exerted himself to the utmost, to increase their Honour and Worship, should be so ill-rewarded by them, and meet with no better Fate than the most abandon'd Wretches. But, it is no Wonder, that the Calamities of good Men should inspire the *Heathens* with such Thoughts, and

make them murmur and deſpond; ſince they did not know the Holineſs of the Divine Being, nor the Corruption of human Nature.

The Priſoners then were ſhut up in the Stone-Quarries; where, crowding one upon the other, they ſuffer'd incredible Torments for eight Months: They were, for ever, expos'd to the Inclemencies of the Weather; ſcorch'd, in the Day-Time, by the burning Rays of the Sun; or frozen, in the Night, by the Colds of Autumn; poiſon'd by the Stench of their own Excrements, by the Carkaſſes of thoſe who dy'd of their Wounds, and of Sickneſs: In ſhort, worn out by Hunger and Thirſt; for, their daily Allowance to each was but a ſmall Meaſure of Water, and two of Meal. Thoſe who were taken out of thoſe Quarries two Months after, in order to be ſold as Slaves (many whereof were Citizens, who had diſguis'd their Condition) found a leſs rigorous Fate. Their Wiſdom, Patience, and a certain Air of Probity and Modeſty, were of great Advantage to them; for, they were ſoon reſtor'd to their Liberty, or met with the moſt handſome and generous Treatment from their Maſters. Several of them ow'd the kind Uſage they were indulg'd with, to *Euripides*, the fineſt Scenes of whoſe Tragedies they had repeated to the *Sicilians*, who were extreamly fond of them; ſo that, being return'd to their own Country, they went, and ſaluted that Poet, as their Deliverer; and inform'd him of the admirable Effects wrought in their Favour, by his Verſes.

The Advice of this Defeat being carry'd to *Athens*, the Citizens would not, at firſt, believe it; and were ſo far from crediting ſuch News, that they ſentenc'd that Man to Death, who had firſt publiſh'd it. But, when it was confirm'd, all the *Athenians* were ſeiz'd with the utmoſt Conſternation; when, as though they themſelves had not proclaim'd War, the vented their Spite and Rage againſt the Orators, who had promoted the Enterprize, as well as againſt the Soothſayers, who, by their Oracles, or ſuppos'd Prodigies, had flatter'd them with Succeſs. They had never been reduc'd to ſo deplorable a Condition, as then; they having neither Horſe, Foot, Money, Gallies, or Sailors: In a Word, they were in the deepeſt Deſpair, expecting every Moment, that the Enemy, elate with their mighty Victory, and ſtrengthned by the Revolt of the *Allies*, would come, and fall at once upon *Athens*, both by Sea and Land, with all the Forces of *Peloponneſus*. *Cicero* had Reaſon to obſerve (ſpeaking of the naval Engagements fought in the Harbour of *Syracuſe*) that it was there the Troops of *Athens*, as well as their Gallies, were ruin'd, and ſunk; and that, in this Harbour, the Power and Glory of the *Athenians* were miſerably ſhipwreck'd.

The *Athenians* were, nevertheleſs, not quite dejected, but rouz'd their Courage again; and reſolved to raiſe Money from all Quarters, and get Timber for building of Ships, in order to awe the *Allies*; and particularly, the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Eubœa*. To this End, they retrench'd all ſuperfluous Expences; and eſtabliſh'd a new Council of ancient Men, who were to weigh and examine all Affairs before they ſhould be brought before the People. In ſhort, they did not omit any Particular, which might be of Service in the preſent Juncture; the Alarm which they were in, and their common Danger, obliging every Individual to be watchful over the Neceſſities of the State, and to receive, with Humility, any good Counſel which might be given them.

CHAP. XIV.

The Conſequences of the Defeat of the Athenians *in* Sicily; *The* Allies *revolt*; Alcibiades *forced to fly to* Tiſſaphernes, *with whom he gains great Credit*; *He endeavours to get recall'd Home*; *The* Athenian *Government being ſubverted by four Hundred Citizens, the People recal him, and chooſe him Generaliſſimo*; *He returns in Triumph to* Athens, *after having gain'd a ſignal Victory, and ſeveral other Advantages over the* Lacedæmonians, *and their* Confederates; *He cauſes the Great Myſteries to be celebrated, and guards the Proceſſion by Land.*

THE Defeat of the *Athenians* before *Syracuſe*, gave Occaſion for great Commotions throughout all *Greece*. Thoſe People, who had not yet join'd either Side, and waited to be determin'd by the Event, reſolv'd to declare War againſt them. The *Allies* of the *Lacedæmonians* believ'd, that the Time was come to deliver them for ever from the Expences of a War, which lay very heavy upon them, by the ſpeedy, and final Ruin of *Athens*. Thoſe of *Athens*, who follow'd them only out of Conſtraint, ſeeing no Appearance or Hopes, of any future Recovery for that Republick, after the dreadful Blow they had receiv'd, thought it beſt to take the Advantage of ſo favourable a Juncture, to throw off the Yoak of Dependance, and reſume their Liberty. Diſpoſitions of this Kind inſpir'd the *Lacedæmonians* with great Views; which were ſupported by the Hopes they had conceiv'd, that their *Sicilian Allies* would join them in the Spring with a naval Army, augmented by the Ruins of the *Athenian* Fleet.

In Effect, the People of *Eubœa*, *Chio*, and *Lesbos*, with several Others, gave the *Lacedæmonians* to understand, they were ready to quit the Party of the *Athenians*, if they would take them under their Protection. At the same Time, came Deputies from *Tissaphernes*, and *Pharnabasus*. The first was Governor of *Lydia*, and *Ionia*, the other of the *Hellespont*. These Viceroys of *Darius* wanted neither Application, nor Zeal, for the Interest of their common Master. *Tissaphernes*, p omising the *Lacedæmonians* all the necessary Expences for their Troops, press'd them to arm with all Expedition, and join him; because the *Athenian* Fleet prevented him from levying the customary Contributions in his Province; and had put it out of his Power to remit those of preceding Years to the King. He hop'd besides, with that powerful Succour, to get into his Hands, with more Ease, a certain Nobleman, who had revolted, and whom he had the King's Orders to send to him, dead or alive. This was *Amorges*, the Bastard of *Pisuthnes*. *Pharnabasus*, at the same Tsme, demanded Ships, to reduce the Cities of the *Hellespont* from their Subjection to the *Athenians*; who also prevented him from levying the Tributes of his Government.

The *Lacedæmonians* thought it proper to begin by satisfying *Tissaphernes*; and the Credit of *Alcibiades* contributed very much to their taking that Resolution. He embark'd with *Calcidæus* for *Chio*; who took Arms, upon their Arrival, and declar'd for the *Lacedæmonians*. Upon the News of this Revolt, the *Athenians* resolv'd to take the Thousand Talents out of the Treasury, which had been deposited there from the Beginning of the War, after having repeal'd the Decree, which prohibited it. *Miletus* also revolted soon after. *Tissaphernes*, having join'd his Troops with those of *Sparta*, attack'd, and took the City of *Iasus*, in which *Amorges* had shut himself up; who was taken alive, and sent into *Persia*. That Governor gave a Month's Pay to the whole Army, at a *Drachma*, or Ten Pence a Day, to each Soldier; observing, he had Orders to give them only half that Sum, for the future.

Calcidæus, at that Time, made a Treaty with *Tissaphernes*, in the Name of the *Lacedæmonians*; of which one of the principal Articles was, that all the Country, which had been subject to the King, or his Predecessors, should remain in his Hands. It was renew'd some Time after, by *Theramenes*, another General of the *Lacedæmonians*, with some small Alterations. But, when this Treaty came to be examin'd at *Sparta*, it was found, that too great Concessions had been made to the King of *Persia*, in giving up all the Places, which had been held by himself, or his Ancestors; which was to make him Master of the greatest Part of *Greece*, *Thessaly*, *Locris*, and the whole Country, as far as *Bœotia*, without mentioning the Islands; whence it appear'd, that the *Lacedæmonians*, instead of giving Liberty to *Greece*, had inslav'd it. It was, therefore, necessary to make farther Alterations in it, with which *Tissaphernes*, and the other Governors made great Difficulties to comply. A new Treaty however, was made, as we shall see, in the Sequel.

In the mean Time, several Cities of *Ionia* declar'd for *Lacedæmon*, to which *Alcibiades* contributed very much. *Agis*, who was already his Enemy, upon Account of the Injury he had done him, envy'd him the Glory he acquir'd: For, nothing was done without the Advice of *Alcibiades*; and it was commonly said, the Success of all Enterprizes was owing to him. The most powerful, and ambitious also of the *Sparrans*, from the same Sentiments of Jealousy, look'd upon him with an evil Eye; and, at Length, by their Int igues, oblig'd the principal Magistrates to send Orders into *Ionia* to put him to Death. *Alcibiades*, being secretly appriz'd of this Order, did not discontinue his good Services for the *Lacedæmonians*, but kept himself so well upon his Guard, that he avoided all the Snares, which were laid for him.

For his yet better Security, he put himself under the Protection of *Tissaphernes*, the great King's Governor at *Sardis*; and it was not long before he saw himself in the highest Degree of Credit and Reputation in the Court of that *Barbarian*. For, the *Persian*, who was full of Fraud and Artifice; a great Friend to Knaves and wicked Men; and made no Account of Simplicity and Integrity; infinitely admir'd the easy Address of *Alcibiades*; the Ease with which he assum'd all Kinds of Manners and Characters, and his great Ability in the Conduct of Affairs. And indeed, there was no Heart so hard, or Temper so untractable, as to hold out against the Graces and Charms of his Conversation. Even those, who fear'd, and envy'd him most, inchanted, in a Manner, by his affable Air, and engaging Behaviour, could not dissemble their infinite Satisfaction in seeing, and conversing with him.

Tissaphernes, therefore, though otherwise very haughty and brutal; and one, who, of all the *Persians*, hated the *Greeks* most; was so much taken with the Complaisance, and engaging Way of *Alcibiades*, that he gave himself up wholly to him; and flatter'd him more than he was flatter'd by him: Insomuch, that he gave the Name of *Alcibiades* to the finest, and most delightful of his Gardens, as well from the Abundance of its Fountains and Canals, and the Verdure of its Groves, as the surprizing Beauty of its Retreats and Solitudes; which Art and Nature seem'd to have vy'd in embellishing; and wherein a more than Royal Magnificence was display'd.

At last, *Alcibiades*, who found there was no longer any Safety for him in the Party of the *Spartans*; and who always apprehended the Resentment of *Agis*, began to do them ill Offices with *Tissaphernes*; to prevent his aiding them with all his Forces, to ruin the *Athenians* intirely. He had no Difficulty in bringing the *Persian* into his Views; which were conformable to his Master's Interests, and to the Orders he had receiv'd from him: For, after the famous Treaty concluded under *Cimon*, the Kings of *Persia*, not daring to attack the *Greeks* with open Force, took other Measures to ruin them. They endeavour'd, underhand, to excite Divisions amongst them; and to foment Troubles, by considerable Sums of Money; which they found Means to convey, sometimes to *Athens*, and sometimes to *Sparta*. In Effect, they apply'd themselves so successfully to keep up a Balance of Power between those two Republicks, that one could never intirely reduce the other. They only granted them slight Aid, that could effect nothing decisive; in order to undermine them insensibly,

and

and exhauſt both Parties, by little and little, in weakening them one by another.

It is in this Kind of Conduct, that the Ability of Miniſters conſiſts; who, from the Receſs of their Cabinets, without Noiſe or Emotion, without any great Expences, or ſetting numerous Armies on Foot, effect the Reduction of the States, whoſe Power gives them Umbrage; either by ſowing domeſtick Diviſions amongſt them; or by promoting the Jealouſy of neighbouring Nations, to ſet them at Variance with each other.

We muſt confeſs, however, that this Kind of Policy gives us nó very favourable Idea of the Kings of *Perſia*. To reduce themſelves, powerful as they were, to ſuch mean, obſcure, and indirect Meaſures, was to confeſs their Weakneſs, and how unable they believ'd themſelves to attack their Enemies with open Force, and bring them to Reaſon by honourable Means. Beſides, does it conſiſt with Juſtice, to have Recourſe to ſuch Methods againſt People, who give no Cauſe of Complaint; who live in Peace, under the Faith of Treaties; and whoſe ſole Crime is the Apprehenſion of their being, one Day, in a Condition to do Hurt? Or, is it lawful, by ſecret Corruption, to inſnare the Fidelity of Subjects, and be the Accomplice of their Treaſons, by putting Arms into their Hands againſt their native Country.

What Glory and Renown would the Kings of *Perſia* have acquir'd, if, content with the vaſt, and rich Dominions, which Providence had given them, they had apply'd their good Offices, Power, and even Treaſures, to reconcile the neighbouring People with each other; remove their Jealouſies, prevent Injuſtice and Oppreſſion; and, if fear'd, and honour'd by them all, they had made themſelves the Mediators of their Differences, the Security of their Peace, and the Guarantee of their Treaties? Can any Conqueſt, however great, be compar'd with ſuch Glory?

Tiſſaphernes acted upon other Principles; and had no Thought but of preventing the *Greeks* from being in a Condition to attack the *Perſians*, their common Enemy. He enter'd freely, therefore, into the Views of *Alcibiades*; and at the ſame Time that he declar'd himſelf openly for the *Lacedæmonians*, did not fail to aſſiſt the *Athenians* underhand; and, by a Thouſand ſecret Methods, deferr'd Payment of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, and retarded the Arrival of the *Phœnician* Ships, of which he had long kept them in Hopes. In Effect, he omitted no Occaſion of giving *Alcibiades* new Marks of his Friendſhip and Eſteem; which render'd that General equally conſiderable to both Parties. The *Athenians*, who very much regretted their having drawn his Anger upon them, were not then to repeal their paſſing Sentence of Condemnation upon him. *Alcibiades* alſo, on his Side, was extreamly ſorry to ſee the *Athenians* in ſo mournful a Situation; and began to fear, leſt the City of *Athens* might be intirely ruin'd, and he fall into the Hands of the *Spartans*, who then mortally hated him.

The *Athenians* were intent upon nothing ſo much as *Samos*, where they had all their Forces. From thence, with their Fleet, they reduc'd all the Cities under their Obedience, which had abandon'd them; kept the Reſt in their Duty; and found themſelves ſtill in a Condition to make Head againſt their Enemies, over whom they had obtain'd ſeveral Advantages: But they were afraid of *Tiſſaphernes*, and the hundred and fifty *Phœnician* Veſſels, which he hourly expected; and they foreſaw, if ſo powerful a Fleet ſhould join the Enemy, there was no longer any Safety for their City. Hereupon, *Alcibiades*, who was well inform'd of all that paſs'd amongſt the *Athenians*, ſent ſecretly to the principal of them at *Samos*, to ſound their Sentiments; and acquaint them, he was not averſe to return to *Athens*, provided the Adminiſtration of the Republick was put into the Hands of the Great and Powerful, and not left to the Populace, who had expell'd him. Some of the chief Officers, therefore, went from *Samos*, to concert with him proper Meaſures for the Succeſs of that Undertaking: And he promis'd to procure the *Athenians*, not only the Favour of *Tiſſaphernes*, but *Darius* himſelf, upon Condition they would aboliſh the Democracy, or popular Government; becauſe the King would place more Confidence in the Engagements of the Nobility, than in thoſe of the inconſtant, and capricious Multitude.

The Deputies lent a willing Ear to theſe Propoſals; and conceiv'd great Hopes of diſcharging themſelves from Part of the publick Impoſitions; becauſe the Burden lay heavieſt upon themſelves, as they were the richeſt of the People; as alſo, of making their Country triumph, after having poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Government. At their Return, they began, by bringing over ſuch, as were moſt proper to ſhare in their Deſign; after which, they caus'd a Report to be ſpread amongſt the Troops, *Darius* was inclinable to declare in Favour of the *Athenians*, upon Condition that *Alcibiades* was reinſtated, and the popular Government aboliſh'd. This Propoſal ſurpriz'd the Soldiers, and was generally rejected, at firſt; but the Allurement of Gain, and the Hopes of a Change to their Advantage, ſoon ſoften'd what was harſh and ſhocking therein; and even made them ardently deſire the recalling of *Alcibiades*.

Phrynicius, one of their Generals, rightly judging, *Alcibiades* affected an Oligarchy no more than he did the Democracy; and, in decrying the People's Conduct, he had no other View, than to acquire the Favour and Confidence of the Nobility for his own Re-eſtabliſhment, had the Boldneſs to oppoſe the Reſolutions, which were about to take Place. He repreſented, that the Change they meditated, might, very probably, excite a Civil War, to the Ruin of the State; that it was very unlikely, the King of *Perſia* would prefer the Alliance of the *Athenians* to that of the *Spartans*, ſo much more advantagious to him; and that this Change would not retain the *Allies* in their Duty, nor bring over thoſe who had renounc'd it, who would ſtill perſiſt in preferring their Liberty; that the Government of a ſmall Number of rich and powerful Perſons would not be more in Favour of the Citizens, or *Allies*, than that of the People; becauſe Ambition was the great Cauſe of all Misfortunes in a Republick; and the Rich were the ſole Promoters of all Troubles and Diſorders, thereby to aggrandize themſelves; that a State ſuffer'd more Oppreſſion and Violence under the Rule of the Nobility than that of the People, whoſe Authority kept them within due Bounds, and was the *Aſylum* of ſuch as they deſir'd to oppreſs; and that the *Allies* were too well acquainted with

with these Truths, from their own Experience, to want any Lessons upon the Subject.

These Remonstrances, as wise as they were, had no Effect: *Pisander* was sent to *Athens*, with some of the same Faction, to propose the Return of *Alcibiades*, the Alliance of *Tissaphernes*, and the Abolition of the Democracy. They represented, that, by changing the Government, and recalling *Alcibiades*, *Athens* might obtain a powerful Aid from the King of *Persia*, which would be a certain Means to triumph over *Sparta*. Upon this Propolal, great Numbers exclaim'd against it, especially, the Enemies of *Alcibiades*: These alledg'd, amongst other Reasons, the Imprecations precations pronounc'd by the Priests, and all the Orders of Religion, against him; and even against such, as should propose to recal him. But, *Pisander*, advancing into the Midst of the Assembly, demanded, whether they knew any other Means, to save the Republick, in the deplorable Condition to which it was reduc'd. And, as it was admitted there were none; he added, that the Preservation of the State was the Question, and not the Authority of the Laws, which might be provided for in the Sequel; but, at present, there was no other Method for the Attainment of the King's Friendship, and that of *Tissaphernes*. Though this Change was very offensive to the People, they gave their Consent to it, at last, with the Hopes of re-establishing the Democracy in Time, as *Pisander* had promis'd; and they decreed, that he should go with ten Deputies more to treat with *Alcibiades* and *Tissaphernes*; and that, in the mean Time, *Phrynicus* should be recall'd, and another General appointed to command the Fleet in his Stead.

The Deputies did not find *Tissaphernes* in so good a Disposition, as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the *Lacedæmonians*, but did not care to render the *Athenians* too powerful. It was his Policy, by the Advice of *Alcibiades*, to leave the two Parties always at War, in order to weaken and consume them by one another: He made, therefore, great Difficulties. He demanded, at first, that the *Athenians* should abandon all *Ionia* to him; and, afterwards, insisted upon the Addition of the neighbouring Islands. These Demands being comply'd with, he farther requir'd, in a third Interview, Permission to fit out a Fleet, and cruize in the *Grecian* Seas; which had been expresly provided against in the celebrated Treaty concluded with *Artaxerxes*: The Deputies, thereupon, broke up the Conferences with Indignation, and perceiv'd that *Alcibiades* had impos'd upon them.

Tissaphernes, therefore, without Loss of Time, concluded a new Treaty with the *Lacedæmonians*; in which, what had displeas'd in the two preceding Treaties, was retrench'd. The Article, which yielded to *Persia*, the Countries in general, that had been in the actual Possession of the Reigning King *Darius*, or his Predecessors, was confin'd to the Provinces of *Asia*. That Prince engag'd to defray all Expences of the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet, upon the Foot, and in the Condition it was then, till the Arrival of that of *Persia*; after which they were to support it themselves, unless they chose to have the King pay it, and be reimburs'd after the Conclusion of the War. It was farther agreed, that they should unite their Forces, and continue the War, or make Peace, by common Consent. *Tissaphernes*, to keep his Promise, sent for the Fleet of *Phœnicia*. This Treaty was made in the eleventh Year of *Darius*, and the twentieth of the *Peloponnesian* War.

Pisander, at his Return to *Athens*, found the Change he had propos'd, at his setting out, much forwarded; to which he put the last Hand soon after. To give a Form to this new Government, he caus'd ten Commissaries with absolute Power to be appointed; who were, however, at a certain fix'd Time, to give the People an Account of what they had done. At the Expiration of that Term, the General Assembly was summon'd, in which their first Resolution was, every one should be admitted to make such Propolals as he thought fit, without being liable to any Accusation of infringing the Law, or consequential Penalty. It was afterwards decreed, a new Council should be form'd, with full Power in all Affairs, and to elect new Magistrates. For this Purpose, five Presidents were establish'd, who nominated an hundred Persons, including themselves. Each of these chose, and associated three more, at his own Pleasure, which made, in all, four hundred, in whom an absolute Power was lodg'd. But, to amuse the People, and comfort them with a Shadow of popular Government, whilst they instituted a real Oligarchy, it was said, the four Hundred should call a Council of five Thousand Citizens, to assist them, when they should judge it necessary. The Council, and Assemblies of the People, were held, as usual; nothing was done, however, but by Order of the four Hundred. The People of *Athens* were depriv'd, in this Manner, of their Liberty, which they had enjoy'd almost an Hundred Years after having abolish'd the Tyranny of the *Pisistratides*.

This Decree being pass'd without Opposition, after the Separation of the Assembly, the four Hundred, arm'd with Daggers, and attended by an Hundred and twenty young Men, whom they made Use of, when any Execution requir'd it, enter'd the Senate, and compell'd the Senators to retire, after having paid them their Arrears. This done, they elected new Magistrates out of their own Body, observing the usual Ceremonies upon such Occasions. They did not think proper to recal those who were banish'd, lest they should authorize the Return of *Alcibiades*; whose uncontroulable Spirit they apprehended, and who would soon have made himself Master of the People. Making a tyrannical Use of their Power, some they put to Death, others they banish'd, confiscating their Estates with Impunity; whilst all, who ventur'd to oppose this Change, or even to complain of it, were butcher'd, upon some false Pretence; and they met with but a bad Reception, who demanded Justice of the Murderers. The four Hundred, soon after their Establishment, sent ten Deputies to *Samos*, for the Army's Concurrence thereto.

All that had pass'd at *Athens* was already known there, and the News had inrag'd the Soldiers to the highest Degree. They depos'd immediately several of their Chiefs, whom they suspected, and put others in their Places; of whom *Thrasylus* and *Thrasybulus* were principal, and in highest Credit. *Alcibiades* was recall'd, and chosen Generalissimo by the whole Army, who desir'd to sail directly for the *Pyræum*, to attack the Tyrants. But he

oppos'd it; repreſenting, it was neceſſary, he ſhould, firſt, have an Interview with *Tiſſaphernes*; and that, as they had choſen him General, they might rely upon him for the Care of the War. He then ſet out immediately for *Miletus*: His principal Deſign was, to ſhow himſelf to that Governor, with all the Power wherewith he had been inveſted; and to let him ſee, he was in a Condition to be equally of conſiderable Service, or Prejudice to him. The Conſequence of which was, as he had kept the *Athenians* in Awe by *Tiſſaphernes*, he now aw'd *Tiſſaphernes* no leſs by the *Athenians*; and we ſhall ſee, in the Sequel, this Interview was neceſſary.

Alcibiades, upon his Return to *Samos*, found the Army more inflam'd than at firſt. The Deputies of the four Hundred arriv'd there, during his Abſence, and had endeavour'd, in vain, to juſtify the Alteration made at *Athens* in the Soldiery. Their Diſcourſes, which were often interrupted by tumultuous Cries, ſerv'd only to incenſe them more; and they earneſtly demanded to be led againſt the Tyrants directly. *Alcibiades* did not act on this Occaſion, as Every-Body elſe would, in Conſequence of his being rais'd to ſo high a Dignity, by the Favour of the People: For, he did not think himſelf oblig'd to comply intirely with them, and to refuſe them nothing; though, from an Exile, and a Fugitive, they had made him General of ſo great a Fleet, and ſo numerous, and formidable an Army: But, as a Stateſman, and great Politician, he believ'd it his Duty, to oppoſe the blind Fury, which hurry'd them on into evident Danger, and prevent them from committing a Fault, which muſt have been attended with their utter Ruin. This wiſe Steddineſs preſerv'd the City of *Athens*: For, had they ſail'd thither, at firſt, the Enemy had made themſelves Maſters of *Ionia*, the *Helleſpont*, and all the Iſlands without Reſiſtance; whilſt the *Athenians*, by carrying the War into their own City, would have exhauſted their whole Forces againſt one another. He prevented, therefore, the Deputies from being ill treated, and diſmiſs'd them; ſaying, he did not object to the five Thouſand Citizens having the ſupream Authority in the Republick; but, it was neceſſary to depoſe the four Hundred, and re-eſtabliſh the Senate.

During theſe Motions, the *Phœnician* Fleet, which the *Lacedæmonians* impatiently expected, approach'd; and News came, it was arriv'd at *Aſpendus*: Hereupon, *Tiſſaphernes* went to meet it; though No body was able to divine the Cauſe of that Journey. He had ſent for that Fleet, at firſt, to flatter the *Lacedæmonians*, with the Hopes of a powerful Aid; and to put a Stop to their Progreſs, by making them wait its Arrival. It was believ'd, his Journey had the ſame Motive; to prevent their doing any Thing in his Abſence, and that their Soldiers and Mariners might disband, for Want of Pay. However, it was, he did not bring it with him, from the View, no Doubt, of keeping the Balance equal, which was the King of *Perſia*'s Intereſt, and to exhauſt both Parties, by the Length of the War. For, it had been very eaſy to put an End thereto, by the Aſſiſtance of that additional Fleet, as the *Lacedæmonians* alone were already as ſtrong at Sea as the *Athenians*. His frivolous Excuſe, of its not being compleat, for not bringing it with him, ſufficiently ſhow'd, he had other Reaſons for his Conduct.

The Return of the Deputies without Succeſs who had been ſent to *Samos*, and the Anſwer of *Alcibiades*, excited new Troubles in the City; and gave a mortal Wound to the Authority of the four Hundred. The Tumult increas'd exceedingly, when News was brought, that the Enemy, after having beat the Fleet, ſent by the four Hundred to the Relief of *Eubœa*, had made themſelves Maſters of that Iſland: *Athens* was in the higheſt Terror and Conſternation upon this Account. For, neither the Defeat of *Sicily*, nor any other preceding it, was ſo conſiderable as the Loſs of that Iſland, from whence the City receiv'd conſiderable Supplies, and almoſt all its Proviſions. If, in the Confuſion, in which *Athens* was, at that Time, between two Factions, the victorious Fleet had fallen upon the Port, as it might have done, the Army of *Samos* would have been indiſpenſibly oblig'd to have flown to the Defence of their Country: And then the Republick would have had only the City of *Athens* remaining, of all its Dominions. For, the *Helleſpont*, *Ionia*, and all the Iſlands, ſeeing themſelves abandon'd, would have been reduc'd to change Sides, and go over to the *Peloponneſians*. But the Enemy were not capable of ſuch great Deſigns; and it is not the firſt Time the *Lacedæmonians* have been obſerv'd to have loſt their Advantages, by the Slowneſs and Protraction, natural to them.

In this Extremity, *Athens*, without Delay, depos'd the four Hundred, as the Authors of all the Troubles and Diviſions, under which they groan'd. *Alcibiades* was recall'd by unanimous Conſent, and earneſtly ſollicited to make all poſſible Haſte to the Aſſiſtance of the City. But judging, that, if he return'd immediately to *Athens*, he ſhould owe his Return to the Compaſſion and Favour of the People, he reſolv'd to render it glorious and triumphant, and to deſerve it by ſome conſiderable Exploit. For this Purpoſe, leaving *Samos*, with a ſmall Number of Ships, he cruiz'd about the Iſlands of *Cos* and *Cnidos*; and being inform'd, that *Mindarus*, the *Spartan* Admiral, was ſail'd to the *Helleſpont* with his whole Fleet, and that the *Athenians* were in Purſuit of him, he made that Way, with the utmoſt Diligence, to ſupport them; and arriv'd fortunately with his eighteen Veſſels, when the two Fleets were engag'd near *Abydos*, in a Battle, which laſted till Night, without any Advantage on either Side. His Arrival, at firſt, gave the *Spartans* freſh Courage; they believing him ſtill their Friend, and diſpirited the *Athenians*. But *Alcibiades* hanging out the *Athenian* Standard in the Admiral-Galley, fell upon the *Lacedæmonians*, who were ſtrongeſt, and purſu'd the *Athenians*; put them to Flight, drove them aſhore; and, animated by his Succeſs, ſunk their Veſſels, and made a great Slaughter of the Men, who had thrown themſelves into the Sea, to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; though *Pharnabazus* ſpar'd no Pains to aſſiſt them, and had advanc'd, at the Head of his Troops, to the Coaſt, to favour their Flight, and ſave their Ships. Hereupon, the *Athenians*, after having taken thirty of their Gallies, and retaken thoſe they had loſt, erected a Trophy.

This done, *Alcibiades*, vain of his Succeſs, was deſirous of appearing in Triumph before *Tiſſaphernes*; and making him rich Preſents, both in his own Name, and in that of the *Athenian* People: He

He went to him, therefore, with a magnificent Retinue, worthy of the General of *Athens*. But he did not meet with the favourable Reception he expected: For, *Tiſſaphernes*, who knew he was accus'd by the *Lacedæmonians*, and fear'd the King would puniſh him, for not having executed his Orders, laid Hold of the Opportunity, given him by *Alcibiades*, of putting himſelf in his Hands ſo imprudently and unneceſſarily, and caus'd him to be ſeiz'd, and ſent Priſoner to *Sardis*; to ſhelter himſelf, by that Injuſtice, againſt the Repreſentations of the *Lacedæmonians*.

However, thirty Days after, *Alcibiades*, having found Means to get a Horſe, eſcap'd from his Guards, and fled to *Clazomene*; where, to revenge himſelf on *Tiſſaphernes*, he gave out, he had ſet him at Liberty. From *Clazomene* he repair'd to the *Athenian* Fleet, where he was join'd by *Theramenes*, with twenty Ships from *Macedonia*; and by *Thraſybulus*, with twenty more from *Thaſos*; which done, he ſail'd from thence to *Parium* in the *Propontis*. All his Ships, to the Number of eighty-ſix, being come thither, he left that Place in the Night, and arriv'd the next Morning at *Proconneſus*, a ſmall Iſle near *Cyzicum*; where he heard *Mindarus* was at *Cyzicum*, with *Pharnabaſus*, and his Land-Army. After reſting that whole Day at *Proconneſus*, on the Morrow, he harangued his Soldiers; and repreſented to them, the Neceſſity of attacking the Enemy by Sea and Land; and of making themſelves Maſters of *Cyzicum*; repreſenting, at the ſame Time, that, without a compleat and abſolute Victory, they could have neither Proviſions, nor Money. He had taken great Care the Enemy ſhould not be appriz'd of his Approach: By good Fortune for him, a great Storm of Rain and Thunder, follow'd by dark and hazy Weather, help'd him to conceal his Enterprize ſo ſucceſsfully, that not only the Enemy were prevented from perceiving he advanc'd, but the *Athenians* themſelves, whom he had caus'd to imbark with Precipitation, did not know he had weigh'd Anchor, and put to Sea.

When the Weather clear'd up, the *Lacedæmonian* Fleet appear'd, exerciſing at ſome Diſtance, before the Port: Whereupon, *Alcibiades*, who apprehended, that the Enemy, upon Sight of ſo great a Number of Ships, would make the Harbour, order'd the Captains to keep behind a little, and follow him at a good Diſtance; and taking only forty Veſſels, advanc'd towards the Enemy, to offer them Battle: The Enemy, deceiv'd by this Stratagem, and deſpiſing his ſmall Number, advanc'd againſt him, and began the Fight. But, when they ſaw the Reſt of the *Athenian* Fleet come up, they immediately loſt Courage, and fled: And *Alcibiades*, with twenty of his beſt Ships, purſu'd them to the Shore, landed, and kill'd a great Number of them in the Flight. *Mindarus*, and *Pharnabaſus* oppos'd his Efforts in vain: The firſt, who fought with aſtoniſhing Valour, he kill'd; and put the other to Flight.

The *Athenians*, by this Victory, which made them Maſters of the Slain, the Arms, Spoils, and whole Fleet of the Enemy, beſides the taking of *Cyzicum*, not only poſſeſs'd themſelves of the *Helleſpont*, but drove the *Spartans* intirely out of that Sea. Accordingly, Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a Conciſeneſs truly *Laconick*, adviſ'd the *Ephori* of the Blow they had receiv'd, in Terms to this Effect: *The Flower of your Army is cut off*; Midarus *is dead*; *the Reſt of the Troops are dying with Hunger*; *and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us.*

The News of this Victory occaſion'd no leſs Joy in the *Athenians*, than Conſternation in the Enemy; they diſpatch'd Embaſſadors immediately, to demand to have an End put to a War, equally deſtructive to both People; and a Peace ſhould be concluded upon reaſonable Conditions, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of their ancient Concord and Amity; of which they had, for many Years, experienc'd the ſalutary Effects. Hereupon, the moſt prudent, and politick, of the Citizens of *Athens* were unanimouſly of Opinion, it was proper to take the Advantage of ſo favourable a Juncture, for concluding a Treaty, which might put an End to all Jealouſies, appeaſe all Animoſities, and remove all Diſtruſts. But thoſe, who found their Advantage in the Troubles of the State, prevented the good Effects of that Diſpoſition. *Cleophon*, amongſt others, the moſt famous Orator, at that Time, animated the People from the *Roſtra*, by a violent, and ſeditious Diſcourſe; inſinuating, their Intereſts were betray'd by a ſecret Intelligence with the *Lacedæmonians*, which aim'd at depriving them of all the Advantages, of the important Victory they had gain'd; and making them loſe, for ever, the Opportunity of being fully aveng'd for all the Wrongs and Misfortunes, *Sparta* had caus'd them to ſuffer. This *Cleophon* was an inconſiderable Fellow, a Muſical Inſtrument-Maker: It was reported alſo, he had been a Slave, and got himſelf fraudulently inroll'd in the Regiſter of the Citizens: However that be, he even carry'd his Audaciouſneſs and Fury ſo far, as to threaten to plunge his Dagger in the Throat of any one, who ſhould talk of Peace. Hereupon, the *Athenians*, puff'd up with their preſent Proſperity; forgetting their paſt Misfortunes; and promiſing themſelves all Things from the Valour and good Fortune of *Alcibiades*; rejected all Propoſals of Accommodation; without reflecting, nothing is ſo fluctuating and precarious, as the Succeſs of War: And the Embaſſadors retir'd, without being able to effect any Thing. Such Infatuation, and irrational Pride, are generally the Fore-runners of ſome great Misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to make Uſe of the Victory he had gain'd; and, preſently after, beſieg'd *Chalcedonia*, which had revolted from the *Athenians*, and receiv'd a *Lacedæmonian* Garriſon: During this Siege, he alſo took another Town, call'd *Selymbria*; whereupon, *Pharnabaſus*, terrify'd by the Rapidity of his Conqueſts, made a Treaty with the *Athenians*, to this Effect; *That he would pay them a certain Sum of Money*; *that the* Chalcedonians *ſhould return to their Obedience, depend upon the* Athenians, *and pay them Tribute*; *and, that the* Athenians *ſhould commit no Hoſtilities upon the Lands of* Pharnabaſus; *who, at the ſame Time, engaged for the ſafe Conduct of their Embaſſadors to the Great King.* Hereupon, *Byzantium*, and ſeveral other Cities, ſubmitted to the *Athenians*.

This done, *Alcibiades*, who deſir'd, with the utmoſt Paſſion, to ſee his Country again; or rather, to be ſeen by his Country, after ſo many Victories over their Enemies, ſet out for *Athens*. The Sides of his Ships were cover'd with Bucklers, and all

Sorts

Sorts of Spoils, in Form of Trophies; and causing a great Number of Veſſels to be tow'd after him, by Way of Triumph, he diſplay'd alſo the Enſigns and Ornaments of thoſe he had burnt, which were more than the others; the Whole amounting to about two Hundred Ships. It is ſaid, however, from the Remembrance of what had been done againſt him, upon approaching the Port, he was ſtruck with ſome Terror; and was afraid to quit his Veſſel, till he ſaw, from the Deck, a great Number of his Friends and Relations, who were come to the Shore to receive him, and earneſtly intreated him to land.

At the ſame Time, the People came out of the City in a Body to meet him; and, at his Appearance, ſet up incredible Shouts of Joy. In the Midſt of an infinite Number of Officers and Soldiers, all Eyes were fix'd on him, as if he had been alone; and they look'd upon him, as Victory itſelf, deſcended from the Skies: All around him paſſionately careſſing, bleſſing, and crowding him, in Emulation of each other. Even thoſe, who could not approach him, were never tir'd with viewing him at a Diſtance; and, whilſt the old Men ſhow'd him to their Children, they repeated, with the higheſt Praiſes, all the great Actions he had done for his Country; nor could they refuſe their Admiration even of thoſe, he had done againſt it, during his Baniſhment, of which they imputed the Fault to themſelves alone. This publick Joy, however, was mingled with Tears and Regret, from the Remembrance of paſt Misfortunes, which they could not avoid comparing with the preſent Felicity. *We could not have fail'd,* ſaid they, *of the Conqueſt of* Sicily; *our other Hopes could never have prov'd abortive, if we had referr'd all our Affairs, and Forces, to the Diſpoſal of* Alcibiades *alone. In what a Condition was* Athens, *when he took upon him our Protection and Defence! We had not only almoſt entirely loſt our Power at Sea, but were ſcarce poſſeſs'd of the Suburbs of our City; and, to add to our Misfortunes, were torn in Pieces by a Civil War. Notwithſtanding which, he has raiſed the Republick from its Ruins; and, not content with having re-inſtated it in the Poſſeſſion of the Sea, he has rendered it univerſally victorious by Land; as if the Fate of* Athens *had been in his Hands alone, either to ruin, or preſerve it, and Victory was annex'd to his Perſon, and obey'd his Orders.*

This favourable Reception of *Alcibiades*, did not prevent his demanding an Aſſembly of the People, in order to his Juſtification before them; well knowing how neceſſary it was, for his Safety, to be abſolv'd in Form. He appear'd, therefore; and, after having deplor'd his Misfortunes, which he imputed very little to the People, and intirely aſcrib'd to his ill Fortune, and ſome *Dæmon*, envious of his Proſperity; he repreſented to them the Deſigns of the Enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive other than great Hopes. The *Athenians*, tranſported with hearing him ſpeak, decreed him Crowns of Gold, appointed him General by Sea and Land, with unlimited Power, reſtor'd him all his Fortune, and order'd the *Eumolpides*, and *Ceryces* (two Families, who alone had the Privilege of officiating in the Myſteries of *Ceres*) to abſolve him from the Curſes, they had pronounc'd againſt him, by the Order of the People; doing their utmoſt, to make him Amends, for the Injury and Shame of his Baniſhment, by the Glory of his Return; and to efface the Remembrance of the Imprecations themſelves had decreed, by the Vows and Prayers, which they made in his Favour. Whilſt all the *Eumolpides*, and *Ceryces*, were employ'd in revoking thoſe Imprecations, *Theodorus*, the Principal of them, had the Courage to ſay: *For my Part, I have not curſed him, if he has done no Evil to his Country*; inſinuating, by that bold Expreſſion, that the Curſes, being conditional, could not fall upon the Head of the Innocent, nor be averted from the Guilty.

In the Midſt of this Glory, and ſhining Proſperity of *Alcibiades*, the Majority of the People could not help being concern'd, when they conſider'd the Time of his Return: For, it happen'd preciſely upon the Day, when the *Athenians* celebrated the Feaſt in Honour of *Minerva*, ador'd under the Name of *Agraulis*. The Prieſts took off all Ornaments from the Statue of the Goddeſs to waſh it; from whence that Feaſt was call'd *Plynteria*, and afterwards cover'd it; and that Day was accounted one of the moſt ominous, and unfortunate. It was the twenty-fifth of the Month *Thargelion*, which anſwers to the ſecond of our *July*. This Circumſtance diſpleas'd that ſuperſtitious People; becauſe it ſeem'd to imply, the Goddeſs, Patroneſs, and Protectreſs of *Athens*, did not receive *Alcibiades* agreeably, and with a benign Aſpect; ſince ſhe cover'd, and conceal'd herſelf, as if ſhe would keep him off, and remove him from her.

All Things having, however, ſucceeded according to his Wiſh; and the Hundred Ships he was to command, being ready, he deferr'd his Departure, out of a laudable Ambition to celebrate the Great Myſteries: For, from the Time the *Lacedæmonians* had fortify'd *Decelia*, and taken Poſſeſſion of all the Ways from *Athens* to *Eleuſina*, the Feaſt had not been ſolemniz'd in all its Pomp, and the Proceſſion had been oblig'd to go by Sea: The particular Ceremonies of this Solemnity may be ſeen hereafter.

Alcibiades believ'd it would be a moſt glorious Action, and attract the Bleſſings of the Gods, and the Praiſes of Men, if he reſtor'd all its Luſtre and Solemnity to this Feaſt; in making the Proceſſion by Land, under the Convoy of his Troops, to defend it againſt the Attacks of the Enemy: For, if *Agis* ſuffer'd it to paſs quietly, notwithſtanding the numerous Troops he had at *Decelia*, which would conſiderably leſſen the Reputation of that King, and derogate greatly from his Reputation and Glory; or, if he choſe to attack it, and oppoſe the March, *Alcibiades* would then have the Satisfaction to fight a ſacred Battle; a Battle, grateful to the Gods; for the greateſt, and moſt venerable of all their Myſteries; in the Sight of his Country and Citizens; who would be Witneſſes of his Valour, and Regard for Religion. It is very likely, that, by this publick, and oſtentatious Act of Piety, which ſtruck the People's View in ſo ſenſible a Manner, and was ſo extreamly agreeable to them, the principal Deſign of *Alcibiades* was, to efface intirely from their Minds, the Suſpicions of Impiety, to which his Mutilation of Statues, and Prophanation of Myſteries, had given Birth.

Having taken that Reſolution, he gave Notice to

he *Eumolpides*, and *Ceryces*, to hold themſelves in Readineſs, poſted Centinels upon the Hills, ſent out Runners, at Break of Day, and taking with him the Prieſts, the Initiated, and the Probationers, with thoſe who initiated them, he cover'd them with his Army, and diſpos'd the whole Pomp with wonderful Order, and profound Silence. *Never was Show* (ſays *Plutarch*) *more auguſt, or more worthy the Majeſty of the Gods, than this warlike Proceſſion, and religious Expedition; in which even thoſe, who envied the Glory of* Alcibiades, *were obliged to own, that he was no leſs happy in diſcharging the Functions of an High-Prieſt, than thoſe of a General.* No Enemy dar'd to appear, or diſturb that pompous March; and *Alcibiades* reconducted the ſacred Troops to *Athens* with intire Safety. This Succeſs gave him new Courage, and rais'd the Spirit and Boldneſs of his Troops to ſuch a Degree, that they look'd upon themſelves as invincible, whilſt he commanded them.

He acquir'd the Affection of the poor, and the lower Sort of People, ſo much, that they moſt ardently deſir'd to have him for their King. Many of them openly declar'd themſelves upon that Head; and ſome addreſſing themſelves to him, exhorted him to ſet himſelf above Envy, and not trouble himſelf about Laws, Decrees, or Suffrages; to put down thoſe Wordy Impertinents, who diſturb'd the State with their vain Harangues; to make himſelf Maſter of Affairs, and govern with full Authority, without fearing Accuſers. For him, what his Thoughts of that Propoſal, and his Deſigns were, are unknown; but the moſt powerful Citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a Fire, of which they already ſaw the Sparks, preſs'd him to depart, without Delay; granting whatever he demanded, and giving him for Colleagues, the Generals moſt agreeable to him. He ſet Sail, therefore, with an Hundred Ships, and ſteer'd for the Iſland of *Andros*, which had revolted: His high Reputation, and the good Fortune, which had attended him in all his Enterprizes, had created ſuch an Opinion of him, that nothing but what was great and extraordinary was expected from him.

CHAP. XV.

Lyſander *appointed Admiral by the* Spartans; *He inſinuates himſelf greatly into the Favour of Young* Cyrus; *He beats the* Athenians, *in the Abſence of* Alcibiades, *who is depriv'd of the Command; Ten Generals are choſen in his Stead;* Callicratidas *ſucceeds* Lyſander; *His Character; He is defeated near the* Agrinuſæ, *and kill'd; The* Athenians *ſentence their Generals to Death, for not bringing off their Dead;* Socrates *alone oppoſes it;* Lyſander *appointed, a ſecond Time, to command the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet; His celebrated Victory over the* Athenians *at* Ægoſpotamos; *He takes* Athens, *changes the Form of Government, and eſtabliſhes thirty Tyrants therein, which ends the* Peloponneſian *War; His Scheme for altering the Government of* Sparta.

THE *Lacedæmonians*, juſtly alarm'd at the Return, and Succeſs of *Alcibiades*, rightly judg'd, that it would be neceſſary, to oppoſe ſuch an Enemy, with an able General, capable of making Head againſt him: For this Reaſon, they made Choice of *Lyſander*, and gave him the Command of the Fleet. When he arriv'd at *Epheſus*, he found that City very well diſpos'd in his Favour, and well affected to *Sparta*; but otherwiſe, in a very unhappy Situation: For, they were in Danger of becoming barbarous, by accuſtoming themſelves to the Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Perſians*; who had a great Commerce with them, both by Reaſon of the Neighbourhood of *Lydia*, and becauſe the King's Generals commonly took up their Winter-Quarters there. That idle, and voluptuous Life, full of Luxury and empty Show, could not fail of diſguſting infinitely a Man, like *Lyſander*, who had been bred, from his Birth, in the Simplicity, Poverty, and ſevere Exerciſes in Uſe at *Sparta*. Having brought his Army to *Epheſus*, he gave Orders for Ships of Burthen to aſſemble there, on all Sides; erected an Arſenal for building Gallies; made the Ports free for Merchants; gave the publick Places to Artificers; ſet all Arts in Motion, render'd them in Honour; and, by theſe Means, fill'd the City with Riches, and laid the Foundations of that Grandeur and Magnificence, to which they afterwards attain'd. Such Alteration can the Application and Ability of a ſingle Perſon occaſion in a State!

Whilſt he was making theſe Diſpoſitions, he receiv'd Advice, that *Cyrus*, the King's youngeſt Son, was arriv'd at *Sardis*: That Prince could not be above ſixteen Years old, at that Time, being born after his Father's Acceſſion to the Crown, in the ſeventeenth Year of his Reign. *Paryſatis*, his Mother, lov'd him to Idolatry, and had an intire Aſcendant over her Husband: It was ſhe, who occaſion'd his having the ſupream Government of all the Provinces of *Aſia Minor* given him; a Command, that ſubjected all the Provincial Governors, of the moſt important Part of the Empire to his Authority. The View of *Paryſatis*, undoubtedly, was to enable the young

Prince to diſpute the Throne with his Brother, after the King's Death; as we ſhall ſee he did, to ſome Effect. One of the principal Inſtructions, given him by his Father, upon ſending him to his Government, was, to give effectual Aid to the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Athens*; an Order very contrary to the Politicks followed till then by *Tiſſaphernes*, and the other Governors of thoſe Provinces. It had always been their Maxim, ſometimes to aſſiſt one Party, ſometimes the other, in order to hold their Power in ſuch a Ballance, that the one might never be able to cruſh the other entirely: From whence it followed, that both Parties were kept weak by the War, and neither in a Condition to form any Enterprizes againſt the *Perſian* Empire.

Upon *Lyſander*'s being aprized, therefore, of the Arrival of *Cyrus* at *Sardis*, he ſet out from *Epheſus*, to make him a Viſit; and to complain of the Delays, and Breach of Faith of *Tiſſaphernes*; who, notwithſtanding the Orders he had received, to ſupport the *Lacedæmonians*, and to drive the *Athenians* out of the Sea, had always favoured the latter underhand: This he had done, through his Regard for *Alcibiades*, whoſe Meaſures he entirely gave into; and had been the ſole Cauſe of the Loſs of the Fleet, by not ſupplying it with the neceſſary Quantity of Proviſions. This Diſcourſe pleaſed *Cyrus*, who look'd upon *Tiſſaphernes* as a very bad Man, and his particular Enemy; and he anſwered, that the King had given him Orders to ſupport the *Lacedæmonians* powerfully, and that he had received five hundred Talents for that Purpoſe. *Lyſander*, contrary to the common Character of the *Spartans*, was ſubmiſſive and condeſcending; full of Complaiſance for the Great; always ready to pay his Court to them; and having always an Eye to his own Advantage, would bear all their Haughtineſs, and Vainity, with incredible Patience; in which Behaviour, ſome People make all the Addreſs, and Merit of a Courtier conſiſt.

He did not forget himſelf upon this Occaſion; but employing all the Flattery, and inſinuating Addreſs, that the Induſtry and Art of a compleat Courtier could ſuggeſt, he perfectly gain'd the young Prince's Favour and good Opinion. After having praiſed his Generoſity, Magnificence, and Zeal for the *Lacedæmonians*, he deſired him to give each Soldier and Mariner a Drachma *per* Day; to debauch thoſe of the Enemy, by that Means, and thereby to put an End to the War the ſooner. *Cyrus* very much approved the Deſign; but ſaid, he could make no Change in the King's Order; and, that the Treaty with them, expreſsly ſettled only half a Talent to be paid monthly for each Galley. That Prince however, at the End of a Banquet, which he gave him before his Departure, drinking to his Health, and preſſing him to ask ſomething of him, *Lyſander* deſired that an *Obolus* a Day might be added to the Seamens Pay. This was granted, and he gave them four *Oboli*, inſtead of three, which they received before, and paid them all the Arrears due to them, with a Month's Advance; giving *Lyſander* ten thouſand *Daricks* for that Purpoſe, that is, about as many Piſtoles.

This Bounty fill'd the whole Fleet with Ardour and Alacrity, and almoſt unmanned the Enemy's Ships; the greateſt Part of the Sailors deſerting to the Party where the Pay was beſt. The *Athenians*, in Deſpair upon receiving this News, endeavoured to gain the Favour of *Cyrus*, by the Interpoſition of *Tiſſaphernes*; but he would not hearken to them, notwithſtanding that *Satrapa* repreſented, that it was not for the King's Intereſt to aggrandize the *Lacedæmonians*, but to ballance the Power of one Side with that of the other; in order to perpetuate the War, and to ruin both by their own Diviſions.

Though *Lyſander* had conſiderably weaken'd the Enemy, by augmenting the Pay of the Seamen, and thereby very much hurt their naval Power, he durſt not hazard a Battle with them; through his well grounded Fear of *Alcibiades*, who was a Man of Execution, had the greater Number of Ships, and had never been overthrown in any Battle, either by Sea or Land. But after *Alcibiades* had left *Samos*, to go into *Phocæa*, and *Ionia*, to raiſe Money, of which he was in Want, for the Payment of his Troops; and had given the Command of his Fleet to *Antiochus*, with expreſs Order, not to fight, or attack the Enemy, in his Abſence; the new Commander, to make Shew of his Courage, and to brave *Lyſander*, enter'd the Port of *Epheſus* with two Gallies, and after having made a great Noiſe, retired with loud Laughter, and an Air of Contempt and Inſult. *Lyſander*, enraged at this Affront, immediately detach'd ſome Galleys, and went in Purſuit of him: And, as the *Athenians* advanced to ſupport *Antiochus*, he ordered other Gallies of his Side to come on, till the whole Fleet arrived by little and little, and the Engagement became general on both Sides. *Lyſander* gained the Victory therein; and having taken fifteen of the *Athenian* Galleys, erected a Trophy: However, *Alcibiades*, on his Return to *Samos*, went, even into the Port, to offer him Battle; but *Lyſander* was contented with his Victory, and did not think proper to accept it; ſo that he retired, without doing any Thing.

Thraſybulus at the ſame Time, the moſt dangerous Enemy he had in his Army, left the Camp, and went to *Athens* to accuſe him. To enflame his Enemies in the City the more, he told the People in a full Aſſembly, that *Alcibiades* had entirely ruined both their Affairs, and the Navy, by the Licence he had introduced; that he had given himſelf up to the moſt notorious Debauchees and Drunkards, who, from common Seamen, were the only Perſons in Credit about him; that he abandoned his whole Authority to them, that he might be at Leiſure to enrich himſelf in the Provinces, and plunge himſelf there into Intemperance, and all other infamous Exceſſes, to the Diſgrace of *Athens*, whilſt his Fleet was left neglected in the Face of the Enemies.

Another Point of Accuſation againſt him, was taken from the Forts, he had built near the City of *Byzantium*, as a Sanctuary and Retreat for him; as neither being able or willing to return any more to his Country. Hereupon, the *Athenians*, a capricious inconſtant People, gave Credit to theſe Impeachments: The Loſs of the laſt Battle, and the little Succeſs ſince his Departure from *Athens*, inſtead of the great and wonderful Actions expected from him, had entirely ſunk him in their Opinions; and his own Glory and Reputation may be ſaid to have occaſioned his Ruin. For he was ſuſpected, of not having deſired to do, what was not

not done; and they could not believe it was not in his Power, as they were fully perſuaded, that nothing he had a Mind to do was impoſſible to him. They made it a Crime in *Alcibiades*, that the Rapidity of his Conqueſts did not anſwer to that of their Imaginations; not conſidering, that he made War, without Money, upon a People, who had the great King for their Treaſurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his Camp, to go in Queſt of what was neceſſary for the Payment and Subſiſtence of his Troops. However it was, *Alcibiades* was depoſed, and ten Generals nominated in his Stead; of which, when he received Advice, he retired in his Galley to ſome Caſtles he had in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*.

About this Time died *Pliſtonax*, one of the Kings of *Lacedæmonia*, and was ſucceeded by *Pauſanias*, who reign'd fourteen Years. The latter made a fine Anſwer to one who ask'd, why it was not permitted to change any Thing in the ancient Cuſtoms of *Sparta*: *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *at* Sparta *the Laws command Men, and not Men the Laws.*

Lyſander, who intended to eſtabliſh the Government of the Nobility, in all the Cities which depended on *Sparta*, that the Governors of his chuſing might be always at his Diſpoſal, from his having render'd them independent of their People, cauſed ſuch Perſons of the principal Cities to come to *Epheſus*, as he knew to be the boldeſt, the moſt enterprizing and ambitious. Theſe he placed at the Head of Affairs; promoted to the greateſt Honours; and raiſed to the firſt Employments in the Army; rendering himſelf, by that Means, ſays *Plutarch*, the Accomplice of all the Crimes and Oppreſſions they committed, to advance and enrich themſelves. For this Reaſon they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely, when *Callicratidas* came to ſucceed him, and took upon him the Command of the Fleet. This Admiral was not inferior to *Lyſander*, either in Valour, or military Knowledge; and was infinitely above him, in point of moral Virtue. As ſevere to himſelf as others, Proof equally againſt Flattery and Sloth, and the declared Enemy of Luxury, he retain'd the Modeſty, Temperance, and Auſterity of the ancient *Spartans*; Virtues that began to diſtinguiſh him particularly, as they were not too common in his Time. His Probity and Juſtice were Proof againſt all Temptations; his Simplicity and Uprightneſs abhorred all Falſhood and Fraud, to which were join'd a truly *Spartan* Nobleneſs and Grandeur of Soul. The Great and Powerful could not hinder themſelves from admiring his Virtue; but they were better pleaſed with the Facility and Condeſcenſion of his Predeceſſor, who was blind to the Injuſtice and Violence of their Actions.

It was not without Mortification and Jealouſy, *Lyſander* ſaw him arrive at *Epheſus*, to take upon him the Command; and through a criminal Baſeneſs and Treachery, not uncommon with thoſe, who hearken more to their private Ambition than the Good of the Publick, he did him all the ill Offices in his Power. Of the ten thouſand *Daricks*, which *Cyrus* had given him for the Augmentation of the Sailors Pay, he return'd the Remainder to that Prince, telling *Callicratidas*, that he might apply to the King for the Money, and that it depended on him to find Means for the Subſiſtence of his Army. This Anſwer gave him great Trouble, and diſtreſſed him exceedingly: For he had brought no Money with him from *Sparta*, and could not reſolve to extort any from the Cities, as he found them ſufficiently rifled already.

In this urgent Neceſſity, a Perſon having offer'd him fifty Talents, (that is, fifty thouſand Crowns) to obtain a Favour he could not grant with Juſtice, he refuſed them. Upon which *Cleander*, one of his Officers, ſaid, *I would accept them, were I in your Place. And ſo would I*, replied the General, *were I in yours.*

He had no other Remedy, therefore, than to go as *Lyſander* had done, to ask Money at the Gates of the King's Generals and Lieutenants, for which he was the leaſt proper of all Mankind. Nurtured and educated in the Love of Liberty, full of great and noble Sentiments, and infinitely remote from all Flatery and Baſeneſs, he was convinced at Heart, that it was leſs Evil and Diſhonour for *Greeks* to be overcome by *Greeks*, than ſhamefully to make their Court, and beg at the Gates of *Barbarians*, whoſe only Merit conſiſted in their Gold and Silver. The whole Nation were indeed diſgraced by ſo mean a Proſtitution.

Cicero, in his *Offices*, draws two very different Characters of Perſons employ'd in the Adminiſtration of Government, and makes the Application of them to the two Generals, of whom we have been ſpeaking. The one, ſays he, zealous Lovers of Truth, and declared Enemies of all Fraud; value themſelves upon their Simplicity and Candour, and do not believe, that it can ever conſiſt with Honour to lay Snares, or uſe Artifice. The others, prepared to do, or ſuffer every Thing, are not aſhamed of the meaneſt Actions and Proſtitutions, provided from thoſe unworthy Means, they have Reaſon to expect the Succeſs of their Deſigns. *Cicero* places *Callicratidas* amongſt the former, and *Lyſander* among the latter; to whom he gives two Epithets, not much to his Honour, and hardly conſiſtent with the *Spartan* Character, when he calls him, *very artful, and very patient*, or rather, *very complaiſant.*

Callicratidas, however, forced by Neceſſity, went to *Lydia*, and repaired immediately to the Palace of *Cyrus*; where he deſired that Prince might be told, that the Admiral of the *Grecian* Fleet was come to ſpeak with him. He was anſwer'd, that *Cyrus* was then at Table, engaged in a Party of Pleaſure; to which he replied, with a modeſt Tone and Air, that he was in no Haſte, and would wait till the Prince was at Leiſure. Hereupon, the Guards ſet up a Laugh, wondering at the honeſt Stranger's Simplicity, who had ſo little the Air of the World in his Behaviour, which obliged him to retire. He went afterwards, thither a ſecond Time, and was again denied Admittance: Upon which he returned to *Epheſus*, loading thoſe with Curſes and Imprecations, who had firſt made their Court to *Barbarians*, and, by their Flattery and Submiſſions, had taught them to make their Riches a Title and Pretence to inſult the reſt of Mankind. Addreſſing himſelf, at the ſame Time, to thoſe about him, he ſwore, that aſſoon as he returned to *Sparta*, he would uſe his utmoſt Endeavours to reconcile the *Greeks* amongſt themſelves, that for the Future, they might become formidable to the *Barbarians*, and have no farther Occaſion for their Aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous

Spartan,

Spartan, whose Thoughts were so noble, and so worthy the *Lacedæmonian* Name; and whose Justice, Magnanimity, and Valour, might make him vye with the most excellent and consummate Citizen, and Patriot, that *Greece* had ever produced, had not the good Fortune to return to his Country, nor to apply himself to a Work so great, and so worthy of him.

Callicratidas, after having gained several Victories over the *Athenians*, had at last pursued *Conon*, one of their Generals, into the Port of *Mitylene*, where he kept him block'd up: This was in the twenty-sixth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War. Hereupon, *Conon* seeing himself besieged by Sea and Land, without Hope of Assistance, and in Want of Provisions, found Means to apprize *Athens* of the extreme Danger he was in. Extraordinary Efforts were made therefore, to relieve him; and, in less than a Month's Time, a Fleet of an hundred and ten Sail was fitted out, on Board of which were embark'd all that were capable of bearing Arms, as well Slaves as Freemen, with some Horse. At *Samos* they were join'd by the *Allies*, with forty Gallies, and steer'd for the *Arginusæ*, Islands situate between *Cuma* and *Mitylene*. As *Callicratidas* was inform'd of their Course, he left *Eteonice* to continue the Siege, with fifty Ships; and put to Sea with an hundred and twenty Sail, with Design to face the Enemy, and prevent their relieving *Conon*. The Right-Wing of the *Athenians* was commanded by *Protomachus*, and *Thrasylus*, who had each fifteen Galleys. They were supported by a second Line, with a like Numder of Ships, commanded by *Lysias*, and *Aristogenes*. The Left Wing, like the other, drawn up in two Lines, was under *Aristocrates*, and *Diomedon*, supported by *Erasinides*, and *Pericles*. The main Body, consisting of near thirty Galleys, amongst which were the three *Athenian* Admirals, was disposed in one Line. They had strengthened each of their Wings with a second Line; because their Galleys were neither so swift, nor so easy to manage, as those of the Enemy; so that there was Reason to fear their getting between two at the same Time. The *Lacedæmonians*, and their *Allies*, who perceived they were interior in Number to the Enemy, contented themselves with drawing up in one Line, to equal their Front, and for the greater Facility of running between the *Athenian* Galleys, and turning nimbly round them. The Pilot of *Callicratidas*, daunted at the Inequality, advised him not to hazard the Battle, and to retire; but he reply'd, that he could not fly without Shame, and that his Death was of small Importance to the Republick. *Sparta*, said he, *does not depend upon one Man*. He commanded the Right-Wing, and *Thrasondas*, the *Theban*, the Left.

It was terrible to behold the Sea covered with three hundred Galleys ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval Armies of the *Greeks* join'd Battle before. The Ability, Experience, and Valour of the Generals who commanded, left nothing to desire; so that there was Reason to believe, this Battle would decide the Fate of both People, and put an End to a War, that had endured so long. When the Signals were given, the two Armies raised great Shouts, and began the Fight. *Callicratidas*, who, from the Answer of the Augurs, expected to fall in the Battle, performed amazing Actions of Valour. He attack'd the Enemy with incredible Courage and Boldness, sunk some of their Ships, disabled others, by breaking their Oars, and piercing their Sides with the Prow or Beak of his Galley. At length he attack'd that of *Pericles*, and made a thousand Holes in it; but the latter having hook'd him fast with an Iron Grappling, he found it impossible to disengage himself, and was surrounded, in an Instant, with several of the *Athenian* Vessels. His own was immediately fill'd with the Enemy, and after a dreadful Slaughter he fell dead, rather overwhelm'd by their Numbers, than vanquish'd. The Right-Wing, which he commanded, having lost its Admiral, was put to Flight. The Left, composed of *Bœotians*, and *Eubœans*, still made a long and vigorous Resistance; being under the most terrible Apprehensions, of falling into the Hands of the *Athenians*, from whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give Way, and retire in Disorder: The *Athenians* erected a Trophy in the *Arginusæ*. They lost however, twenty-five Galleys in this Battle, but the Enemy more than seventy; of which Number, were nine of the ten furnished by the *Lacedæmonians*.

Plutarch equalls *Callicratides* the *Lacedæmonian* General, for his Justice, Valour, and Magnanimity, with all that had ever render'd themselves worthy of Admiration amongst the *Greeks*. He blames him, however, exceedingly, for hazarding this Battle at the *Arginusæ*; and observes, that to avoid the Reproach of having retir'd out of Fear, and through a mistaken Sense of Honour, he had fail'd in the essential Duty of his Function. For, says *Plutarch*, if, (to use the Comparison of *Iphicrates*) the light-arm'd Infantry resemble the Hands; the Horse, the Feet; the main Body, the Breast; and the General, the Head; the General, who abandons himself rashly to the Impetuosity of his Valour, does not so much neglect and expose his own Life, as the Lives of those, whose Safety depends upon his. Our *Lacedæmonian* Chief was, therefore, in the Wrong (continues *Plutarch*) to answer the Pilot, who advised him to retire, *Sparta does not depend upon one Man*. For though it be true, that *Callicratidas*, when fighting under the Orders of another, either by Sea or Land, *was no more than one Man*, yet, when commanding an Army, all that obey'd his Orders were collected in his Person; and he, in whom so many thousands might be lost, *was no longer one Man*. *Cicero* had passed the same Judgment upon him before *Plutarch*. After having said, that there were many Persons to be found, who were ready to sacrifice their Fortunes, and even Lives for their Country, but who, out of a false Delicacy in Point of Glory, would not hazard their Reputation for it in the least, he cites the Example of *Callicratidas*, who answer'd those that advised him to retreat from the *Arginusæ*, *That* Sparta *could fit out another Fleet if this were lost, but for himself, he could not fly before the Enemy, without Shame and Infamy*.

We return to the Sequel of the Battle near the *Arginusæ*. The *Athenian* Generals order'd *Theramenes*, *Thrasybulus*, and some other Officers, to return with about fifty Galleys, to take up the Wrecks and dead Bodies, in order to their Interment, whilst they rowed on, with the rest, against *Eteonice*, who kept *Conon* besieged before *Mitylene*.

But a rough Tempeſt aroſe ſuddenly, and prevented the Execution of this Order. In the mean while, *Etconice* having received News of the Defeat, and fearing it might occaſion an Alarm, and Terror amongſt the Troops, ſent back thoſe who brought it, with Orders to return with Wreaths of Flowers upon their Heads, and to give out, that *Callicratidas* had gain'd the Victory, and deſtroy'd the whole *Athenian* Fleet. Upon their Return, he offer'd Sacrifices of Thankſgiving; and having made his Troops take ſome Refreſhment, he ſent the Galleys away directly, the Wind being fair, and march'd off the Land-Army to *Methymne*, after having burnt his Camp. *Conon* being delivered in this Manner from the Blockade, join'd the victorious Fleet, which returned forthwith to *Samos*. However, when it was known at *Athens*, that the dead Bodies had been left without Interment, the People were highly enraged, and laid the whole Weight of their Reſentment upon thoſe they believed guilty of that Crime. The Antients held it a great one not to provide Sepulture for the Dead; and we may obſerve, that after all their Battles, the firſt Care of the Conquered, notwithſtanding the Senſe of their Misfortune, and their great Affliction for a bloody Defeat, was to demand a Suſpenſion of Arms from the Victor, in order to pay their laſt Duties to thoſe, who had fallen in Battle; upon which they believed their Happineſs in another Life depended. They had little or no Idea of the Reſurrection of the Body; but however, the *Pagans*, in their Belief of the Soul's Concern for the Body after Death; the religious Regard paid to it, and the Paſſion with which they render'd ſolemn Honours to the Dead, ſeem to argue, that they had ſome confuſed Senſe of a Reſurrection, which ſubſiſted among all Nations, and deſcended from the moſt ancient Tradition, though they could not reaſon clearly upon that Head.

Hence aroſe the Fury of the People of *Athens*: They immediately nominated new Generals, retainining only *Conon* of the old ones, to whom they gave *Adimantes* and *Philocles* for Collegues: Eight Days after which, two of them withdrew themſelves, and only ſix returned to *Athens*. *Theramenes* the tenth General, accuſed the other Chiefs before the People; and repreſented them as reſponſible for not bringing off the Dead after the Battle; and to clear himſelf, read the Letter they had wrote to the Senate and People, wherein they excuſed themſelves, from the Violence of the Storm, without charging any Body. This Calumny was deteſtably vile, as being done in Abuſe of their Reſerve, in not mentioning him in their Letter, and in not laying a Fault to his Charge, of which he muſt have appeared the moſt guilty. The Character of *Theramenes* does not appear in a good Light, in this Inſtance: The Generals, at their Return, not being able to prevail, for the neceſſary Time to make their Defence, contented themſelves with repreſenting, in few Words, the State of the Affair; and appealed for the Truth of what they ſaid to the Pilots, and all preſent when it happened. The People ſeem'd to receive their Excuſe favourably, and ſeveral Perſons offered themſelves for their Surties; but it was thought proper to adjourn the Aſſembly, becauſe of the Night, and its being the Peoples Cuſtom to give their Suffrages, by lifting up of Hands, their Reſolution could not be known; beſides which, the Council were firſt to conſider upon what they ſhould think fit to propoſe to the People.

The Feaſt of *Apaturia* unexpectedly coming on, in which it was the Cuſtom to aſſemble by Families, the Relations of *Theramenes* poſted ſeveral Perſons in mourning Habits, and ſhaved, in proper Places, who ſaid, they were the Kindred of thoſe, who had been ſlain in the Battle, and obliged *Callixenes* to accuſe the Generals in the Senate. It was decreed, in Conſequence, that as the Accuſation and Defence, had been heard in the laſt Aſſembly, the People, by their reſpective Tribes, ſhould give their Voices, and if the Accuſed were found guilty, they ſhould be puniſhed with Death, their Eſtates confiſcated, and the tenth Part conſecrated to the Goddeſs *Minerva*. Some Senators oppoſed this Decree as unjuſt, and contrary to the Laws: But as the People, at the Inſtigation of *Callixenes*, threatned to include the Oppoſers in the ſame Cauſe and Crime with the Generals, they were ſo mean as to deſiſt from their Oppoſition, and to ſacrifice the innocent Generals to their own Safety, by conſenting to the Decree. *Socrates* (the celebrated Philoſopher) was the only one of the Senators, that ſtood firm, and perſiſted obſtinately in oppoſing a Decree ſo notoriouſly unjuſt, and ſo contrary to all Laws. The Orator, who mounted the Tribunal in Defence of the Generals, ſhew'd, "That they had failed in nothing of their Duty, "as they had given Orders. that the dead Bodies "ſhould be taken up: That if any one was guilty, "it was he, who, being charged with theſe Or- "ders, had neglected to put them in Execution: "But that he accuſed no-body; and that the Tem- "peſt, which came on unexpectedly, at the very "Inſtant, was an unanſwerable Apology, and "entirely diſcharged the Accuſed from all Guilt. "He demanded, that a whole Day ſhould be al- "low'd them to make their Defence, a Favour "not to be denied to the moſt criminal, and that "they ſhould be tried ſeparately. He repre- "ſented that they were not in the leaſt obliged "to precipitate a Sentence, wherein the Lives of "the moſt illuſtrious Citizens were concern'd; that "it was in ſome Meaſure attacking the Gods, to "make Men reſponſible for the Winds and Wea- "ther; that they could not, without the moſt "flagrant Ingratitude and Injuſtice, put the Con- "querors to Death, to whom they ought to de- "cree Crowns and Honours, or give up the De- "fenders of their Country to the Rage of thoſe "who envied them; that if they did ſo, their "unjuſt Judgment would be follow'd with a ſud- "den, but vain Repentance, which would leave "behind it the ſharpeſt Remorſe, and cover them "with eternal Shame and Infamy." The People ſeem'd at firſt to be mov'd with theſe Reaſons; but, animated by the Accuſers, they pronounced Sentence of Death againſt eight of the Generals, and ſix of them, who were preſent, were ſeiz'd, in order to their being carried to Execution. On this Occaſion, one of them, *Diomedon*, a Perſon of great Repute for his Valour and Probity, demanded to be heard. "*Athenians*, ſaid he, I "with the Sentence you have paſs'd upon us may "not prove the Misfortune of the Republick; "but I have one Favour to ask of you in Behalf "of my Collegues and myſelf; which is, to ac- "quit us before the Gods, of the Vows we made "to

" to them for you and ourſelves, as we are not " in a Condition to diſcharge them; for, it is to " their Protection, invok'd before the Battle, we " acknowledge we are indebted, for the Victory " gain'd by us over the Enemy." There was not one good Citizen, who did not melt into Tears at this Diſcourſe ſo full of Goodneſs and Religion; and admire, with Surprize, the Moderation of a Perſon, who ſeeing himſelf unjuſtly condemn'd, did not, however, vent the leaſt Reſentment, or, even complain of his Judges; but was ſolely intent (in Favour of an ungrateful Country, which had doom'd him to periſh) upon what he ow'd the Gods in common with them, for the Victory they had lately obtain'd.

The ſix Generals were hardly executed, when the People open'd their Eyes, and perceiv'd all the Horror of that Sentence; but their Repentance could not reſtore the Dead to Life. *Calixenes*, the Orator, was put in Priſon, and refus'd to be heard: Having found Means to make his Eſcape, he fled to *Decelia*, to the Enemy; from whence he return'd ſome Time after to *Athens*, where he dy'd of Hunger, univerſally deteſted, and abhorr'd by all the World, as all falſe Accuſers and Slanderers ought to be. *Diodorus* remarks, that the People themſelves were juſtly puniſh'd for their Crime by the Gods; who abandon'd them ſoon after, not to a ſingle Maſter, but to thirty Tyrants, who treated them with the utmoſt Rigor and Cruelty.

The Diſpoſition of the Populace is very naturally drawn in this Account; and *Plato*, upon the ſame Event, gives their Character in few Words, with much Spirit and Reſemblance. " The Com- " monalty (*ſays he*) is an inconſtant, ungrateful, " cruel, ſuſpicious Animal, incapable of ſubmitting " to the Government of Reaſon; which is no " Wonder (*adds he*) as it is commonly compos'd " of the Dregs of a City, and is a monſtrous Aſ- " ſemblage, without Form or Order, of all that " is worſt in it.

Amongſt all the Judges, only one, truly worthy of his Reputation, the great *Socrates*, in this general Baſeneſs and Perfidy, ſtood firm and immoveable; and, though he knew his Suffrage, and unaided Voice, would be of little or no Conſequence to the Accus'd, he thought it a juſt Homage to oppreſs'd Innocence; and, that it was unworthy of an honeſt Man, to govern himſelf by the Fury of a blind and frantick People: So far may Juſtice be abandon'd. We may conclude, it was not better defended before the People. Of more than three Thouſand Citizens, who compos'd the Aſſembly, two only took upon them the Defence of the Generals, *Euriptodemus* and *Axiochus*. *Plato* has preſerv'd their Names, and given that of the latter to the Dialogue, from whence Part of theſe Reflections are extracted.

After the Defeat at the *Arginuſæ*, the Affairs of the *Peloponneſians* declining, the *Allies*, ſupported by the Credit of *Cyrus*, ſent an Embaſſy to *Sparta*, to demand, that the Command of the Fleet ſhould again be given to *Lyſander*; promiſing to ſerve with more Affection and Courage under his Orders. As it was contrary to the Laws of *Sparta*, that the ſame Perſon ſhould be twice Admiral; the *Lacedæmonians*, to ſatisfy the *Allies*, gave the Title of Admiral to one *Aracus*, and ſent *Lyſander* with him; whom, in Appearance, they commiſſion'd only as Vice-Admiral; though, in Effect, he had all the Authority of the Supream Command.

All thoſe, who had the greateſt Share in the Government of the Cities, and were of the higheſt Authority in them, ſaw him arrive, with extream Joy; promiſing themſelves, from his Influence, the final Subverſion of the Democratick Power. His Character of Complaiſance to his Friends, and Indulgence to all their Faults, ſuited much better with their ambitious Views, than the auſtere Equity of *Callicratidas*: For, *Lyſander* was a Man of the moſt corrupt Heart; and glory'd in having no Principles, in Point of Virtue, or the moſt ſacred Duties. He made no Scruple, to employ Artifice and Deceit upon all Occaſions; and eſteem'd Juſtice, only as far as it ſerv'd his Meaſures: When it did not promote them, he never fail'd to prefer the uſeful; which, with him, was laudable and excellent; being convinc'd, Truth had, in its own Nature, no Advantage over Falſhood; and the Value of either was to be determin'd by the Convenience reſulting from them: And, for ſuch, as repreſented to him, it was unworthy the Deſcendants of *Hercules*, to make Uſe of Fraud and Treachery, he laugh'd at them; *For* (ſaid he) *where the Lion's Skin is ineffectual, it is neceſſary to add the Fox's Tail to it.*

There is an Expreſſion attributed to him, which ſufficiently denotes, how ſmall an Account he made of Perjury. He us'd to ſay, *Children are amuſed with Baubles, and Men with Oaths*; ſhewing, by ſo profeſs'd a Mock of Religion, that the Gods were more inconſiderable with him than his Enemies. For, he who deceives with a falſe Oath, plainly declares, in ſo doing, that he fears his Enemies, but deſpiſes *God*.

Here ends the twenty-ſixth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War: In this Year it was, that young *Cyrus*, dazzled with the unuſual Splendor of ſupream Authority, and jealous of the leaſt Omiſſion, in Point of ceremonial Homage, diſcover'd by a remarkable Action, the Secret of his Heart. Brought up, from his Infancy, in the Reigning-Houſe, nouriſh'd under the Shade of the Throne, amidſt the Submiſſions, and Proſtrations of the Courtiers, entertain'd long by the Diſcourſes of an ambitious Mother, who idoliz'd him, in the Deſire and Hope of Empire, he began already to affect the Rights of Sovereignty, and to exact the Honours paid it with ſurprizing Haughtineſs and Rigor. Two *Perſians* of the Royal Family, his Couſin-Germans, by their Mother, Siſter to his Father *Darius*, had omitted to cover their Hands with their Sleeves in his Preſence, according to a Ceremonial, obſerv'd only to the Kings of *Perſia*: *Cyrus*, reſenting that Neglect as a capital Crime, condemn'd them both to die; and caus'd them to be executed at *Sardis*, without Mercy. Hereupon, *Darius*, at whoſe Feet their Relations threw themſelves, to demand Juſtice, was very much affected with the tragical End of his two Nephews; and look'd upon this Action of his Son's, as an Attempt upon himſelf, to whom alone that Honour was due. He reſolv'd, therefore, to take his Government from him, and order'd him to Court, upon the Pretence of being ſick, and having a Deſire to ſee him.

However, *Cyrus*, before his Departure, ſent for *Lyſander* to *Sardis*; and put into his Hands great

Sums

Sums of Money for the Payment of his Fleet, promiſing him ſtill more, for the future. And, with the Oſtentation of a young Man, to let him ſee how much he deſir'd to oblige him, he aſſur'd him, though the King, his Father, ſhould ceaſe to afford him any Supplies, he would furniſh him with more, willingly, out of his own Coffers; and, rather than he ſhould want the neceſſary Proviſions, he would even cauſe the Throne of maſſy Gold and Silver, upon which he ſat in Judgment, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the Point of ſetting out, he impower'd him to receive the Tributes and Revenues from the Cities; confided the Government of his Provinces to him; and conjur'd him, with Embraces, not to give Battle in his Abſence, unleſs ſuperior in Force; becauſe the King neither wanted the Will, nor Power, to give him that Superiority over the Enemy; promiſing, at the ſame Time, with the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of Affection, to bring him great Number of Ships from *Phœnicia*, and *Cilicia*.

After that Prince's Departure, *Lyſander* ſail'd towards the *Helleſpont*, and laid Siege to *Lampſacus*; *Torax*, having march'd thither with his Land-Forces, at the ſame Time, aſſaulted the City on his Side. The Place was carry'd by Storm, and left, by *Lyſander*, to the Soldiers Mercy. The *Athenians*, who follow'd him cloſe, came to an Anchor in the Port of *Eleontum*, with an hundred and eighty Gallies. But, upon the News of the taking of *Lampſacus*, they immediately ſteer'd for *Seſtos*; and, after having taken in Proviſions, they ſtood away from thence, ſailing along the Coaſt to a Place call'd *Ægoſpotamos*; where they halted over-againſt the Enemy, who were then at Anchor before *Lampſacus*. The *Helleſpont* is not about two Thouſand Paces broad in that Place. The two Armies, ſeeing themſelves ſo near each other, expected only to reſt that Day, and were in Hopes of coming to a Battle the next.

But *Lyſander* had another Deſign in View: He commanded the Seamen and Pilots to go on board their Gallies, as if they were, in Reality, to fight the next Morning by Break of Day, to hold themſelves in Readineſs, and wait his Orders with profound Silence. He commanded the Land-Army, in like Manner, to draw up in Order of Battle on the Coaſt, and wait the Day, without any Noiſe. On the Morrow, aſſoon as the Sun was riſen, the *Athenians* began to row towards them, with their whole Fleet in one Line, and bid them Defiance. *Lyſander*, though his Ships were rang'd in Order of Battle, with their Heads towards the Enemy, lay ſtill, without making any Motion. In the Evening, when the *Athenians* withdrew, he did not ſuffer his Men to go aſhore, till two or three Gallies, which he had ſent out to obſerve them, were return'd with Advice, they had ſeen the Enemy land: The next Day paſs'd in the ſame Manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a Conduct, which argu'd Fear and Apprehenſion, extreamly augmented the Security and Boldneſs of the *Athenians*; and inſpir'd them with an extream Contempt for an Army, which Fear, in their Opinions, prevented from ſhowing themſelves, and attempting any Thing.

Whilſt this paſs'd, *Alcibiades*, who was near the Fleet, took Horſe, and came to the *Athenian* Generals; to whom he repreſented, that they kept upon a very diſadvantagious Coaſt, where there were neither Ports, or Cities, in the Neighbourhood; that they were oblig'd to bring their Proviſions from *Seſtos*, with great Danger and Difficulty; and were much in the Wrong, to ſuffer the Men, aſſoon as they were aſhore, to ſtraggle, and diſperſe themſelves, as they pleas'd, whilſt they were ſac'd in View by the Enemy's Fleet, accuſtom'd to execute the Orders of their General with the readieſt Obedience, and upon the ſlighteſt Signal. He offer'd alſo, to attack the Enemy by Land, with a ſtrong Body of *Thracian* Troops, and force them to a Battle. The Generals, eſpecially, *Tydeus*, and *Menander*, jealous of their Command, did not content themſelves with refuſing his Offers (from the Opinion, if the Event prov'd unfortunate, the whole Blame would fall on them; and, if favourable, *Alcibiades* alone would have the Honour) but rejected alſo, with Scorn, his wiſe and ſalutary Counſel; as if a Man in Diſgrace, loſt his Senſe and Abilities, with the Favour of the Commonwealth: *Alcibiades*, therefore, withdrew.

The fifth Day, the *Athenians* preſented themſelves again, and offer'd Battle; retiring in the Evening, according to Cuſtom, with more inſulting Airs than the Days before. *Lyſander*, as uſual, detach'd ſome Gallies to obſerve them, with Orders to return with the utmoſt Diligence, when they ſaw the *Athenians* landed; and put up a Brazen Buckler at each Ship's Head, aſſoon as they reach'd the Middle of the Channel. Himſelf, in the mean Time, ran through the whole Line in his Galley, exhorting the Pilots and Officers, to hold the Seamen and Soldiers in Readineſs to row and fight, on the firſt Signal.

Aſſoon as the Bucklers were put up in the Ships Heads, and the Admiral-Galley had given the Signal, by Sound of Trumpet, the whole Fleet ſet forwards in good Order. The Land-Army, at the ſame Time, made all poſſible Haſte to the Top of the Promontory to ſee the Battle. The Strait that ſeparates the two Continents in this Place, is about fifteen *Stadia*, or three Quarters of a League in Breadth, which Space was preſently clear'd, through the Activity and Diligence of the Rowers. *Conon*, the *Athenian* General, was the firſt, who, from Shore, diſcover'd the Fleet advancing in good Order to attack him; upon which he immediately cry'd out for the Troops to embark. In the Height of Sorrow and Trouble, ſome he call'd to by their Names, ſome he conjur'd, and others he forc'd to go on board their Gallies; but all his Endeavours and Earneſtneſs were ineffectual, the Soldiers being diſpers'd on all Sides: For, they had no ſooner gone aſhore, than ſome ran to the Suttlers; ſome to walk in the Country; ſome to ſleep in their Tents; and others had begun to dreſs their Suppers. This proceeded from the Want of Vigilance, and Experience in their Generals; who, not ſuſpecting the leaſt Danger, indulg'd themſelves in taking their Repoſe, and gave their Soldiers the ſame Liberty.

The Enemy had already fallen on with loud Cries, and a great Noiſe of their Oars; when, *Conon*, diſengaging himſelf with nine Gallies, of which Number was the ſacred Ship, call'd the *Paralian*, ſtood away for *Cyprus*, where he took Refuge with *Evagoras*: The *Peloponneſians*, falling upon the Reſt of the Fleet, took immediately the Gal-

Gallies which were empty, and disabled, and destroy'd such as began to fill with Men. The Soldiers, who ran without Order, or Arms, to their Relief, were either kill'd, endeavouring to get on board, or running away ashore, were cut in Pieces by the Enemy, who landed in Pursuit of them. *Lysander* took three Thousand Prisoners, with all the Generals, and the whole Fleet. This done, having plunder'd the Camp, and fasten'd the Enemy's Gallies to the Sterns of his own, he return'd to *Lampsacus*, amidst the Sound of Flutes, and Songs of Triumph. It was his Glory, to have perform'd one of the greatest military Exploits, recorded in History, with little or no Loss; and to have terminated a War, in the small Space of an Hour, which had already lasted twenty-seven Years; and which, perhaps, without him, had been of much longer Continuance. *Lysander* immediately sent Dispatches with this argeeable News to *Sparta*.

The three Thousand Prisoners, taken in this Battle, having been condemn'd to die; *Lysander* call'd upon *Philocles*, one of the *Athenian* Generals; who had caus'd all the Prisoners taken in two Gallies, the one of *Andros*, the other of *Corinth*, to be thrown from the Top of a Precipice; and had formerly persuaded the People of *Athens* to make a Decree, for cutting off the Thumbs of the Right-Hands of all Prisoners of War, to disable them for handling the Pike, and that they might be fit only to serve at the Oar; and causing him to be brought forth, ask'd him, what Sentence he would pass upon himself, for having induc'd his City to pass that cruel Decree. To which, *Philocles*, without abating of his Pride in the least, notwithstanding the extream Danger he was in, made Answer; *Accuse not People of Crimes, who have no Judges; but, as you are Victor, use your Right; and do by us, as we should have done by you, if we had conquered.* At the same Instant, he went into a Bath; put on, afterwards, a magnificent Robe; and then march'd foremost to the Execution. All the Prisoners were put to the Sword, except *Adamantus*, who had oppos'd that Decree.

After this Expedition, *Lysander* went with his Fleet to all the maritime Cities; and gave Orders for all the *Athenians* in them to withdraw, assoon as possible, to *Athens*, without permitting them to take any other Rout; declaring, that, after a certain Time fix'd, all such should be punish'd with Death, as should be found out of *Athens*: This he did, like an able Politician, to reduce the City by Famine the more easily, and render it incapable of sustaining a long Siege. He afterwards apply'd himself to subvert the Democratick, and all other Forms of Government throughout the Cities; leaving in each of them a *Lacedæmonian* Governor, call'd *Harmostes*, and ten Archons or Magistrates, whom he chose out of the Societies, he had establish'd in them. He secur'd to himself, by that Means, in some Measure, the general Government, and a Kind of Sovereignty over all *Greece*; advancing none to Power, but such as were intirely devoted to his Service.

When the News of the intire Defeat of the Army came to *Athens*, by a Ship, which arriv'd in the Night at the *Piræum*, the City was in a universal Consternation. Nothing was heard but Cries of Sorrow and Despair in every Part of it. They imagin'd the Enemy already at their Gates. They represented to themselves the Miseries of a long Siege; a cruel Famine; the Ruin, and burning of their City; the Insolence of a proud Victor; and the shameful Slavery to which they were about to be given up; more afflicting and insupportable to them, than the most severe Punishments, and Death itself. The next Day the Assembly was summon'd, wherein it was resolv'd, to shut up all the Ports, one only excepted; to repair all the Breaches in the Walls; and that Guards should be posted, against a Siege.

In Effect, *Agis*, and *Pausanias*, the two Kings of *Sparta*, advanc'd towards *Athens* with all their Troops; *Lysander*, soon after, came to the *Piræum* with an hundred and fifty Sail; and prevented all Ships from going in, or coming out. Hereupon, the *Athenians*, besieg'd by Sea and Ladd, without Provisions, Ships, Hope of Relief, or any Supply, re-instated all Persons attainted by any Decree; without speaking the least Word of a Capitulation, however; though many had already dy'd of Famine. But, when their Corn was intirely consum'd, they sent Deputies to *Agis*, to propose a Treaty with *Sparta*, upon Condition of abandoning all their Possessions, the City and Port only excepted. He referr'd the Deputies to *Lacedæmon*, as not being empower'd to treat with them: When they arriv'd at *Selasia*, upon the Frontier of *Sparta*, and had made known their Commission to the *Ephori*, they were order'd to retire, and come with other Proposals, if they expected Peace. The *Ephori* had demanded, that twelve hundred Paces of the Wall, on each Side of the *Piræum*, should be demolish'd: But, an *Athenian*, for venturing to advise a Compliance, was sent to Prison, and Prohibition made against proposing any Thing of that Kind for the future.

In this deplorable Condition, *Theramenes* declar'd in the Assembly, that, if he were sent to *Lysander*, he would know, whether the Proposal made by the *Lacedæmonians* for dismantling the City, was intended to facilitate its Ruin, or prevent a Revolt. The *Athenians* having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three Months absent; no Doubt, with the View, of reducing them, by Famine, to accept any Conditions, that should be offer'd. On his Return, he told them, *Lysander* had detain'd him all that Time; and, at last, he had been given to understand, that he might apply to the *Ephori*. He was, therefore, sent back, with nine others, to *Sparta*, with full Powers to conclude a Treaty. When they arriv'd there, the *Ephori* gave them Audience in the General Assembly, where the *Corinthians*, and several other *Allies*, especially the *Thebans*, insisted, it was absolutely necessary to destroy the City, without hearkening any farther to a Treaty. But the *Lacedæmonians*, preferring the Glory, and Safety of *Greece*, to their own Grandeur, made Answer, they would never be reproach'd, with having destroy'd a City, that had render'd such great Services to all *Greece*; the Remembrance of which ought to have much greater Weight with the *Allies*, than the Resentment of private Injuries receiv'd from it. The Peace was, therefore, concluded upon these Conditions; "That the Fortifications of the *Pi-*
"*ræum*, with the long Wall that join'd that Port
"to the City, should be demolish'd; that the
"*Athenians* should deliver up all their Gallies,
"twelve

" twelve only excepted; that they ſhould aban-
" don all the Cities, of which they had poſſeſs'd
" themſelves, and be contented with their own
" Lands and Country; that they ſhould recal
" their Exiles, and make a League offenſive and
" defenſive with the *Lacedæmonians*, under whom
" they ſhould march, wherever they thought fit
" to lead them."

The Deputies, on their Return, were ſurrounded with an innumerable Throng of People, who apprehended that nothing had been concluded; for, they were not able to hold out any longer, ſuch Multitudes dying every Day of Famine. The next Day, they reported the Succeſs of their Negotiation; the Treaty was ratify'd, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of ſome Perſons; and *Lyſander*, follow'd by the Exiles, enter'd the Port. It was upon the ſame Day, that the *Athenians* had formerly gain'd the naval Battle of *Salamis*. He caus'd the Walls to be demoliſh'd to the Sound of Flutes and Trumpets, and with all the exterior Marks of Triumph and Rejoicing; as if all *Greece* had, that Day, regain'd its Liberty. So ended the *Peloponneſian* War, after having continued during the Space of twenty-ſeven Years.

At the ſame Time, *Lyſander*, without giving the *Athenians* Time to look about them, chang'd the Form of their Government intirely; eſtabliſh'd thirty Archons, or rather Tyrants, over the City; put a good Garriſon into the Citadel, and left the *Spartan*, *Callibius*, *Harmoſtes*, or Governor. *Agis* diſmiſs'd his Troops; but *Lyſander*, before he diſbanded his, advanc'd againſt *Samos*, which he preſs'd ſo warmly, that it was, at laſt, oblig'd to capitulate. Then, after having eſtabliſh'd its ancient Inhabitants in it, he propos'd to return to *Sparta* with the *Lacedæmonian* Gallies, thoſe of the *Piræum*, and the Beaks of thoſe which he had taken.

He had ſent *Gylippus*, who had commanded the Army in *Sicily*, before him; to carry the Money and Spoils to *Lacedæmon*, which were the Fruit of his glorious Campaigns. The Money, without reckoning the innumerable Crowns of Gold, given him by the Cities, amounted to fifteen Hundred Talents; that is, fifteen hundred Thouſand Crowns; but, *Gylippus*, who carry'd this conſiderable Sum, could not reſiſt the Temptation of converting ſome Part of it to his own Uſe. The Bags were ſeal'd up carefully, and did not ſeem to leave any Room for Theft. He unripp'd them at the Bottom; and, after having taken out of each of them what Money he thought fit, to the Amount of three Hundred Talents, he ſew'd them up again very neatly, and thought himſelf perfectly ſafe: But, when he arriv'd at *Sparta*, the Accounts, which had been put up in each Bag, diſcover'd him. To avoid Puniſhment, therefore, he baniſh'd himſelf from his Country; carrying along with him in all Places, the Diſgrace of having ſully'd, by ſo baſe and ſordid an Avarice, the Glory of all his great Actions.

From this unhappy Example, the wiſeſt, and moſt diſtinguiſhing of the *Spartans*, apprehending the all-powerful Effects of Money, which inſlav'd not only the Vulgar, but even the greateſt of Men, blam'd *Lyſander*, for having acted ſo contradictively to the fundamental Laws of *Sparta*; and warmly repreſented to the *Ephori*, how incumbent it was upon them, to baniſh all that Gold and Silver from the Republick; and to lay the heavieſt of Curſes and Imprecations upon it, as the fatal Bane of all other States; introduc'd only to corrupt the wholeſome Conſtitution of the *Spartan* Government, which had ſupported itſelf ſo many Ages with Vigour and Proſperity. Hereupon, the *Ephori* immediately paſs'd a Decree to prohibit that Money; and ordain'd, that none ſhould be current, except the uſual *Species* of Iron: But *Lyſander*'s Friends oppoſing this Decree, and ſparing no Pains to retain the Gold and Silver in *Sparta*, the Affair was referr'd for farther Deliberation. There ſeem'd, naturally, only two Methods to be conſider'd; which were, either to make the Gold and Silves *Species* current; or, to cry them down, and prohibit them abſolutely. The Men of Addreſs and Policy found out a third Expedient, which, in their Senſe, reconcil'd both the others with great Succeſs: This was, wiſely to chuſe the Mean, betwixt the vicious Extreams of too much Rigour, and too much Neglect. It was, therefore, reſolv'd, that the new Coin of Gold and Silver ſhould be ſolely employ'd by the publick Treaſury; that it ſhould only paſs in the Occaſions and Uſes of the State; and every private Perſon, in whoſe Poſſeſſion it ſhould be found, ſhould be inſtantly put to Death.

A ſtrange Expedient, ſays *Plutarch*. As if *Lycurgus* had fear'd the *Species* of Gold and Silver, and not the Avarice they occaſion; an Avarice, leſs to be extinguiſh'd, by prohibiting private Men the Poſſeſſion of it, than inflam'd, by permitting the State to amaſs, and make Uſe of it for the Service of the Publick. For, it was impoſſible, whilſt Money was in Honour and Eſteem with the Publick, it ſhould be deſpis'd in private as uſeleſs; and that, People ſhould look upon that, as of no Value in their domeſtick Affairs, which the City priz'd, and were ſo much concern'd to have for its Occaſions; bad Cuſtoms authoriz'd by the Practice and Example of the Publick, being a Thouſand Times more dangerous to private Men, than the Vices of particular Perſons to the Publick. The *Lacedæmonians*, therefore, continues *Plutarch*, in decreeing the Pain of Death, for thoſe who ſhould make Uſe of the new Money in private, were ſo blind and imprudent to imagine, that placing the Law, and Terror of Puniſhment, as a Guard at the Door, was ſufficient to prevent Gold and Silver from entering the Houſe: They left the Hearts of their Citizens open to the Deſire and Admiration of Riches; and introduc'd themſelves a violent Paſſion for amaſſing Treaſure, in cauſing it to be deem'd a great and honourable Thing to become rich.

Upon his Return to *Sparta*, he ſeriouſly bent his Thoughts on executing a Project, which he had revolv'd many Years in his Mind. At *Sparta* there were only two Families, or rather Branches, of the Poſterity of *Hercules*, who had a Right to the Throne. When *Lyſander* had attain'd that high Degree of Power, which his great Actions had acquir'd, he began to ſee, with Pain, a City, whoſe Glory had been ſo much augmented by his Exploits, under the Government of Princes, to whom he gave Place neither in Valour, or Birth; for, he deſcended, as well as themſelves, from *Hercules*. He, therefore, ſought Means to deprive thoſe two Houſes of the ſole Succeſſion to the Crown; and to extend that Right to all the other

Branches of the *Heraclides*; and even, according to ſome, to all the Natives of *Sparta*; flattering himſelf, if this Deſign took Effect, no *Spartan* would be capable of diſputing that Honour with him; and, he ſhould have the Preference.

This ambitious Project of *Lyſander*'s ſhows, the greateſt Captains are generally thoſe, from whom a Republick has moſt to apprehend. Thoſe haughty valiant Spirits, accuſtom'd to abſolute Power in Armies, bring back, with Victory, a daring Loftineſs of Mind, always to be dreaded in a free State. *Sparta*, in giving *Lyſander* unlimited Power, and leaving it for ſo many Years in his Hands, did not ſufficiently conſider, nothing is more dangerous, than to confide in Perſons of ſuperior Merit and Abilities, Employments of ſupream Authority; which naturally expoſes them to the Temptation of rendering themſelves independent, and abſolute Maſters of Power. Accordingly, *Lyſander* was not Proof againſt it; but laid a Scheme ſecretly to open himſelf a Way to the Throne.

The Undertaking was bold, and requir'd long Preparations: He thought it impoſſible to ſucceed, without firſt making Uſe of the Fear of the Divinity, and the Terrors of Superſtition, to amaze, and ſubdue the Citizens into a more eaſy Diſpoſition, to receive what he wanted to have them underſtand: For, he knew, that at *Sparta*, as well as throughout all *Greece*, nothing of the leaſt Importance was determin'd, without previouſly conſulting the Oracle. He tempted the Prieſts and Prieſteſſes of *Delphos*, *Dodona*, and *Jupiter Ammon*, with great Preſents; though ineffectually at that Time; and the latter ſent even Ambaſſadors to *Sparta*, to accuſe him of Impiety and Sacrilege; but he extricated himſelf from that bad Affair, by his Credit and Addreſs.

It was neceſſary, then, to ſet other Engines at Work. A Woman, in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, affirming, ſhe was with Child by *Apollo*, had been deliver'd, ſome Years before, of a Son, to whom the Name of *Silenus* was given; and the greateſt Perſons of that Nation had diſputed the Honour of nurſing, and educating him. *Lyſander*, taking this wondrous Birth for the Commencement, and, in a Manner, the Foundation, of a Cheat he meditated, ſupply'd the Reſt himſelf, by employing a good Number of Perſons, and thoſe not inconſiderable, to diſperſe, by Way of Prologue to the Performance, the miraculous Birth of this Infant; whereby, no Affectation appearing in them, People were diſpos'd to believe it. This being done, they brought certain Diſcourſes from *Delphos* to *Sparta*, which were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad every-where: That the Prieſts of that Temple had in their Cuſtody ſome Books of very ancient Oracles, which they kept conceal'd from all the World; and of which it was not permitted, either for them, or any Perſons whatſoever, to have any Knowledge; and that, only a Son of *Apollo*, who was to come in Proceſs of Time, after having given undoubted Proofs of his Birth to thoſe, who had the Books in their keeping, was to take and carry them away.

All this being well inculcated, *Silenus* was to preſent himſelf to the Prieſts, and demand thoſe Oracles, as the Son of *Apollo*; and the Prieſts, who were in the Secret, as Actors well prepar'd, and fully inſtructed in their Parts, were, on their Side, to make the moſt exact and circumſtantial Enquiry into every Thing; not without affecting great Difficulty, and asking endleſs Queſtions, for the full Proof of his Birth. At length, as abſolutely convinc'd, that *Silenus* was the real Son of *Apollo*, they were to produce the Books, and deliver them to him; after which, this Son of *Apollo* was to read the Prophecies contain'd therein, in the Preſence of all the World; and particularly, that for which the whole Contrivance had been cook'd up. The Senſe of this was, *That it was more expedient, and advantagious for the* Spartans, *to elect no Kings for the future, but the moſt worthy of their Citizens.* *Lyſander*, in Conſequence, was to mount the Tribunal, to harangue the Citizens, and induce them to make this Alteration. *Cleon* of *Halicarnaſſus*, a celebrated Rhetorician, had compos'd a very eloquent Diſcourſe for him upon this Subject, which he had got by Heart.

Silenus grew up, and repair'd to *Greece*, in order to play his Part, when *Lyſander* had the Mortification to ſee his Fraud miſcarry, by the Timidity and Deſertion of one of his principal Actors, who broke his Word, and diſappear'd the very Inſtant it was to have been perform'd. Though this Intrigue had been carry'd on a great While, it was tranſacted with ſo much Secreſy, to the Time it was to have made its Appearance, that nothing of it was known, during the Life of *Lyſander*.

It was about the End of the *Peloponneſian* War, that *Darius Nothus*, King of *Perſia* dy'd, after a Reign of nineteen Years. *Cyrus* arriv'd at the Court before his Death, and *Paryſatis*, his Mother, whoſe Idol he was, not contented with having made his Peace, notwithſtanding the Faults he had committed in his Government, preſs'd the old King to declare him his Succeſſor; after the Example of *Darius* the Firſt, who gave *Xerxes* the Preference before all his Brothers, becauſe born, as *Cyrus* was, after his Father's Acceſſion to the Throne. But *Darius* did not carry his Complaiſance for her ſo far: He gave the Crown to *Arſaces*, his eldeſt Son by *Paryſatis* alſo, whom *Plutarch* calls, and bequeath'd only to *Cyrus* the Provinces he held before.

BOOK

THE HISTORY OF THE *PERSIANS* and *GRECIANS*.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Artaxerxes Mnemon *aſcends the* Perſian *Throne*; Cyrus, *his younger Brother, attempts to aſſaſſinate him, in the Temple, as he is going to be crown'd; He is pardon'd, however, at the Interceſſion of his Mother* Paryſatis, *and ſent to his Government of* Aſia Minor; *The inceſtuous Paſſion of* Teriteuchmes *for his own Siſter, and its tragical Conſequences*; Cyrus *meditates the dethroning his Brother*; Alcibiades *put to Death by* Pharnabaſus, *at the Inſtance of the thirty Tyrants of* Athens; *His Character*; *The Tyrants of* Athens *practiſe the moſt inhuman Cruelties*; *They ſentence* Theramenes, *one of their Colleagues to Death*; Socrates *defends his Cauſe*; Thraſybulus *attacks the Tyrants, defeats them, and reſtores* Athens *to Liberty*; Lyſander *abuſes his Power, and is recall'd*; Cyrus *raiſes Troops under-hand, and marches againſt his Brother*; *The celebrated Battle of* Cunaxa; Cyrus *is defeated, and kill'd*; *His Eulogy, and Character.*

ARSACES, upon aſcending the Throne, took the Name of *Artaxerxes*, and is the ſame, to whom the *Greeks* gave the Sirname of *MNEMON*, upon Account of his prodigious Memory. Being near his Father's Bed, when he was dying, he ask'd him, a few Moments before he expir'd, what had been the Rule of his Conduct, during ſo long and happy a Reign as his, that he might follow his Example. *It has been* (reply'd he) *to do always what Juſtice and Religion required of me.* Words of deep Senſe, and well worthy of being ſet up in Letters of Gold in the Palaces of Kings; to keep them perpetually in Mind of what ought to be the Guide and Rule of all their Actions. It is not uncommon for Princes, to give excellent Inſtructions to their Children, on their Death-Beds; which would be more efficacious, if preceded by their own Example and Conduct; without which they are as weak and impotent, as the ſick Mortal who gives them; and ſeldom ſurvive him long.

Soon after the Death of *Darius*, the new King ſet out from his Capital for the City of *Paſagardes*; in Order to his Coronation, according to Cuſtom, by the Prieſts of *Perſia*. There was, in that City, a Temple of the Goddeſs who preſided in War, in which the Coronation was ſolemniz'd. It was attended with very ſingular Ceremonies, which, no Doubt, had ſome myſterious Senſe; though *Plutarch* does not explain of what Kind. The Prince, at his Conſecration, diveſted himſelf of his Robe in the Temple, and put on that worn by the ancient *Cyrus*, before he came to the Throne; which was preſerv'd in that Place with great Veneration. After this, he eat a dry Fig, chew'd ſome

ſome Leaves of the Turpentine-Tree, and drank a Draught, compos'd of Milk and Vinegar. This might ſignify, that the Sweets of ſovereign Power are mingled with the Sowres of Care and Diſquiet; and that, if the Throne be ſurrounded with Pleaſures and Honours, it is no leſs attended with Pains and Anxieties. It ſeems ſufficiently evident, that they intended, in putting the Robe of *Cyrus* upon the new King, to give him to underſtand, that he ſhould alſo cloathe his Mind with the great Qualities, and extraordinary Virtues of that Prince.

Young *Cyrus*, abandon'd to his Ambition, was in Deſpair, upon being for ever prevented from aſcending a Throne, of which his Mother had given him Hopes; and, on ſeeing the Sceptre, which he thought his Right, transferr'd into the Hands of his Brother. The blackeſt Crimes coſt the Ambitious nothing: *Cyrus*, therefore, reſolv'd to aſſaſſinate *Artaxerxes* in the Temple itſelf, and in the Preſence of the whole Court, juſt when he took off his own Robe, to put on that of *Cyrus*: However, *Artaxerxes* was appriz'd of this Deſign by the Prieſt himſelf, who had educated his Brother, to whom he had imparted it; whereupon, *Cyrus* was ſeiz'd, and condemn'd to die; when his Mother *Paryſatis*, almoſt out of her Senſes, flew to the Place; claſp'd him in her Arms; ty'd herſelf to him with the Treſſes of her Hair; faſten'd her Neck to his; and, by her Shrieks, Tears, and Prayers, prevail'd for his Pardon, and that he ſhould be ſent to his Government of the maritime Provinces. He carry'd thither with him an Ambition no leſs ardent than before; and was animated, beſides, with Rage for the Check he had received, and the warm Deſire of Revenge; and arm'd with an almoſt unbounded Power. *Artaxerxes*, upon this Occaſion, acted contrary to the moſt common Rules of Policy, which do not admit the nourishing and inflaming, by extraordinary Honours, the Pride and Haughtineſs, of a bold and enterprizing young Prince, like *Cyrus*; who carry'd his perſonal Enmity to his Brother ſo far, as to have reſolv'd to aſſaſſinate him with his own Hands; and whoſe Ambition for Empire was to great, as put him upon uſing the moſt criminal Methods for the Attainment of it.

Artaxerxes had eſpous'd *Statira*, a Lady of great Quality, and exquiſite Beauty: Scarce had he Her, and attended the Throne, when ſhe employ'd the Power her Beauty gave her over him, to revenge the Death of her Brother *Teriteuchmes*. History has not a more tragical Scene, nor a more inextricable Complication of Adultery, Inceſt, and Murder; which, after having occaſion'd great Diſorders in the Royal Family, terminated, at length, in the moſt fatal Manner, to all who had any Share in it. But it is neceſſary, for the Reader's Knowledge of the Fact, to trace it from the Beginning.

Hidarnes, Father of *Statira*, a *Perſian* of very great Quality, was Governor of one of the principal Provinces of the Empire; and *Statira* was a Lady of extraordinary Beauty, which induc'd *Artaxerxes*, who was then call'd *Arſaces*, to marry her. At the ſame Time, *Teriteuchmes*, Brother of *Statira*, marry'd *Hameſtris*, Siſter of *Arſaces*, one of the Daughters of *Darius* and *Paryſatis*; on Account of which Marriage, *Teriteuchmes*, upon his Father's Death, had his Government given him. There was, at the ſame Time, another Siſter in this Family, no leſs beautiful than *Statira*; and who, beſides, excell'd in the Arts of drawing the Bow, and throwing the Dart. *Teriteuchmes*, her Brother, conceiv'd a criminal Paſſion for her; and, to gratify it, reſolv'd to free himſelf from all Impediments, by killing *Hameſtris*, whom he had eſpous'd. But, *Darius*, having been inform'd of this Deſign, by the Force of Preſents and Promiſes, engag'd *Udiaſtes*, the intimate Friend and Confident of *Teriteuchmes*, to prevent ſo black a Deſign, by aſſaſſinating him. He obey'd, and had, for his Reward, the Government of him he had aſſaſſinated with his own Hands.

Amongſt the Guards of *Teriteuchmes*, was a Son of *Udiaſtes*, call'd *Mithridates*, very much attach'd to his Maſter: This young Nobleman, upon hearing his Father had committed this Murder in Perſon; utter'd all Manner of Imprecations againſt him, and full of Horror for ſo infamous and vile an Action, ſeiz'd on the City of *Zaris*, and openly revolting, declar'd for the Eſtabliſhment of the Son of *Teriteuchmes*. But that young Man could not hold out long againſt *Darius*: He was block'd up in the Place, with the Son of *Teriteuchmes*, whom he had with him; and all the Family of *Hidarnes* were put in Priſon, and deliver'd to *Paryſatis*, to do with them, as that Mother, exaſperated to the laſt Degree, by the Treatment either done, or intended againſt her Daughter, *Hameſtris*, ſhould think fit. Accordingly, that cruel Princeſs began, by cauſing *Roxana*, whoſe Beauty had been the Occaſion of this Miſchief, to be ſaw'd in two; and order'd all the Reſt to be put to Death, except *Statira*; whom ſhe granted to the Tears, and the moſt tender, and ardent Sollicitations of *Arſaces*: Whoſe Love for his Wife made him ſpare no Pains for her Preſervation; though *Darius*, his Father, believ'd it neceſſary, even for the Good of *Arſaces* himſelf, that ſhe ſhould ſhare the ſame Fate with the Reſt of her Family: Such was the State of the Affair, at the Death of *Darius*.

In Effect, *Statira*, aſſoon as her Husband was upon the Throne, caus'd *Udiaſtes* to be deliver'd into her Hands; order'd his Tongue to be torn out; and made him die in the moſt exquiſite Torments ſhe could invent, to puniſh the Crime which had occaſion'd the Ruin of her Family. She then gave his Government to *Mithridates*, in Recompence for his Attachment to the Intereſts of her Houſe: On the other Hand, *Paryſatis* took her Revenge on the Son of *Teriteuchmes*, whom ſhe caus'd to be poiſon'd; and we ſhall ſee *Statira*'s Turn was not very far off. We ſee here the terrible Effects of Female Revenge; and, in general, to what Exceſſes they are carry'd, who find themſelves above Laws, and have no other Rule for their Actions than their Will and Pleaſure.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd, *Cyrus*, having reſolv'd to dethrone his Brother, employ'd *Clearchus*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, to raiſe a Body of *Grecian* Troops, under Pretence of a War, which the *Spartan* was to carry on in *Thrace*. We ſhall defer ſpeaking of this famous Expedition, and alſo of the Death of *Socrates*, which happen'd about the ſame Time; intending to treat of thoſe two great Events, in as ample a Manner as they deſerve. It was, without Doubt, with the ſame View, *Cyrus* preſented *Lyſander* a Galley

Galley of two Cubits in Length, made of Ivory and Gold, to congratulate him upon his naval Victory. That Galley was conſecrated to *Apollo*, in the Temple of *Delphos*: *Lyſander* went ſoon after to *Sardis*, charged with magnificent Preſents for *Cyrus*, from the *Allies*.

It was upon that Occaſion, *Cyrus* had that celebrated Converſation with *Lyſander*, related by *Xenophon*; which *Cicero*, after him, has thought fit to cite. That young Prince, who valu'd himſelf more upon his Gallantry and Politeneſs, than Nobility and Grandeur, took a Pleaſure in conducting in Perſon ſo illuſtrious a Gueſt, through his Gardens, and making him obſerve the various Beauties of them. *Lyſander*, ſtruck with ſo fine a Proſpect, admir'd the Manner in which the ſeveral Parts were laid out, the Height and Projection of the Trees; the Neatneſs and Diſpoſition of the Walks; the Abundance of Fruits, planted with an Art which had known how to unite the uſeful with the agreeable; the Beauty of the Parterres, and the dazzling Variety of Flowers, exhaling ſweet Odours, on all Sides, throughout the charming Scene. *Every Thing charms and tranſports me in this Place*, ſaid *Lyſander*, addreſſing himſelf to *Cyrus*; *but what ſtrikes me moſt, is the exquiſite Taſte, and elegant Induſtry of the Perſon, who drew the Plan of the ſeveral Parts of this Garden, and gave it that fine Order, wonderful Diſpoſition, and happineſs of Symmetry, which I cannot ſufficiently admire.* *Cyrus*, infinitely pleas'd with this Diſcourſe, reply'd, *It was I, that drew the Plan, and entirely marked it out; and not only that, but many of the Trees, which you ſee, were planted with my own Hands.* *What*, reply'd *Lyſander*, viewing him from Head to Foot, *is it poſſible, with theſe purple Robes, and ſplendid Veſtments, thoſe Strings of Jewels, and Bracelets of Gold, thoſe Buskins ſo richly embroidered, that you could play the Gardiner, and employ your royal Hands in planting Trees! Does that ſurprize you*, ſaid *Cyrus*, *I ſwear by the God* Mithras, *that when my Health admits, I never ſit down to Table, without having made myſelf ſweat, with Fatigue, either in military Toils, rural Labour, or ſome other toilſome Employment, wherein I exerciſe myſelf with Pleaſure, and without ſparing myſelf:* Whereupon, *Lyſander* was amaz'd at this Diſcourſe, and preſſing him by the Hand, ſaid; *You well deſerve*, Cyrus, *your high Fortune, who join Virtue ſo wiſely therewith.*

Alcibiades found no Difficulty to diſcover the Myſtery of the Levies made by *Cyrus*; and went into the Province of *Pharnabaſus*, deſigning to go to the Court of *Perſia*, and to apprize *Artaxerxes* of the Scheme laid againſt him. Had he arrived there, a Diſcovery of ſuch Importance had infallibly procured him the Favour of that Prince; and the Aſſiſtance he wanted for the Re-eſtabliſhment of his Country: But the *Lacedæmonian* Partiſans at *Athens*, that is to ſay, the Thirty Tyrants, apprehended the Intrigues of ſo ſuperior a Genius, and repreſented to their Maſters, that they were inevitably ruin'd, if they did not find Means to rid themſelves of *Alcibiades*. The *Lacedæmonians*, thereupon, wrote to *Pharnabaſus*, and with an abject Meanneſs, not to be excuſed, and which ſhew'd how much *Sparta* had degenerated from its ancient Manners, made preſſing Inſtances to him, to deliver them, at any Rate, from ſo formidable an Enemy. The *Satrapa* comply'd to their Wiſh: *Alcibiades* was then in a ſmall Town of *Phrygia*, where he lived with his Concubine *Timandra*. Thoſe who were ſent to kill him, not daring to enter his Houſe, contented themſelves with ſurrounding, and ſetting it on Fire: And *Alcibiades*, having quitted it, by Reaſon of the Flames, with his Sword in his Hand, the *Barbarians* were afraid to ſtay, or to come to Blows with him; but flying, and retreating as he advanced, they ſhower'd a Multitude of Darts and Arrows upon him, at a Diſtance, ſo that he fell dead upon the Spot. Hereupon, *Timandra* took up his Body, and having adorn'd and cover'd it with the fineſt Robes ſhe had, made as magnificent a Funeral for it, as her preſent Condition would admit.

Such was the End of *Alcibiades*; whoſe great Virtues were eclipſed, and render'd of no Service, by greater Vices. It is not eaſy to ſay, whether his good or bad Qualities were moſt pernicious to his Country; for with the one he deceived his Citizens, and with the other he oppreſs'd them. In him diſtinguiſh'd Valour was united with Nobility of Blood: He was handſome, well made, eloquent, of great Ability in Affairs, inſinuating, and form'd for charming all Mankind. He lov'd Glory; but without Prejudice to his Inclination for Pleaſure; nor was he ſo fond of Pleaſure, as to neglect his Glory for it. He knew how to give into, or abſtract himſelf from it, according to the Situation of his Affairs. Never was a Genius of equal Ductility with his; he metamorphoſed himſelf with incredible Facility, like a *Proteus*, into the moſt contrary Forms; and ſupported them all with as much Eaſe and Grace, os if each had been natural to him.

This Convertibillity of Character, according to Occaſions, the Cuſtoms of Countries, and his own Intereſts, diſcover an Heart void of Principles, without either Truth or Juſtice. He did not confine himſelf either to Religion, Virtue, Laws, Duties, or his Country. His ſole Rule of Action was his private Ambition, to which he made every Thing elſe ſubſervient. His Aim was to pleaſe, to dazzle, and be belov'd; but, at the ſame Time, to ſubject thoſe he ſooth'd: He favour'd them only, as they ſerv'd his Purpoſes; and made his Correſpondence and Friendſhip, a Means for gaining his own Ends, in every Point.

His Life was a perpetual Mixture of Good and Evil: His Sallies for Virtue were ill ſuſtain'd, and quickly degenerated into Vices and Crimes, very little to the Honour of that great Philoſopher, who took no ſmall Pains to cultivate him into a Man of Worth. His Actions were glorious; but without Rule or Principle: His Character was elevated and grand, but inconnected and inconſiſtent: He was ſucceſſively the Support and Terror of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Perſians*; and was either the Misfortune or Refuge of his own Country, according to his declaring for or againſt it. In ſhort, he was the Author of an univerſal, and deſtructive War in *Greece*, from the ſole Motive of Commanding; by inducing the *Athenians* to beſiege *Syracuſe*, much leſs from the Hope of conquering *Sicily*, and afterwards *Africa*, than with Deſign of keeping *Athens* dependent upon himſelf; convinced that having to deal with an inconſtant, ſuſpicious, ungrateful, jealous People, averſe to thoſe that govern'd, it was neceſſary to employ them

continually in some great Affair, in order to make his Services always necessary to them, and that they might not be at Leisure to examine, censure, and condemn his Conduct.

He had the Fate generally experienced by Persons of his Character, and of which they cannot reasonably complain. He never lov'd any one, his own Interest being the Motive of all his Actions; nor ever found a Friend: He made it his Merit and Glory to deceive all all Men; and no Body confided in, or adher'd to him. His sole View was to live with Splendor, and to lord it universally; and he perish'd miserably, abandon'd by the whole World, and oblig'd, at his Death, to the Services and Zeal of only one Woman, for the last Honours render'd to his Remains.

In the mean while, the Council of *Thirty*, establish'd at *Athens* by *Lysander*, committed the most execrable Cruelties: On Pretence of restraining the Multitude within their Duty, and to prevent Seditions, they had caused Guards to be assign'd them, had arm'd three Thousand of the Citizens for that Service, and at the same Time disarm'd all the rest. The whole City was in the utmost Terror and Dismay: Whoever oppos'd their Injustice and Violence, became the Victims of them: And Riches were a Crime, that never fail'd of drawing a Condemnation upon their Owners, always follow'd with Death, and the Confiscation of Goods; which the Thirty Tyrants divided amongst themselves. They put more People to Death, says *Xenophon*, in eight Months Peace, than the Enemy had done in a War of thirty Years.

The two most considerable Persons of the *Thirty* were *Critias* and *Theramenes*; who at first lived in great Union, and always acted in Concert with each other. The latter had some Honour, and loved his Country: When he saw with what an Excess of Violence and Cruelty his Collegues behaved, he declar'd openly against them, and thereby drew their Resentment upon him. *Critias* became his most mortal Enemy, and acted as Informer against him before the Senate, accusing him of disturbing the Tranquillity of the State, and of designing to subvert the present Government. As he perceived, that the Defence of *Theramenes* was heard with Silence and Approbation, he was afraid, that if the Affair was left to the Decision of the Senate, they would acquit him: Having, therefore, caused a Band of young Men, whom he had arm'd with Poniards, to advance to the Bar, he said, that he thought it the Duty of a supreme Magistrate, to prevent Justice from being surpriz'd; and that he should act accordingly upon this Occasion. "But, continu'd he, as the Law does not "admit, that any of the three Thousand should "be put to Death, without the Consent of the "Senate, I exclude *Theramenes* from that Number, and condemn him to die, in Virtue of my "own and my Collegues Authority." *Theramenes* upon these Words, leaping upon the Altar; "I demand, said he, *Athenians*, that I may be "tried according to the Laws; which cannot be "refused me, without manifest Injustice. Not "that I imagine, that the Goodness of my Cause "will avail me any Thing, or the Sanction of "Altars protect me; but I would shew, at least, "that my Enemies respect neither the Gods nor "Men. What most astonishes me is, that Persons of your Wisdom do not see, that your own "Names may as easily be struck out of the I "of the Citizens, as that of *Theramenes*." *Crit.* then ordered the Officers of Justice to pull h down from the Altar: An universal Silence a Terror ensued, upon the Sight of the arm'd Soldiers, that surrounded the Senate. Of all the Senators, only *Socrates*, whose Pupil *Theramenes* had been, took upon him his Defence, and oppos'd the Officers of Justice: But his weak Endeavours could not deliver *Theramenes*; who was led to the Place of Execution, notwithstanding all he could do, through Crowds of the Citizens, who saw with Tears in the Fate of a Man equally considerable for his Love of Liberty, and the great Services he had done his Country, what they had to fear themselves. When they presented him the Hemlock, that is, the Poison (which was the Manner of putting the Citizens of *Athens* to Death) he took it with an intrepid Air, and after having drank it, he threw the Bottom upon the Table, after the usual Manner observed in Feasts on publick Rejoycings, saying: *This for the Noble* CRITIAS. *Xenophon* relates this Circumstance, inconsiderable in itself, to shew, says he, the Tranquillity of *Theramenes* in his last Moments.

The Tyrants, deliver'd from a Collegue, whose Presence alone was a continual Reproach to them, no longer observed any Measures. Nothing pass'd throughout the City but Imprisonments and Murders: Every Body trembled for themselves or their Friends: The general Desolation had no Remedy, nor was there any Hope of regaining their Liberty: Where were then as many Deliverers as they had Tyrants? Terror had taken entire Possession of their Minds; whilst the whole City deplor'd, in Secret, their Loss of Liberty, without having one amongst them generous enough to attempt the breaking of their Chains. The *Athenian* People seem'd to have lost that Valour, which till then had made them awful and terrible to their Neighbours and Enemies: Nay, they seem'd even to have lost the very Use of Speech; not daring to vent the least Complaint, lest it should be made a capital Crime. *Socrates* only continu'd intrepid: He comforted the afflicted Senate; animated the desponding Citizens; and set all Men an admirable Example of Courage and Resolution; preserving his Liberty, and erecting his Head, in the Midst of thirty Tyrants, who made all else tremble; but could never shake the Constancy of *Socrates* with their Menaces. *Critias*, who had been his Pupil, was the first to declare most openly against him, taking Offence at his free and bold Discourses, even against the Government of the *Thirty*. He even went so far as to prohibit his instructing the Youth; but *Socrates*, who neither acknowledged his Authority, nor fear'd the violent Effects of it, paid no Regard to so unjust an Order.

All the Citizens of any Consideration in *Athens*, and who retain'd a Love of Liberty, quitted a Place reduced to such a hard and shameful Subjection, and sought elsewhere an Asylum and Retreat, where they might live in Safety: At the Head of these was *Thrasybulus*, a Person of extraordinary Merit, who beheld, with the most lively Affliction, the Miseries of his Country. The *Lacedæmonians* had the Inhumanity, to endeavour to deprive those unhappy Fugitives of this last Refuge: They publish'd an Edict to prohibit the

s of *Greece* from giving them Shelter; decreed hat they ſhould be deliver'd up to the thirty Tyrants, and condemn'd all ſuch as ſhould contravene the execution of this Edict, to pay a Fine of five Talents. Only two Cities rejected, with Diſdain, ſo unjuſt an Order, *Megara* and *Thebes*; the latter of which made a Decree, to puniſh all Perſons whatſoever, that ſhould ſee an *Athenian* attack'd by his Enemies, without doing his utmoſt to aſſiſt him: And *Lyſias*, the *Syracuſian* Orator, who had been baniſh'd by the *Thirty*, raiſed five hundred Soldiers, at his own Expence, and ſent them to the Aid of the common Country of Eloquence.

Thraſybulus, who join'd them, loſt no Time: After having taken *Phyla*, a ſmall Fort in *Attica*, he march'd to the *Piræum*, of which he made himſelf Maſter. The *Thirty* flew thither with their Troops, and a Battle, ſufficiently fierce, enſued. But as the Soldiers, on one Side, fought with Valour and Vigour for their Liberty, and on the other with Indolence and Neglect, for the Power of others the Succeſs was not doubtful, but follow'd the better Cauſe: The Tyrants were overthrown; *Critias* was left upon the Place; and as the reſt of the Army were betaking themſelves to Flight, *Thraſybulus* cried out; "Wherefore do "you fly from me as from a Victor, rather than "aſſiſt me as the Reſtorer of your Liberty? We "are not Enemies, but Fellow-Citizens; nor have "we declared War againſt the City, but againſt "the Thirty Tyrants." He continued with bidding them remember, that they had the ſame Origin, Country, Laws, and Religion; exhorting them to compaſſionate their exil'd Brethren, ſuffer them to return to their Country, and to re-aſſume themſelves their native Liberty. This Diſcourſe had ſuitable Effects: The Army, upon their return to *Athens*, expell'd the *Thirty*, and ſubſtituted ten Perſons to govern in their Room, whoſe Conduct, however, proved no better than theirs.

It is a Matter of Surprize, that ſo ſudden, ſo univerſal, ſo perſevering, and ſo uniform a Conſpiracy, againſt the publick Good, ſhould actuate the ſeveral Bodies of Perſons eſtabliſh'd in the Adminiſtration of this Government. This we have ſeen in the *Four hundred*, formerly choſen by *Athens*; again, in the *Thirty*, and now in the *Ten*. And what augments our Wonder is, that this Paſſion for Tyranny ſhould poſſeſs, ſo immediately, Republicans, born in the Boſom of Liberty, accuſtom'd to an Equality of Condition, on which it is founded, and principled from their earlieſt Infancy, in an Abhorrence of all Subjection and Dependency. There muſt be ſome irreſiſtible Charms, on one Side, in Power and Authority, thus to draw in ſo many Perſons, of whom many, no doubt, were not without Sentiments of Virtue and Honour, and to ſuppreſs, ſo inſtantaneouſly, thoſe moral Principles, naturally inherent in them; and, on the other Side, a violent Propenſity in the Mind of Man to ſubject his Equals, to rule over them imperiouſly, to carry him on to the laſt Exceſſes of Oppreſſion and Cruelty, and to make him forget, at once, all Laws, Nature, and Religion.

The *Thirty* being fallen from their Power and Hopes, ſent Deputies to *Lacedæmon* to demand Aſſiſtance: And it was not the Fault of *Lyſander*, who was ſent to them with Troops, that the Tyrants were not re eſtabliſh'd. But King *Pauſanias*, mov'd with Compaſſion for the deplorable Condition, to which a City, once ſo flouriſhing, was reduc'd, had the Generoſity to favour the *Athenians* in Secret, and at length obtain'd a Peace for them. It was ſeal'd with the Blood of the Tyrants, who, having taken Arms to re-inſtate themſelves in the Government, and being preſent at a Parley for that Purpoſe, were all put to the Sword, and left *Athens* in the full Poſſeſſion of its Liberty. All the Exiles were recall'd; and *Thraſybulus* at that Time propoſed, the celebrated Amneſty, by which the Citizens engag'd, upon Oath, finally to bury in Oblivion all paſt Tranſactions. This done, the Government was re-eſtabliſh'd upon its ancient Foot, the Laws reſtor'd to their priſtine Vigour, and Magiſtrates elected with the uſual Forms. We cannot forbear obſerving, in this Place, the Wiſdom and Moderation of *Thraſybulus*, ſo ſalutary and eſſential after ſo long a Continuance of domeſtick Troubles. This is one of the fineſt Events in ancient Hiſtory, worthy the *Athenian* Lenity and Benevolence; and has ſerv'd as a Model to ſucceſſive Ages in all good Governments.

Never had Tyranny been more cruel and Bloody than that the *Athenians* had lately ſhaken off: Every Houſe was in Mourning; every Family bewail'd the Loſs of ſome Relation. It had been a Series of publick Robbery and Rapine, in which Licence and Impunity had authoriz'd all Manner of Crimes. The People ſeem'd to have a Right, to demand the Blood of all Accomplices, in ſuch notorious Malverſations; and the Intereſt of the State, to authorize ſuch a Claim; that by exemplary Severities, ſuch black Proceedings might be prevented for the Future. But *Thraſybulus*, riſing above thoſe Sentiments, from the Superiority of his more extenſive Genius, and the Views of a more diſtinguiſhing and profound Policy, foreſaw, that by giving Way to the Puniſhment of the Guilty, eternal Seeds of Diſcord and Enmity would remain; which would weaken that Republick by domeſtick Diviſions, which it was neceſſary to unite againſt the common Enemy; and occaſion the Loſs to the State of a great Number of Citizens, who might render it important Services, from the View itſelf of making Amends for paſt Misbehaviour.

Such a Conduct, after great Troubles in a State, has always ſeem'd, with the ableſt Politicians, the moſt certain and ready Means to reſtore the publick Peace and Tranquility. *Cicero*, when *Rome* was divided into two Factions upon the Occaſion of *Cæſar*'s Death, who was kill'd by the Conſpirators, calling to Mind this celebrated Amneſty, propoſed, after the Example of the *Athenians*, to bury all that had paſſed in eternal Oblivion. Cardinal *Mazarine* obſerv'd to *Don Louis de Haro*, prime Miniſter of *Spain*, that this gentle and human Conduct in *France*, had prevented the Troubles and Revolts of that Kingdom, from having any fatal Conſequences, and that the King had not loſt a Foot of Land by them to that Day; whereas the inflexible Severity of the *Spaniards*, occaſion'd, that the Subjects of that Monarchy, whenever they threw off the Mask, never return'd to their Obedience, but by the Force of Arms; which ſufficiently appears, ſays he, in the Example of the *Hollanders*, who are in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of many Provinces, which, not an Age ago, were the Dominions of the King of *Spain*.

Diodorus

Diodorus Siculus takes Occaſion, from the Thirty Tyrants of *Athens*,, whoſe immoderate Ambition induced them to treat their Country with the moſt exceſſive Cruelty, to obſerve how unfortunate it is for Perſons in Power to want a Senſe of Honour, and to diſregard either the preſent Opinion, or the Judgment Poſterity will form of their Conduct: For from the Contempt of Reputation the Tranſition is too common to that of Virtue itſelf. They may perhaps, by the Awe of their Power, ſuppreſs for ſome Time the publick Cry, and impoſe a forced Silence upon Cenſure; but the more Conſtraint they lay upon it in their Lives, the more liberal will it be, after their Deaths, of Complaints and Reproaches; and the more Infamy and Imputation will be laid apon their Memories. The Power of the *Thirty* was of a very ſhort Duration; their Guilt immortal, and will be remember'd with Abhorrence through all Ages; whilſt their Names will be recorded in Hiſtory only to render them odious, and to make their Crimes deteſtable. He applies the ſame Reflection to the *Lacedæmonians*, who, after having made themſelves Maſters of *Greece*, by a wiſe and moderate Conduct, fell from that Glory, through the Severity, Haughtineſs, and Injuſtice, with which they treated their *Allies*. There is doubtleſs no Reader, whom their abject and cruel Jealouſy to *Athens*, when enſlaved and humbled, has not prejudiced againſt them; nor is there any Reſemblance, in ſuch Behaviour, of the Greatneſs of Mind, and noble Generoſity of ancient *Sparta*; ſo much Power have the Luſt of Dominion and Proſperity over the moſt virtuous of Men. *Diodorus* concludes his Reflection with a Maxim as true, as it is little known. "The Greatneſs and "Majeſty of Princes," ſays he, (and the ſame may be ſaid of all Perſons in high Authority) "can be ſupported only by Humanity, and Juſtice "to their Subjects; as on the contrary, it is ruin'd "and deſtroy'd by a rigid and oppreſſive Govern-"ment, which never fails to draw upon them the "Hatred of their People."

As *Lyſander* had the greateſt Share in the celebrated Exploits, which had raiſed the Glory of the *Lacedæmonians* to ſo high a Pitch; he had acquir'd a Degree of Power and Authority, of which there had been no Example before in *Sparta*; but he ſuffer'd himſelf to be carry'd away with a Preſumption and Vanity ſtill greater than his Power. He permitted the *Grecian* Cities to dedicate Altars to him, as to a God, and to offer Sacrifices, and ſing Hymns and Canticles, in Honour of him. The *Samians* ordain'd by a publick Decree, that the Feaſts celebrated in Honour of *Juno*, and which bore the Name of that Goddeſs, ſhould be call'd *the Feaſts of* LYSANDER. He had always a Crowd of Poets about him, (who are often a Tribe of venal Flatterers) that emulated each other in ſinging his great Exploits, for which they were magnificently paid. Praiſe is undoubtedly due to noble Deeds; but diminiſhes their Luſtre, when either forg'd or exceſſive.

This Sort of Vanity and Ambition, had he ſtopt there, would have hurt only himſelf, by expoſing him to Envy and Contempt; but a natural Conſequence of it was, that through his Arrogance and Pride, in Conjunction with the inceſſant Flatteries of thoſe around him, he carried the Spirit of Command and Authority to an inſupportable Exceſs; and threw off all Regard to Meaſures, either in warding or puniſhing. The abſolute Government of Cities, and tyrannick Power, were the Fruits of his Friendſhip, and the Ties of a good Underſtanding with him; and only the Death of thoſe he hated, could put an End to his Reſentment and Diſpleaſure; without its being poſſible to eſcape his Vengeance. What *Sylla* cauſed to be inſcrib'd upon his Tomb, might, with equal Propriety, have been engrav'd upon *Lyſander*'s: That no Man had ever ſurpaſſed him in doing Good to his Friends, or Evil to his Enemies.

Treachery and Perjury coſt him nothing, whenever they promoted his Deſigns; nor was he leſs cruel than revengeful; of which, what he did at *Miletus*, is a ſufficient Proof. Apprehending that thoſe who were at the Head of the People would eſcape him, he ſwore not to do them any Hurt: Thoſe Unfortunates gave Credit to his Oath, and no ſooner appear'd in Publick, than they were put to the Sword, with his Conſent, by the Nobility, who ſlew them all, though no leſs than eight Hundred. The Number of thoſe, in the Party of the People, whom he cauſed to be maſſacred in the other Cities, is incredible; for he did not only deſtroy to ſatiate his own Reſentments, but to ſerve the Enmity, Malice, and Avarice of his Friends, whom he ſupported in gratifying their Paſſions by the Death of their Enemies.

There was no kind of Injuſtice and Violation which the People did not ſuffer under the Government of *Lyſander*; whilſt the *Lacedæmonians*, who were ſufficiently inform'd of his Conduct, gave themſelves no Trouble to prevent its Effects. It is too common, for thoſe in Power, to be little affected with the Vexations and Oppreſſions laid upon Perſons of low Condition and Credit, and to be deaf to their juſt Complaints, though Authority is principally confided to them for the Defence of the Weak and Poor, who have no other Protectors. But if ſuch Remonſtrances are made by a great and powerful Perſon, from whom they may have any Thing to hope or fear, the ſame Authority that was ſlow and drowſy, becomes immediately active and buſy; a certain Proof, that it is not the Love of Juſtice which puts it in Motion: This appears here in the Conduct of the *Lacedæmonian* Magiſtrates. *Pharnabaſus*, weary of *Lyſander*'s repeated Injuſtice, who ravag'd and pilag'd the Provinces under his Command, having ſent Embaſſadors to *Sparta*, to complain of the Wrongs he had receiv'd from that General, the *Ephori* recall'd him. *Lyſander* was at that Time in the *Helleſpont*: The Letter of the *Ephori* threw him into great Conſternation. As he principally fear'd the Complaints and Accuſations of *Pharnabaſus*, he made all the Haſte he could to come to an Explanation with him, from the Hope of ſoftning him, and making his Peace. He went for that Purpoſe to him, and deſir'd, that he would write another Letter to the *Ephori*, intimating a Satisfaction in his Conduct. But *Lyſander*, ſays *Plutarch*, in ſuch an Application to *Pharnabaſus*, forgot the Proverb, *Set a Thief to catch a Thief*. The *Satrapa* promiſed all he deſir'd, and accordingly wrote ſuch a Letter in *Lyſander*'s Preſence, as he had ask'd of him, but he prepar'd another to a quite different Effect. When he was to ſeal it, as both Letters were of the ſame Size and Form, he dexterouſly put that he had wrote in Secret, into

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the Place of the other, without being obſerv'd, and ſeal'd, and gave it him.

Lyſander departed well ſatisfy'd; and, being arriv'd at *Sparta*, alighted at the Palace where the Senate was aſſembled, and deliver'd the Letter to the *Ephori*: But he was ſtrangely ſurpiz'd, when he heard the Contents; and withdrew in extream Confuſion and Diſorder. Some Days after, he return'd to the Senate, and told the *Ephori*, that he was obliged to go to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, to acquit himſelf of the Sacrifices he had vow'd to that God before his Battles. This Pilgrimage was no more than a Pretence, to cover the Pain it gave him, to live as a private Perſon in *Sparta*, and to ſubmit to the Yoke of obeying; whereas, till then, had always commanded. Accuſtom'd long to give his Orders to Armies, and to the flattering Diſtinctions of a Kind of Sovereignty, exercis'd by him in *Aſia*, he could not endure the mortifying Equality with the Multitude, nor confine himſelf to the Simplicity of a private Life. Having obtain'd Permiſſion, but not without great Difficulty, he embark'd.

Aſſoon as he was gone, the Kings, reflecting that he held all the Cities in his Dependance, by the Means of the Governors and Magiſtrates of his eſtabliſhing, who were alſo indebted to him for their unlimited Authority, and that he was thereby effectually Lord and Maſter of all *Greece*, apply'd themſelves vigorouſly to reſtore the Government of the People, and depoſe all his Creatures and Friends from any Share in it; which Alteration occaſion'd great Tumults at firſt. About the ſame Time, *Lyſander*, being appriz'd of the Deſign of *Thraſybulus* to re-eſtabliſh the Liberty of his Country, return'd with the utmoſt Diligence to *Sparta*, and endeavour'd to engage the *Lacedæmonians* to ſupport the Party of the Nobility at *Athens*. We have before obſerv'd, that *Pauſanias*, from a noble Principle of Equity and Generoſity, gave Peace to *Athens*; and, by that Means (ſays *Plutarch*) clipp'd the Wings of *Lyſander*'s Ambition.

Proceed we now to the Attempt of *Cyrus*; which is one of the moſt memorable in Antiquity. We ſee, on one Hand, a young Prince, abounding, otherwiſe, with excellent Qualities, but giving Way to his violent Ambition, carry the War from far againſt his Brother and Sovereign, and attack him, almoſt in his own Palace, with the View of depriving him, at once, of his Crown and Life: And we ſee him fall dead in the Combat, at the Feet of that Brother, and terminate, by ſo unhappy a Fate, an Enterprize equally glaring and criminal. On the other Hand, we ſee, the *Greeks* who follow him, deſtitute of all Hopes of Relief, after the Loſs of their Chiefs; without *Allies*, Proviſions, Money, Horſe, or Archers, reduc'd to leſs than ten Thouſand Men; with no Refuge but in their own Perſons, and Valour; ſupported only with the warm Deſire of preſerving their Liberty, and returning to their native Countries; We ſee, theſe *Greeks*, with bold and intrepid Reſolution, make their Retreat before a victorious Army of a Million; traverſe five or ſix hundred Leagues, notwithſtanding vaſt Rivers, and innumerable Paſſes; and arrive, at laſt, in their own Country, through a Thouſand fierce and barbarous Nations; Victors over all Obſtacles in their Way, and all Dangers, which either conceal'd Fraud, or open Force, could reduce them to undergo.

This Retreat, in the Opinion of the beſt Judges, and moſt ſkilful in the Art of War, is the boldeſt, and beſt conducted Exploit, to be found in ancient Hiſtory; and is deem'd a perfect Model in its Kind. Happily for us, it is deſcrib'd to the moſt minute Circumſtance, by an Hiſtorian, who was not only Eye-Witneſs of the Facts he relates, but *Primum Mobile*, the Soul of this great Enterprize. We ſhall only abridge it, and extract its moſt material Circumſtances; but we cannot omit adviſing young Perſons, who make Arms their Profeſſion, to conſult the Original; of which there is a good Tranſlation extant in *French*, though far ſhort of the admirable Beauties of the *Greek*. It is very difficult to meet with a more able Maſter than *Xenophon*, in the Art of War: To whom may be well apply'd here what *Homer* ſays of *Phœnix*, the Governor of *Achilles*, *That he was equally capable of forming his Pupil for Eloquence, or Arms.*

We have already ſaid, that young *Cyrus*, Son of *Darius Nothus*, and *Paryſatis*, ſaw, with Pain, his elder Brother, *Artaxerxes*, upon the Throne; and that, at the very Time the latter was taking Poſſeſſion of it, he had attempted to deprive him of his Crown, and Life together. *Artaxerxes* was not inſenſible of what he had to fear from a Brother of his enterprizing, and ambitious Spirit, but could not refuſe pardoning him, that the Prayers and Tears of his Mother, *Paryſatis*, who doated upon this youngeſt Son. He remov'd him, therefore, into *Aſia*, to his Government; intruſting him, contrary to all the Rules of Policy, with an abſolute Authority, over the Provinces left him by the King, his Father.

Aſſoon as he arriv'd there, his Thoughts were ſolely intent upon revenging the ſuppos'd Affront he had receiv'd from his Brother, and to dethrone him. He receiv'd all, who came from the Court, with great Favour and Affability, to induce them inſenſibly to quit the King's Party, and adhere to him. He gain'd alſo the Hearts of the *Barbarians* under his Government; familiarizing himſelf with them, and converſing with the common Soldiery, though without forgetting the Dignity of their General; theſe he form'd, by various Exerciſes, for the Fatigues of War. He apply'd himſelf, particularly, in ſecret, to raiſe from ſeveral Parts, and upon different Pretexts, a Body of *Greek* Troops; upon whom he rely'd much more than upon thoſe of the *Barbarians*. *Clearchus*, who had retir'd to his Court, after having been baniſh'd from *Sparta*, was of great Service to him; being an able, experienc'd, and valiant Captain: At the ſame Time, ſeveral Cities, in the Province of *Tiſſaphernes*, revolted from their Obedience, in Favour of that young Prince. This Incident, which was not an Effect of Chance, but of his ſecret Practices, gave Birth to a War between them, *Cyrus*, under Pretence of arming againſt *Tiſſaphernes*, aſſembled Troops openly; and, to amuſe the Court the more ſpeciouſly, ſent grievous Complaints to the King againſt that Governor, demanding his Protection and Aid, in the moſt ſubmiſſive Manner. *Artaxerxes* was deceiv'd by theſe fair Appearances, and believing all the Preparations of his Brother were intended only againſt *Tiſſaphernes*; continued quiet, from the Aſſurance of having nothing to apprehend from him.

In the mean While, *Cyrus* knew but too well how to improve the imprudent Security, and ſoft Indolence of his Brother, which ſome People believ'd to be the Effect of his Goodneſs and Humanity: And indeed, in the Beginning of his Reign, he ſeem'd to imitate the Virtues of the firſt *Artaxerxes*, whoſe Name he bore: For, he demean'd himſelf with great Mildneſs, and Affability, to ſuch as approach'd him; he honour'd, and rewarded magnificently, all thoſe whoſe Services had merited Favour; when he paſs'd Sentence to puniſh, it was without either Outrage or Inſult; and, when he made Preſents, it was with a gracious Air, and ſuch obliging Circumſtances, as infinitely inhanc'd their Value; and imply'd, he was never better pleas'd, than when he had an Opportunity of doing Good to his Subjects. To all theſe excellent Qualities, it had been very neceſſary for him to have added one no leſs royal; and which would have put him upon his Guard, againſt the Enterprizes of a Brother, whoſe Character he ought to have known; we mean, a wiſe Foreſight, which penetrates the future, and renders a Prince attentive to prevent, or put a Stop to, whatever may diſturb the Tranquility of the State.

The Emiſſaries, of *Cyrus*, at Court were perpetually infuſing favourable Notions of that young Prince into the People; to prepare their Minds for the projected Change and Revolt. They ſaid, the State requir'd a King of the Character of *Cyrus*; one, who was magnificent, liberal, lov'd War, and ſhower'd his Favours upon thoſe who ſerv'd him; and, that it was neceſſary, for the Grandeur of the Empire, to have a Prince upon the Throne, fir'd with Ambition, and Valour, to augment its Glory.

The young Prince loſt no Time on his Side, and haſten'd the Execution of his great Deſign; though he was then but twenty-three Years old, at moſt. After the important Services he had done the *Lacedæmonians*, without which they had never obtain'd the Victories that had made them Maſters of *Greece*, he thought he might ſafely open himſelf to them. He, therefore, imparted to them the preſent Situation of his Affairs, and the End he had in View; being convinc'd, that ſuch a Confidence could not but incline them the more in his Favour.

In the Letter he wrote them, he ſpoke of himſelf in very magnificent Terms: He told them, he had a greater, and more Royal Heart than his Brother; that he was well vers'd in Philoſophy, and the Knowledge of the *Magi*; and that he could drink more Wine, without being diſorder'd in his Senſes; a very meritorious Quality amongſt the *Barbarians*, but not ſo proper to recommend him to the good Opinion of thoſe to whom he wrote. The *Lacedæmonians* ſent Orders to their Fleet to join that of the Prince immediately, and to obey the Commands of *Tamos*, his Admiral, in every Thing; but without the leaſt Mention of *Artaxerxes*; or ſeeming, in any Manner, privy to his Deſign. They thought this Precaution neceſſary, for their Juſtification with *Artaxerxes*, in Caſe Affairs ſhould happen to terminate in his Favour.

The Army of *Cyrus*, according to the Review afterwards made, conſiſted of thirteen Thouſand *Greeks*, which were the Flower, and chief Force of his Army; and of an hundred Thouſand irregular Troops, of *Barbarous* Nations. *Clearchus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, commanded all the *Peloponneſian* Troops; except the *Achaians*, who had *Socrates* of *Achaia* for their Leader. The *Bœotians* were under *Proxenes*, the *Theban*; and the *Theſſalians* under *Menon*. The *Barbarians* had *Perſian* Generals, of whom the Chief was *Ariæus*. The Fleet conſiſted of thirty-five Ships, under *Pythagoras*, the *Lacedæmonian*; and of twenty-five, commanded by *Tamos*, the *Ægyptian*, Admiral of the whole Fleet. It follow'd the Land-Army, coaſting along near the Shore.

Cyrus had open'd his Deſign only to *Clearchus*, of all the *Greeks*; foreſeeing aright, the Length, and Boldneſs of the Enterprize, could not fail of diſcouraging, and diſguſting the Officers, as well as Soldiers. He made it his ſole Application to gain their Affections, during the March; by treating them with Kindneſs and Humanity; converſing freely with them, and giving effectual Orders, that they ſhould want for nothing. *Proxenes*, between whoſe Family, and that of *Xenophon*, an ancient Friendſhip ſubſiſted, preſented that young *Athenian* to *Cyrus*; who receiv'd him very favourably, and gave him an Employment in his Army, amongſt the *Greeks*. At length, he ſet out from *Sardis*, and march'd towards the upper Provinces of *Aſia*. The Troops knew neither the Occaſion of the War, nor into what Countries they were going. *Cyrus* had only caus'd it to be given out, he ſhould act againſt the *Piſidians*, who had infeſted his Province by their Incurſions.

Tiſſaphernes rightly judging, that all theſe Preparations were too great for ſo ſmall an Enterprize as againſt *Piſidia*, had ſet out Poſt from *Miletus*, to give the King an Account of them; which News occaſion'd great Trouble at Court. *Paryſatis*, the Mother of *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*, was look'd upon as the principal Cauſe of this War; and all Perſons, in her Service and Intereſt, were ſuſpected of holding Intelligence with *Cyrus*: Nay, *Statira*, the Reigning Queen, reproach'd her therewith continually, and in the moſt violent Terms: *Where is now* (ſaid ſhe to her) *that Faith you have ſo often engaged for your Son's Behaviour? Where thoſe ardent Prayers you uſed to preſerve from Death that Conſpirator againſt his King and Brother? It is your unhappy Fondneſs has kindled this War, and plunged us into an Abyſs of Misfortunes.* The Antipathy and Hatred of the two Queens for each other were already very great, and much inflam'd by ſuch warm Reproaches; we ſhall ſee, hereafter, what were the Conſequences thereof: In the mean While, *Artaxerxes* aſſembled a numerous Army to receive his Brother.

Cyrus advanc'd continually by great Marches. What troubled him moſt on the Way, was the Paſs of *Cilicia*; which was a narrow Defile between very high and ſteep Mountains, that would admit no more than one Carriage to paſs at a Time. *Syennefis*, King of that Country, prepar'd to diſpute this Paſſage with him; and would infallibly have ſucceeded, but for the Diverſion made by *Tamos*, with his Fleet, in Conjunction with that of the *Lacedæmonians*. To defend the Coaſts againſt the Inſults of this Fleet, *Syennefis* abandon'd that important Poſt; which a ſmall Body

Body of Troops might have made good againſt the greateſt Army.

When they arriv'd at *Tarſus*, the *Greeks* refus'd to march any farther; rightly ſuſpecting they were intended againſt the King; and loudly exclaiming, they had not enter'd into the Service upon that Condition: Hereupon, *Clearchus*, who commanded, had Occaſion for all his Addreſs and Ability, to ſtifle this Mutiny in its Birth. At firſt, he made Uſe of Authority and Force, but with very ill Succeſs; he deſiſted, therefore, from an open Oppoſition to their Sentiments: He even affected to enter into their Views, and ſupport them with his Approbation and Credit; declaring publickly, he would not ſeparate himſelf from them; and adviſing them to depute Perſons to the Prince, to know from his own Mouth, againſt whom they were to be led; that they might follow him voluntarily, if they approv'd his Meaſures; if not, that they might demand his Permiſſion to withdraw. By this artful Evaſion, he appeas'd the Tumult, and made them eaſy; and they choſe him, and ſome other Officers, for their Deputies. *Cyrus*, whom he had ſecretly appriz'd of every Thing, made Anſwer, he was going to attack *Abrocomas*, his Enemy, who was at twelve Days March Diſtance upon the *Euphrates*. When this Anſwer was repeated to them, though they plainly ſaw againſt whom they were going, they reſolv'd to proceed; and only demanded an Augmentation of their Pay: Whereupon, *Cyrus*, inſtead of one *Darick* a Month to each Soldier, promis'd to give them one and a half.

Some Time after, *Cyrus* was inform'd, that two of the principal Officers, upon Account of a private Quarrel with *Clearchus*, had deſerted with Part of their Equipage on board a Merchant-Ship. Many were of Opinion, it was proper to ſend two Gallies after them, which might have been done with great Eaſe; and that, when they were brought back, they ſhould be made Examples, by ſuffering Death in Sight of the whole Army: But, *Cyrus*, convinc'd, Favour was the moſt certain Means to obtain Affection; and Puniſhments, like violent Remedies, ought never to be us'd but in extream Neceſſity, declar'd publickly, he would not have it ſaid, he had detain'd any one in his Service by Force; and added, he would ſend them their Wives and Children, whom they had left as Hoſtages in his Hands. An Anſwer of ſo much Wiſdom and Generoſity had a ſurprizing Effect; and made even thoſe his firm Adherents, who were before inclin'd to retire. This is an excellent Leſſon for thoſe who govern. There is in the Mind of Man a Fund of natural Generoſity, which it is proper to humour and cheriſh: Threats exaſperate them, and Chaſtiſement makes them revolt, when Endeavours are us'd, to force them to do their Duty againſt their Will. They deſire a certain Confidence in their Honour, and to have the Glory of doing their Duty, out of Choice, left in their Power: To ſhew you believe Men faithful, is often the beſt Means to make them ſo.

Cyrus, ſoon after, declar'd, he was marching againſt *Artaxerxes*. Upon which, ſome Murmuring was heard, at firſt; but it ſoon gave Way to the Expreſſions of Joy and Satisfaction, occaſion'd by that Prince's magnificent Promiſes to the Army.

As *Cyrus* advanc'd by long Marches, he was inform'd from all Parts, that the King did not intend to come directly to a Battle; but that he had reſolv'd to wait in the remote Parts of *Perſia*, till all his Forces were aſſembled; and, to ſtop his Enemies, he had order'd an Intrenchment to be thrown up in the Plains of *Babylonia*, with a *Foſſe* of five Fathoms broad, and three deep, extending the Space of twelve *Paraſanguæ*, or Leagues, from the *Euphrates* to the Wall of *Media*. Between the *Euphrates* and the *Foſſe*, a Way had been left of twenty Feet in Breadth, by which *Cyrus* paſs'd with his whole Army, having review'd it the Day before. *Artaxerxes* had neglected to diſpute this Paſs with him, and ſuffer'd him to continue his March towards *Babylon*: However, *Tiribaſus* perſuaded him, not to fly, in ſuch a Manner, before an Enemy, againſt whom he had infinite Advantages, as well from the Number of his Troops, as the Valour of his Generals; whereupon, he reſolv'd to advance againſt the Enemy.

The Place where the Battle was fought, was call'd *Cunaxa*, about twenty-five Leagues from *Babylon*. The Army of *Cyrus* conſiſted of thirteen Thouſand *Greeks*, and a Hundred Thouſand *Barbarians*, as alſo, twenty Chariots arm'd with Scythes. The Enemy, in Horſe and Foot, might amount to about twelve hundred Thouſand, under four Generals, *Tiſſaphernes*, *Gobryas*, *Arbaces*, and *Abrocomas*; without including ſix Thouſand choſen Horſe, that fought in the King's Preſence, and never quitted his Perſon: But, *Abrocomas*, who had the Command of three Hundred Thouſand Men, did not arrive till five Days after the Battle. *Artaxerxes* had alſo an Hundred and fifty Chariots arm'd with Scyths.

Cyrus believ'd, from the Enemy's not having defended the Paſs at the *Foſſe*, that there would be no Battle; ſo that, the next Day the Army march'd with great Negligence. But, on the third, *Cyrus*, being in his Chariot, with but a few Soldiers in their Ranks before him, and the Reſt marching without any Order, or having their Arms carry'd for them, an Horſeman came in full Speed, crying out, as he paſs'd, that the Enemy approach'd in Order of Battle. Upon this, great Confuſion enſued, from the Apprehenſion, that they ſhould not have Time to draw up the Army. *Cyrus*, leaping from his Chariot, put on his Arms immediately; and getting on Horſeback with his Javelins in his Hand, he gave Orders univerſally to the Troops to ſtand to their Arms, and fall into their Ranks; which was executed with ſo much Expedition, that the Troops had not Time to refreſh themſelves.

He had poſted, on his Right, a Thouſand *Paphlagonian* Horſe, ſupported by the *Euphrates*, and the light-arm'd Infantry of the *Greeks*; and next them, *Clearchus*, *Proxenes*, and the Reſt of the General Officers to *Menon*, at the Head of their ſeveral *Corps*. The Left-Wing, compos'd of *Lydians*, *Phrygians*, and other *Aſiatick* Nations, were commanded by *Ariæus*, who had a Thouſand Horſe. *Cyrus* plac'd himſelf in the Centre, where the choſen Troops of the *Perſians*, and other *Barbarians*, were poſted. He had around him ſix Hundred Horſemen, arm'd at all Points; as were their Horſes, with Head and Breaſt-Pieces. The Prince's Head was uncover'd; as were thoſe of all the *Perſians*, whoſe Cuſtom it was to give Battle in

in that Manner; the Arms of all his People were White, as those of *Artaxerxes* were Red.

A little before the Onset, *Clearchus* advis'd *Cyrus*, not to charge in Person, but to cover himself in the Rear of the *Grecian* Battalions. *What is it you say* (reply'd *Cyrus*) *Just when I am endeavouring to make myself King, would you have me shew myself unworthy of being so?* This wise and generous Answer proves, he knew the Duty of a General, especially on a Day of Battle. Had he withdrawn when his Presence was most necessary, it would have argued Want of Courage, and intimidated others. It is necessary, always preserving the due Distinction between the Leader and the Troops, that their Danger should be common, and no one exempt from it; lest the latter should be alarm'd by a different Conduct. Courage in an Army depends upon Example; upon the Desire of Distinction; the Fear of Dishonour; being incapable of doing otherwise than their Fellow-Soldiers; and the Equality of Danger. The retiring of *Cyrus* would have ruin'd, or greatly weaken'd, all these powerful Motives, by discouraging both the Officers, and Soldiers of his Army. He thought, being their General, it was incumbent upon him to discharge all the Functions of that Office, and to shew himself worthy to be the Leader, and Soul, of such a Number of valiant Men, ready to shed their Blood for his Service.

It was now Noon, and the Enemy had not yet appear'd: But, about Three of the Clock, a great Dust, like a white Cloud arose, follow'd soon after with a Blackness that overcast the whole Plain; after which was seen the Glittering of Armour, Lances, and Standards. *Tissaphernes* commanded the Left, which consisted of Cavalry arm'd with white Cuirasses, and of light-arm'd Infantry; in the Centre was the heavy-arm'd Foot, a great Part of which had Bucklers made of Wood, which cover'd the Soldier intirely; these were *Egyptians*. The Rest of the light-arm'd Infantry, and of the Horse, form'd the Right-Wing. The Foot were ranged by Nations, with as much Depth as Front; and in that Order compos'd square Battalions. The King had posted himself in the main Body with the Choice of the whole Army, and had six Thousand Horse for his Guard, commanded by *Abrocomas*. Though he was in the Centre, he was beyond the Left-Wing of his Brother's Army; so much did the Front of his own exceed that of the Enemy in Extent. An hundred and fifty Chariots arm'd with Scythes, were plac'd in the Front of the Army, at some Distance from one another. The Scythes were fix'd to the Axle downwards, and a-slant, so as to cut down, and overthrow all before them.

As *Cyrus* rely'd very much upon the Valour, and Experience of the *Greeks*, he bid *Clearchus*, as soon as he had beat the Enemies in his Front, to take Care to incline to his Left, and fall upon the Centre, where the King was posted; the Success of the Battle depending upon that Attack: But *Clearchus*, thinking it very difficult to make his Way through so great a Body of Troops, reply'd, he need be in no Pain, for he would take Care to do what was necessary.

The Enemy, in the mean Time, advanc'd slowly in good Order. *Cyrus* march'd in the Space between the two Armies, but nearest his own, and survey'd both of them with great Attention. *Xenophon*, perceiving him, spurr'd directly up to him, to know whether he had any farther Order to give. He call'd out to him, that the Sacrifices were favourable, and that he should tell the Troops so. He then hasten'd through the Ranks to give his Orders; and shew'd himself to the Soldiers with such a Joy, and Serenity in his Countenance, as inspir'd them with new Courage; and, at the same Time, with an Air of Kindness and Familiarity, that excited their Zeal and Affection. It is not easy to comprehend, what great Effects a Word, a kind Air, or a Look of a General, will have, upon a Day of Action; and with what Ardor a common Man will rush into Danger, when he believes himself not unknown to his General, and thinks his Valour will oblige him.

Artaxerxes mov'd on continually, though slowly, and without Noise and Confusion. This good Order and exact Discipline extreamly surpriz'd the *Greeks*, who expected to see much Hurry and Tumult in so great a Multitude, and hear confus'd Cries, as *Cyrus* had foretold them.

The Armies were not above four or five hundred Paces distant, when the *Greeks* began to sing the Hymn of Battle, and to march on, softly at first, and with Silence. When they came near the Enemy, they set up great Cries, striking their Darts upon their Shields to frighten the Horse; and then moving all together, they sprung forwards upon the *Barbarians* with all their Force; who did not wait their Charge, but took to their Heels, and fled on all Sides; except *Tissaphernes*, who stood his Ground with a small Part of his Troops.

Cyrus saw, with Pleasure, the Enemy routed by the *Greeks*, and was proclaim'd King by those roond him: But he did not give himself up to a vain Joy, nor, as yet, reckon himself Victor. He perceiv'd, *Artaxerxes* wheeling with his Right to attack him in Flank, and march'd directly against him with his six hundred Horse. He kill'd *Artagerses*, who commanded the King's Guard of six Thousand Horse, with his own Hand, and put the whole Body to Flight. Then discovering his Brother, he cry'd out, with his Eyes sparkling with Rage, *I see him*, and spurr'd against him, follow'd only by his principal Officers; for, his Troops had quitted their Ranks to follow the Runaways, which was an essential Fault.

The Battle then became a single Combat, in some Measure, between *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus*; and the two Brothers were seen, transported with Rage and Fury, endeavouring, like *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, to plunge their Swords into each other's Heart; and to assure themselves of the Throne, by the Death of their Rival. *Cyrus*, having open'd his Way through those who were drawn up in Battle before *Artaxerxes*, attack'd him, and kill'd his Horse; that fell with him to the Ground. He soon rose, and remounted another, when *Cyrus* attack'd him again, gave him a second Wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in Hopes it would prove his last. But the King, like a Lion wounded by the Hunters, was only the more furious from the Smart, and springing forwards, impetuously push'd his Horse against *Cyrus*; who, advancing precipitately, and without Regard to his Person, threw himself into the Midst of a Flight of Darts, aim'd at him from all Sides, and receiv'd a Wound from his Brother's Javelin just

ſt at the ſame Inſtant, as a Shower of Arrows was poured in upon him. From ſome of theſe *Cyrus* received his Death; though from whom in particular is uncertain; ſome ſaying, it was from the Wound given him by *Artaxerxes*, whilſt others affirm, that he was kill'd by a *Carian* Soldier; and *Mithridates*, a young *Perſian* Noble-Man, aſſerted, that he had given him the mortal Stroke with a Javelin, which enter'd his Temple, and pierced his Head quite through.

The greateſt Perſons of his Court, reſolving not to ſurvive ſo good a Maſter, were all kill'd around his Body; a certain Proof, ſays *Xenophon*, that he well knew how to chuſe his Friends, and that he was truly beloved by them: But *Ariæus*, who ought to have been the firmeſt of all his Adherents, fled with the Left-Wing, aſſoon as he heard of his Death. *Artaxerxes*, after having cauſed the Head, and Right-hand of his Brother to be cut off, by the Eunuch *Meſabates*, purſued the Enemy into their Camp: However, *Ariæus* had not ſtopt there, but having paſſed through it, continued his Retreat, to the Place where the Army had encamp'd the Day before; which was about four Leagues diſtant.

Tiſſaphernes, after the Defeat of the greateſt Part of his Left-Wing by the *Greeks*, led on the reſt againſt them; and by the Side of the River, paſſed through the Light-arm'd Infantry of the *Greeks*, who open'd to give him Paſſage, and made their Diſcharge upon him as he paſſed, without loſing a Man. They were commanded by *Epiſthenes* of *Amphipolis*, who was eſteem'd an able Captain. *Tiſſaphernes* kept on without returning to the Charge, becauſe he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to the Camp of *Cyrus*, where he found the King, who was plundering it; but had not been able to force the Quarter defended by the *Greeks* left to guard it, who ſaved their Baggage.

The *Greeks* on their Side, and *Artaxerxes* on his, who did not know what had paſſed elſewhere, believed each of them that they had gain'd the Victory; the firſt, becauſe they had put the Enemy to Flight, and purſued them; and the King, becauſe he had kill'd his Brother, beat the Troops he had fought with, and plunder'd their Camp. The Event was ſoon clear'd up on both Sides: *Tiſſaphernes*, upon his Arrival at the Camp, inform'd the King, that the *Greeks* had defeated his Left-Wing, and purſued it with great Vigour; and the *Greeks* on their Side learnt, that the King, in purſuing their Left-Wing, had penetrated into the Camp. Upon this Advice, the King rally'd his Troops, and march'd in Queſt of the Enemy; and *Clearchus*, being return'd from purſuing the *Perſians*, advanced to ſupport the Camp.

The two Armies were ſoon very near to each other, when by a Motion made by the King, he ſeem'd to deſign to attack the *Greeks* on their Left, who fearing to be ſurrounded on all Sides, wheel'd about and halted, with the River on their Backs, to prevent their being taken in the Rear. Upon ſeeing this *Artaxerxes* changed his Form of Battle alſo, drew up his Army in Front of them, and march'd on to the Attack. Aſſoon as the *Greeks* ſaw him approach, they began to ſing the Hymn of Battle, and advanced againſt the Enemy, even with more Ardor than in the firſt Action.

The *Barbarians* again took to their Heels, ran farther than before, and were purſu'd to a Village at the Foot of a Hill, upon which their Horſe halted. The King's Standard was obſerv'd to be there, which was a golden Eagle upon the Top of a Pike, having its Wings diſplay'd. The *Greeks*, preparing to purſue them, they abandon'd alſo the Hill, fled precipitately with all their Troops, and broke, in the utmoſt Diſorder and Confuſion. *Clearchus*, having drawn up the *Greeks* at the Bottom of the Hill, ordered *Lycias* the *Syracuſian*, and another to aſcend it, and obſerve what paſs'd in the Plain. They return'd with an Account, that the Enemies fled on all Sides, and that their whole Army was routed.

As it was almoſt Night, the *Greeks* laid down their Arms to reſt themſelves, much ſurpriz'd, that neither *Cyrus*, nor any one from him appear'd; and imagining, that he was either engag'd in the Purſuit of the Enemy, or was making Haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important Place, for they were ſtill ignorant of his Death, and the Defeat of the Reſt of his Army. They determin'd therefore to return to their Camp, and found the greateſt Part of the Baggage taken; with all the Proviſions, and four hundred Waggons laden with Corn and Wine, which *Cyrus* had expreſsly cauſed to be carried along with the Army, for the *Greeks*, in Caſe of any preſſing Neceſſity. They paſs'd the Night in the Camp, the greateſt Part of them without any Refreſhment, concluding that *Cyrus* was alive and victorious.

The Succeſs of this Battle ſhews the Superiority of Valour and military Knowledge, to Multitude, without them. The ſmall Army of the *Greeks* did not amount to more than twelve or thirteen Thouſand Men; but they were ſeaſon'd Troops, diſciplin'd, inur'd to Fatigues, accuſtom'd to confront Dangers, ſenſible of Glory and a good Name, and who, during the *Peleponneſian* War, had not wanted either Time or Means to acquire, and compleat themſelves in, the Art of War, and the Methods of Battle. The Army of *Artaxerxes* was computed at a Million of Men; but they were Soldiers only in Name, without Force, Courage, Diſcipline, Experience, or any Senſe of Honour. Hence it was, that aſſoon as the *Greeks* appear'd, Terror and Diſorder enſued amongſt the Enemy; and in the ſecond Action, *Artaxerxes* himſelf dar'd not wait their Attaick, but ſhamefully betook himſelf to Flight

Plutarch here blames *Clearchus*, the General of the *Greeks* very much, and imputes to him, as an unpardonable Neglect, his not having follow'd the Order of *Cyrus*, who recommended to him, above all Things, to turn the Attack upon the Perſon of *Artaxerxes*. This Report ſeems groundleſs: It is not eaſy to conceive, how it was poſſible for that Captain, who was poſted in the Right-Wing, to attack *Artaxerxes* immediately, who, in the Centre of his own Army, lay beyond the utmoſt Extent of the Front of the Enemy, as has been ſaid before. It ſeems that *Cyrus*, depending, as he did, with great Reaſon, upon the Valour of the *Greeks*, and deſiring they ſhould charge *Artaxerxes* in his Poſt, ought to have placed them in the Left-Wing, which anſwer'd directly to the Place where he was, that is to the main Body; and not in the Right, which was very remote from it.

Clearchus may indeed be reproach'd with having follow'd the Purſuit too warmly and too long: If, after having put the Left-Wing, which oppoſed him, into Diſorder, he had charged the reſt of the Enemy in Flank, and had open'd his Way to the Centre, where *Artaxerxes* was, it is highly probable, that he had gain'd a compleat Victory, and placed *Cyrus* upon the Throne. The ſix hundred Horſe of that Prince's Guard committed the ſame Fault, and by purſuing too eagerly the Body of Troops they had put to Flight, left their Maſter almoſt alone, and abandon'd to the Mercy of the Enemy; without conſidering, that they were choſen from the whole Army, for the immediate Guard of his Perſon, and for no other Purpoſe whatſoever. Too much Ardor is often prejudicial in a Battle, and it is the Duty of an able General to know how to reſtrain and direct it.

Even *Cyrus* himſelf err'd highly in this Reſpect, and abandon'd himſelf too much to his blind Paſſion, for Glory and Revenge. In running headlong to attack his Brother, he forgot, that there is a wide Difference between a General and a private Soldier. He ought not to have expoſed himſelf, but as it was conſiſtent with a Prince; as the Head, not the Hand; as the Perſon who was to give Orders, and not as thoſe, who were to execute them.

Xenophon gives us a magnificent Character of this young Prince; and that not upon the Credit of others, but from what he ſaw and knew in his own Perſon. He was, ſays he, in the Opinion of all that were acquainted with him, next to *Cyrus the Great*, a Prince the moſt worthy of the ſupreme Authority, and who had a Soul the moſt noble, and the moſt truly royal. From his Infancy he ſurpaſſed all of his own Age in every Exerciſe, whether it were in managing the Horſe, drawing the Bow, throwing the Dart, or in the Chaſe, in which he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf once, by fighting and killing a Bear that attack'd him. Theſe Advantages were heighten'd in him by the Nobleneſs of his Air, an engaging Aſpect, and by all the Graces of Nature, that conduce to recommend Merit.

When his Father had made him Governor of *Lydia*, and the neighbouring Provinces, his chief Care was to make the People ſenſible, that he had nothing ſo much at Heart, as to keep his Word inviolably, not only with regard to publick Treaties, but the moſt minute of his Promiſes: A Quality very rare amongſt Princes! But which, however, is the Foundation of all good Government, and the Source of their own, as well as their People's Happineſs. Not only the Perſons under his Authority, but the Enemy themſelves, repoſed an entire Confidence in him.

Whether any one did him a Service, or an Injury, he was always deſirous of returning it double; wiſhing to live no longer, (as he ſaid himſelf) than whilſt he ſurmounted his Friends in Benefits, and his Enemies in Vengeance. (It had been more glorious for him, however, to have overcome the latter, by the Force of Favour and Benevolence.) Nor was there ever any Prince, whom People were more afraid to offend, nor for whoſe Sake they were more ready to hazard their Poſſeſſions, Lives, and Fortunes.

Leſs intent upon being fear'd than belov'd, his Study was to make his Greatneſs appear only where it was uſeful and beneficial, and to extinguish other Sentiments, but thoſe which flow from Gratitude and Affection. He was induſtrious to do Good upon all Occaſions; to confer his Favours with Judgment, and in Seaſon; and to ſhew, that he thought himſelf rich, powerful and happy, only as he made others ſenſible of his being ſo, by his Benevolence and Liberality. But he took Care not to exhauſt his Means by an imprudent Profuſion: He did not laviſh, but diſtribute his Favours: He choſe rather to make his Liberalities the Rewards of Merit, than mere Gifts; and that they ſhould be ſubſervient in promoting Virtue, and not in ſupporting a ſoft and abject Indolence, a vicious Luxury, and Sloth.

He was particularly pleaſed with conferring his Favours upon valiant Men; and Governments and Rewards were only beſtow'd on thoſe, who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Actions. He never granted any Honour or Dignity to Favour, Intrigue or Faction, but to Merit only; upon which depends not only the Glory, but the Succeſs of Governments. By this Means he ſoon made Virtue eſteem'd and courted; and render'd Vice contemptible and horrid. The Provinces, animated with a noble Emulation to deſerve well, furniſh'd him, in a very ſhort Time, with a conſiderable Number of excellent Subjects, of every kind; which under a different Government would have remain'd unknown, obſcure, and uſeleſs.

Never did any one know how to oblige with a better Grace, or to gain the Hearts of thoſe who coul ſerve him, with more engaging Behaviour. As he was fully ſenſible, that he ſtood in need of the Aſſiſtance of others, for the Execution of his Deſigns, he thought Juſtice and Gratitude requir'd, that he ſhould render his Adherents all the Services in his Power. All the Preſents which were made him, whether of ſplendid Arms, or rich Apparel, he diſtributed amongſt his Friends, according to their ſeveral Taſtes or Occaſions; and uſed to ſay, that the brighteſt Ornament, and moſt exalted Riches, of a Prince, conſiſted in adorning and enriching thoſe who ſerved him well. In Effect, ſays *Xenophon*, to do Good to one's Friends, and to excel them in Liberality, does not ſeem ſo admirable a Thing in ſo high a Fortune; but to tranſcend them in Goodneſs of Heart, and Sentiments of Friendſhip and Affection, and to take more Pleaſure in conferring, than receiving, Obligations; in this I find *Cyrus* truly worthy of Eſteem and Admiration. The firſt of theſe Advantages he derives from his Rank the other from himſelf, and his intrinſick Merit.

By theſe extraordinary Qualities he acquired the univerſal Eſteem and Affection both of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. A great Proof of what *Xenophon* here ſays, is, that none ever quitted the Service of *Cyrus* for his Brother's; whereas an infinite Number went over every Day to him, from the King's Party, after the War was declar'd, and even of ſuch as had moſt Credit at the Court; becauſe they were all convinced, that *Cyrus* knew beſt how to acknowledge and reward their Services.

In Effect, it is moſt certain, that young *Cyrus* did not want great Virtues, and a ſuperior Merit; but we are ſurprized, that *Xenophon*, in drawing his Character, has deſcrib'd only the moſt beautiful Features, and ſuch as are proper to incite our Admi-

Admiration of him, without ſaying the leaſt Word of his Defects, and eſpecially of that Immoderate Ambition, which was the Soul of all his Actions, and which at length put Arms into his Hands againſt his elder Brother and King. Is it allowable in an Hiſtorian, whoſe chief Duty it is to paint Virtue and Vice in their true and ſuitable Colours, to relate at large an Enterprize of ſuch a Nature, without ſhewing the leaſt Mark of Diſlike, or blaming him for it? But with the *Pagans*, Ambition was ſo far from being conſider'd as a Vice, that it often paſſed for a Virtue.

CHAP. II.

Artaxerxes *ſends to the* Grecians *to demand their Arms; They refuſe to deliver them; They are betray'd by* Tiſſaphernes, *and their Generals ſeized, and put to Death; They chooſe new Generals, and reſolve to open themſelves a Paſſage Home; They begin their celebrated Retreat, called, ever ſince, by way of Eminence,* The Retreat of the TEN THOUSAND; *They arrive ſafe at the* Helleſpont, *in Spite of all Oſtacles, and croſs over into* Thrace; *Some Remarks upon this celebrated Retreat.*

THE *Greeks* being inform'd, the Day after the Battle, that *Cyrus* was dead, ſent Deputies to *Ariæus*, the General of the *Barbarians*, who had retir'd with his Troops to the Place, from whence they had march'd the Day before the Action, to offer him, as Victors, the Crown of *Perſia*, in the Room of *Cyrus*. At the ſame Time arrived *Perſian* Heralds at Arms, from *Artaxerxes*, to ſummon them to deliver up their Arms. To whom they anſwer'd, with an haughty Air; That they talk'd a ſtrange Language to Conquerors; that if the King would have their Arms, he might come and take them if he could; but that they would die before they would part with them: That if he would receive them into the Number of his *Allies*, they would ſerve him with Fidelity and Valour; but if he imagin'd to reduce them into Slavery, as vanquiſh'd, he might know, they had wherewithal to defend themſelves, and were determin'd to loſe their Lives and Liberty together. The Heralds added; that they had Orders to tell them, that if they continued in the Place where they were, they would be allow'd a Suſpenſion of Arms, but if they advanced or retired, that they would be treated as Enemies. The *Greeks* agreed; and were ask'd by the Heralds, what Anſwer they ſhould return. Peace whilſt we continue here, or War when we march, replied *Clearchus*, without explaining himſelf farther; from the View of keeping the King always in Suſpence and Uncertainty.

The Anſwer of *Ariæus* to the *Grecian* Deputies was, that there were many *Perſians* more conſiderable than himſelf, who would not ſuffer him upon the Throne; that he ſhould ſet out early the next Day to return to *Ionia*; and that, if they would march thither with him, they might join him in the Night: Whereupon, *Clearchus*, with the Advice of the Officers, prepared to depart. He commanded from that Time, as being the ſole Perſon of ſufficient Capacity; for he had not been actually elected General in Chief.

The Night being come, *Miltocythes* the *Thracian*, who commanded forty Horſe, and about three hundred Foot of his own Country, went and ſurrender'd himſelf to the King; whilſt the reſt of the *Greeks* began their March under the Conduct of *Clearchus*, and arrived about Midnight at the Camp of *Ariæus*. After they had drawn up in battle Array, the Principal Officers went to wait on him in his Tent, where they ſwore Alliance with him; and the *Barbarian*, undertook to conduct the Army without Fraud. In Confirmation of the Treaty, they ſacrificed a Wolf, a Ram, a Boar, and a Bull; the *Greeks* dipping their Swords, and the *Barbarians* the Points of their Javelins, in the Blood of the Victims.

Ariæus did not think it proper to return by the ſame Rout they came, becauſe, having found nothing for their Subſiſtence the laſt ſeventeen Days of their March, they muſt have ſuffer'd much more, had they taken the ſame Way back again. He choſe therefore another; exhorting them only to make long Marches at firſt; in order to evade the King's Purſuit; which they could not effect. Towards the Evening, when they were not far from ſome Villages, where they propoſed to halt, the Scouts came in, with Advice, that they had ſeen ſeveral Equipages and Convoys; which made it reaſonable to judge, that the Enemy were not far off. Upon this they ſtood their Ground, and waited their coming up; and the next Day, before the Riſing of the Sun, drew up in the ſame Order as in the preceding Battle. So bold an Appearance terrify'd the King; who ſent Heralds, not to demand, as before, the Surrender of their Arms, but to propoſe Peace and a Treaty: However, *Clearchus*, who was inform'd of their Arrival, at the Time he was employ'd in drawing up his Troops, gave Orders to bid them wait, and to tell them, that he was not yet at Leiſure to hear them. He aſſum'd, purpoſely, this Air of Haughtineſs and Grandeur, to denot his Intrepidity, and at the ſame Time to ſhew the fine Appearance and good

Condition

Condition of his Phalanx. When he advanced with thoſe of his Officers who had the beſt Preſence, and made the beſt Figure, and who had been expreſsly choſen for that Occaſion, and had heard what the Heralds had to propoſe; he made Anſwer, that they muſt begin with giving Battle, becauſe the Army being in Want of Proviſions, had no Time to loſe. The Heralds having carried back this Anſwer to their Maſter, return'd immediately; which ſhew'd, that the King, or whoever ſpoke in his Name, was not very diſtant. They ſaid, they had Orders to conduct them to Villages, where they would find Proviſions in Abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly.

The Army ſtaid there three Days, during which, *Tiſſaphernes* arrived from the King, with the Queen's Brother, and three other *Perſian* Grandees, attended by a great Number of Officers and Domeſticks. After having ſaluted the Generals, who advanced to receive him, he told them by his Interpreter, that being a Neighbour of *Greece*, and ſeeing them engaged in Dangers, out of which it would be difficult to extricate themſelves, he had uſed his good Offices with the King, to obtain Permiſſion to re-conduct them into their own Country; being convinced, that neither themſelves nor their Cities, would ever be unmindful of that Favour: That *Artaxerxes*, without having declared himſelf poſitively upon that Head, had commanded him to come to them, to know for what Cauſe they had taken Arms againſt him; and he adviſed them to make ſuch an Anſwer, as might not give any Offence, and might enable him to do them Service. "We call the Gods "to witneſs, reply'd *Clearchus*, that we did not "inliſt ourſelves to make War with the King, or "march againſt him. *Cyrus*, concealing his true "Motives, under different Pretexts, brought us "almoſt hither without explaining himſelf, the "better to ſurprize you. And when we ſaw him "engaged in Dangers, we thought it infamous "to abandon him, after the Favours we had re"ceived from him. But as he is dead, we are "releaſed from our Engagement, and neither de"ſire to conteſt the Crown with *Artaxerxes*, nor "to ravage his Country, provided he does not "oppoſe our Return. But if we are attack'd, we "ſhall endeavour, with the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, "to make a good Defence, and ſhall not be un"grateful in our Regard to thoſe, who render us "any Service." *Tiſſaphernes* reply'd; that he would let the King know what they ſaid, and bring back his Anſwer. But his not coming the next Day, gave the *Greeks* ſome Anxiety: He arrived, however, on the third, and told them, that after much Controverſy, he had at length obtain'd the King's Grace for them: For, that it had been repreſented that Prince, that he ought not to ſuffer People to return with Impunity into their Country, who had been ſo inſolent to come thither to make War upon him. "In ſhort, ſaid he, "you may aſſure yourſelves of not finding any "Obſtacle to your return; and of being ſupply'd "with Proviſions, or ſuffer'd to buy them; and "you may judge, that you are to paſs without "committing any Diſorders in your March, and "that you are to take only what is neceſſary; "provided you are not furniſh'd with it." Theſe Conditions were ſworn to on both Sides: *Tiſſaphernes*, and the Queen's Brother, gave their Hands to the Colonels and Captains in Token of Amity. After which *Tiſſaphernes* withdrew, to diſpoſe his Affairs; promiſing to return ſoon as they would admit, in order to go back with them into his Government.

The *Greeks* waited for him above twenty Days, continuing encamp'd near *Ariæus*, who received frequent Viſits from his Brothers, and other Relations; as did the Officers of his Army from the *Perſians*, of the different Party; who aſſured them, from the King, of an entire Oblivion of what was paſt; ſo that the Friendſhip of *Ariæus* for the *Greeks*, began to cool viſibly, every Day more and more. This Change gave them Cauſe of Uneaſineſs; ſeveral of the Officers went to *Clearchus*, and the other Generals, and ſaid to them: "What "do we here any longer? Are we not ſenſible, "that *Artaxerxes* is deſirous to ſee us all periſh; "that others may be terrify'd by our Example? "Perhaps he keeps us waiting here, till he re"aſſembles his diſperſed Troops, or ſends to ſeize "the Paſſes in our Way; for he will never ſuffer "our Return into *Greece*, to divulge our own "Glory, and his Shame." *Clearchus* made Anſwer to this Diſcourſe, that to depart without conſulting the King, was to break with him, and to declare War, by violating the Treaty; that they ſhould remain without a Conductor, in a Country where No-body would ſupply them with Proviſions; that *Ariæus* would abandon them; and that even their Friends would become their Enemies; that he did not know, but there might be other Rivers to paſs, and that, though the *Euphrates* were the only one, they could not get over it, were the Paſſage ever ſo little diſputed. That if it were neceſſary to come to a Battle, they ſhould find themſelves without Cavalry, againſt an Enemy, that had a very numerous and excellent Body of Horſe; ſo that if they gain'd the Victory, they could make no great Advantage of it; and if they were overcome, they were utterly and irretrievably loſt. "Beſides, continued he, why ſhould the "King, who has ſo many other Means to deſtroy "us, engage his Word only to violate it, and "thereby render himſelf execrable in the Sight "of Gods and Men?"

Tiſſaphernes, however, arrived with his Troops, in order to return into his Governmens; and they ſet forwards all together, under the Conduct of that *Satrapa*, who ſupply'd them with Proviſions. *Ariæus*, with his Troops, encamp'd with the *Barbarians*, and the *Greeks* ſeparately at ſome Diſtance, which kept up a mutual Diſtruſt amongſt them. Beſides which, there happen'd frequent Quarrels for Wood or Forrage, that augmented their Averſion for each other. After three Days March, they arrived at the Wall of *Media*, which was an hundred Foot high, twenty broad, twenty Leagues in Extent, and all built of Bricks, bound together with Bitumen, like the Walls of *Babylon*; from which it was not very diſtant, at one of its Extremities. When they had paſſed it, they march'd eight Leagues in two Days, and came to the River *Tygris*, after having croſt two of its Canals, which had been cut expreſsly for watering the Country. They then paſſed the *Tygris*, upon a Bridge of twenty-ſeven Boats, near *Sitacum*, a very great and populous City. After four Days March, they arrived at another City, alſo very powerful,

powerful, call'd *Opis*. They found there a Baſtard-Brother of *Artaxerxes*, with a very conſiderable Body of Troops, which he was bringing from *Suſa* and *Ecbatana*, to his Aid: He admir'd the fine Order of the *Greeks*. From thence, having paſs'd the Deſarts of *Media*, they came, after a March of ſix Days, to a Place call'd the Lands of *Paryſatis*; the Revenues of which belong'd to that Princeſs. There, *Tiſſaphernes*, to inſult the Memory of her Son, *Cyrus*, ſo dearly belov'd by her, gave the Villages to be plunder'd by the *Greeks*. Continuing their March through the Deſart, on the Side of the *Tygris*, which was upon their Left, they arriv'd at *Cænæ*, a very great, and rich City; and, from thence, at the River *Zabates*.

The Occaſions of Diſtruſt increaſing every Day between the *Grecks* and *Barbarians*, *Clearchus* thought it incumbent on him, to come to an Explanation, once for all, with *Tiſſaphernes*. He began, with obſerving the ſacred and inviolable Nature of the Treaties ſubſiſting between them. "A Man (*ſaid he*) conſcious of the Guilt "of Perjury, can he be capable of living at "Eaſe! How would he ſhun the Wrath of the "Gods, the Witneſſes of Treaties; and eſcape "their Vengeance, whoſe Power is univerſal?" He added, afterwards, many Things, to prove, that the *Greeks* were obliged, by their own Intereſt, to continue faithful to him; and that, by renouncing his Alliance, they muſt inevitably renounce, not only all Religion, but Reaſon, and common Senſe. *Tiſſaphernes* pretended to approve of this Diſcourſe; and ſpoke to him with all the Appearance of the moſt perfect Sincerity; inſinuating, at the ſame Time, that ſome Perſons had greatly miſrepreſented him: *If you will bring your Officers hither* (ſaid he) *I will ſhew you thoſe, who have wronged you in their Repreſentations.* He then kept him to Supper, and profeſs'd more Friendſhip for him than ever.

The next Day, *Clearchus* propos'd in the Aſſembly, to carry the ſeveral Commanders of the Troops along with him to *Tiſſaphernes*. He ſuſpected *Menon*, in particular, whom he knew to have had a ſecret Conference with that *Satrapa*, in the Preſence of *Ariæus*; beſides which, they had already had ſeveral Differences with each other. Some, however, objected, it was not proper, all the Generals ſhould go to *Tiſſaphernes*; and that, it did not conſiſt with Prudence, to rely implicitly upon the Profeſſions of a *Barbarian*: But, *Clearchus* continued to inſiſt upon what he had mov'd; till it was agreed, that the four other Commanders, with twenty Captains, and about two hundred Soldiers (under the Pretext of buying Proviſions in the *Perſian* Camp, where there was a Market) ſhould be ſent along with him. When they came to the Tent of *Tiſſaphernes*, the five Commanders, *Clearchus*, *Menon*, *Proxenes*, *Agias*, and *Socrates*, were ſuffer'd to enter; but the Captains ſtaid at the Door. Immediately, on a certain Signal, before agreed on, thoſe within were ſeiz'd, and the others put to the Sword: Some *Perſian* Horſe, afterwards, ſcour'd the Country; and kill'd all the *Greeks* they met, whether Freemen, or Slaves; and *Clearchus*, with the other Generals, was ſent to the King, who order'd their Heads to be ſtruck off: *Xenophon* has amply deſcrib'd the Characters of theſe Officers.

Clearchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and fit for forming great Enterprizes: His Courage was not raſh, but regulated by Prudence; and he retain'd all his cool Temper, and Preſence of Mind, in the Midſt of the greateſt Dangers: He lov'd the Troops, and let them want for nothing. He knew how to make them obey him; but then it was out of Fear: His Mien was awful and ſevere; his Language rough; his Puniſhments inſtant and rigorous: He gave Way ſometimes to Paſſion, but preſently came to himſelf, and always chaſtis'd with with Juſtice. His great Maxim was, nothing could be done in an Army without a ſevere Diſcipline; and from him came the Saying, that a Soldier ought to fear his General, more than the Enemy. The Troops eſteem'd his Valour, and did Juſtice to his Merit; but were afraid of his rigorous Temper, and did not love to ſerve under him. In a Word (ſays *Xenophon*) *the Soldiers feared him, as Scholars do a ſevere Pedagogue.* We may ſay of him, with *Tacitus*, that, by an Exceſs of Severity, he made, what would have been thought well done by another, ſeem otherwiſe, when done by him: *Cupidine ſeveritatis in his etiam, quæ rite faceret acerbus.*

Proxenes was of *Bœotia*: From his Infancy he aſpir'd at great Things; and was induſtrious to make himſelf capable of them. He ſpar'd no Pains or Coſt to obtain Inſtruction; and was the Diſciple of *Gorgias*, the *Leontine*, a celebrated Rhetorician, who ſold his Lectures at a very high Price. When he found himſelf capable of commanding, and doing Good to his Friends, as well as of being ſerv'd by them, he enter'd into the Service of *Cyrus*, with the View of advancing himſelf thereby: He did not want Ambition, but would take no other Road to Glory than that of Virtue. He had been a perfect Captain, had he had none but brave and diſciplin'd Men to deal with; and, had it been only neceſſary to be belov'd; but he was more apprehenſive of being ill with his Soldiers, than his Soldiers with him. He thought it was ſufficient for a Commander to praiſe good Actions, without chaſtizing bad ones; for which Reaſon, he was belov'd by the Worthy; but, thoſe of a different Character abus'd his Eaſineſs and Lenity: He was put to Death at ty Years of Age.

Could the two Great Perſons, we have here drawn after *Xenophon*, have been molded into one, a compleat General might have been made of them; by only retrenching their ſeveral Defects, and retaining their Virtues: But it ſeldom happens, that the ſame Man, as *Tacitus* ſays of *Agricola*, behaves, according to the Exigency of Times and Circumſtances, ſometimes with Gentleneſs, and ſometimes with Severity; without leſſening his Authority by the former; or the Affection of the People by the latter.

Menon was a *Theſſalian*, avaritious and ambitious; but ambitious only from the Motive of Avarice; ſeeking Honour and Eſteem, for the mere Lucre of Money. He courted the Friendſhip of the Great, and of Perſons in Authority, that he might have it in his Power, to commit Injuſtice and Oppreſſion with Impunity. To obtain his Ends, all Means with him were lawful, Falſhood, Fraud, or Perjury; whilſt Sincerity, and Integrity of Heart, ſtood in his Scheme for Weakneſs and Stupidity. He lov'd No-body; and, if he pro-

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feſs'd Friendſhip, it was only to deceive. As others made their Glory conſiſt in Piety, Probity, and Religion, he valued himſelf upon Injuſtice, Deceit, and Treachery. He gain'd the Favour of the Great, by falſe Reports, Whiſpering, and Calumny; and that of the Soldiery, by Licence and Impunity. In ſhort, he endeavour'd to render himſelf terrible, by the Miſchief it was in his Power to do; and imagin'd he favour'd thoſe to whom he did none.

The Generals of the *Greeks* having been ſeiz'd, and the Officers, who attended them, having been maſſacred, the Troops were in the utmoſt Conſternation. They were five or ſix hundred Leagues from *Greece*, ſurrounded with great Rivers, and Nations, their Enemies; without any Supplies of Proviſions. In this general Dejection, occaſion'd by their deſperate Condition, they could not think of taking either Nouriſhment, or Repoſe. In the Middle of the Night, *Xenophon*, a young *Athenian*, but of Prudence, and Capacity, ſuperior to his Years, went to ſome of the Officers, and repreſented to them, that they had no Time to loſe; that it was of the laſt Importance to prevent the bad Deſigns of the Enemy; that, however ſmall their Number, they would render themſelves formidable, if they behav'd with Boldneſs and Reſolution; that Valour, and not Multitude, determin'd the Succeſs of Arms; and, that it was neceſſary, above all Things, to nominate Generals immediately; becauſe an Army without Commanders is like a Body without a Soul. A Council was immediately held, at which an Hundred Officers were preſent; and *Xenophon*, being deſir'd to ſpeak, laid before them, at large, the Reaſons, upon which he had, at firſt, but lightly touch'd; and, by his Advice, Commanders were appointed. They were, *Timaſion* for *Clearchus*; *Xanthicles* for *Socrates*; *Cleanor* for *Agias*; *Philefius* for *Menon*; and *Xenophon* for *Proxenes*.

Before the Break of Day, they aſſembled the Army. The Generals made Speeches to animate the Troops; and *Xenophon*, amongſt the Reſt: "Fellow-Soldiers (*ſaid he*) the Loſs of ſo many "brave Men by vile Treachery, and the being "abandon'd by our Friends, is very deplorable: "But, we muſt not ſink under our Misfortunes; "and, if we cannot conquer, let us chuſe rather "to periſh glorioufly, than fall into the Hands "of the *Barbarians*, who would inflict upon us "the moſt extream Tortures. Let us call to "Mind the glorious Battles of *Platææ*, *Thermo-*"*pylæ*, *Salamis*, and many others; wherein our "Anceſtors, though with a ſmall Number, have "fought, and defeated the innumerable Armies "of the *Perſians*; and thereby render'd the Name "alone of *Greeks* for ever formidable. It is to "their invincible Valour we owe the Honour "we poſſeſs, of acknowledging no Maſters upon "Earth but the Gods, nor any Happineſs, but "what conſiſts with Liberty. Thoſe Gods, the "Avengers of Perjury, and Witneſſes of the E-"nemy's Treaſon, will be favourable to us; and, "as they are attack'd, in the Violation of Trea-"ties, and take Pleaſure in humbling the Proud, "and exalting the Low, they will alſo follow "us to Battle, and combat for us. For the Reſt, "Comrades, as we have no Refuge but in Vic-"tory, which muſt be our Hope, and will make "us ample Amends, for whatever it coſts to ob-"tain it. I ſhould believe, if it were your O-"pinion, that, for the making a more ſpeedy, "and leſs difficult Retreat, it would be very pro-"per to rid ourſelves of all the uſeleſs Baggage; "and to keep only what is abſolutely neceſſary "in the March." All the Soldiers that Moment lifted up their Hands to ſignify their Approbation, and Conſent to all that had been ſaid, and, without Loſs of Time, ſet Fire to their Tents and Carriages; thoſe of them who had too much Equipage giving it others who had too little, and deſtroying the Reſt.

It was reſolv'd then, for the Army to march, without Tumult or Violence, if their Return was not oppos'd; but otherwiſe, to open themſelves a Paſſage, Sword in Hand, through the Enemy. They began their March in the Form of a great hollow Square, with the Baggage in the Midſt of it. *Chiriſophus*, the *Lacedæmonian*, had the Vanguard; two of the oldeſt Captains the Right and Left; and *Timaſion*, with *Xenophon*, were poſted in the Rear, as the youngeſt Officers. The firſt Day they ſuffer'd pretty much; becauſe, having neither Horſe, nor Slingers, they were extreamly harraſs'd by a Detachment ſent againſt them: But they provided, afterwards, againſt that Inconvenience, by following *Xenophon*'s Advice. They choſe two hundred Men out of the *Rhodians* in the Army, whom they arm'd with Slings, and augmented their Pay, for their Encouragement. They could throw as far again as the *Perſians*, becauſe they diſcharged Balls of Lead, and the others made Uſe of large Flints. They mounted alſo a Squadron of fifty Men upon the Horſes intended for the Baggage, and ſupply'd their Places with other Beaſts of Burden. By the Means of theſe Alterations, a ſecond Detachment of the Enemy were very ſeverely handled.

After ſome Days March, *Tiſſaphernes* appear'd with all his Forces; but contented himſelf with harraſſing the *Greeks*, who mov'd on continually; obſerving, however, the Difficulty of retreating in a hollow Square, in the Face of the Enemy, from the Unevenneſs of Ground, Hedges, and other Obſtacles, which muſt oblige them to break it, they changed their Order of Battle, and march'd in two Columns, with the little Baggage they had, in the void Space between them. Beſides, they form'd a Body of Reſerve of ſix hundred choſen Men, whom they divided into ſix Companies, and ſubdivided by Fifties and Tens, to facilitate their Motions, according to Occaſion. When the Columns came cloſe to each other, they either remain'd in the Rear, or filed off upon the Flanks on both Sides, to avoid Diſorder; and, when they open'd, they fell into the void Space in the Rear between the two Columns. In Caſe of any Attack, they immediately ran where it was neceſſary; and they ſtood ſeveral Charges, but they were neither conſiderable, nor attended with much Loſs.

After many Days, they arriv'd at the River *Tygris*; but, as its Depth would not admit them to repaſs it without Boats, they were obliged to croſs the *Caduſian* Mountains, becauſe there was no other Way: And the Priſoners reported, that from thence they could enter *Armenia*, where they might paſs the *Tygris* at its Source; and afterwards, the *Euphrates*, not very diſtant from it. To gain thoſe Defiles, before the Enemy could

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ize them, it was thought proper to ſet forwards in the Night, that they might arrive at the Foot of the Mountain, by Break of Day; which was done accordingly. *Chiriſophus* continued at the Head of the Advanc'd Guard, with the Troops arm'd with miſſive Weapons, beſides his ordinary *Corps*; and *Xenophon* in the Rear, with only the heavy-arm'd Soldiers; becauſe, at that Time, there was nothing to fear on that Side. The Inhabitants of the Country had taken Poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the Heights; from whence it was neceſſary to drive them; which could not be done, without great Danger and Difficulty.

The Officers, having held a Council of War, were of Opinion, it was proper to leave behind them all the Beaſts of Burden, not abſolutely neceſſary, with all the Slaves lately taken; becauſe, both the one and the other, would retard their March too much, in the great Defiles they had to paſs; beſides which, it requir'd a greater Quantity of Proviſions to ſupport them; and they, who had the Care of the Beaſts, were uſeleſs in Fight. This Regulation was executed without Delay; and they continued their March, ſometimes fighting, and ſometimes halting. The paſſing of the Mountains, which took up ſeven Days, fatigued the Troops exceedingly, and occaſion'd ſome Loſs: But, at length, they arriv'd at Villages, where they found Proviſions in Abundance, and reſted ſome Days, to recover the ſevere Fatigues the Army had ſuffer'd; in Compariſon with which, all they had undergone in *Perſia* was as nothing.

They found themſelves, ſoon after, expos'd to new Dangers: Almoſt at the Foot of the Mountains, they came to a River, call'd *Centrites*, two hundred Foot broad, which ſtopp'd their March. They were to defend themſelves from the Enemy, who purſued them in the Rear; and from the *Armenians*, the Soldiers of the Country, who defended the oppoſite Side of the River. They attempted, in vain, to paſs it in a Place, where the Water came up to their Arm-Pits; and were carry'd away by the Rapidity of the Current, againſt which the Weight of their Arms made them unable to reſiſt. By good Fortune, they diſcover'd another Place not ſo deep, where ſome Soldiers had ſeen the People of the Country croſs; but, even there it requir'd Abundance of Addreſs, Diligence, and Valour, to keep off the Enemy on both Sides of them: The Army, however, got over, at length, without much Loſs.

They march'd, afterwards, with leſs Interruption; paſs'd the Sources of the *Tygris*; and arriv'd at the little River *Teleboa*, which is very beautiful, and has many Villages on its Banks. There began the *Weſtern Armenia*; which was govern'd by *Tiribaſus*, a *Satrapa*, much belov'd by the King, and who had the Honour to help him mount on Horſe-back, when at the Court: He offer'd to let the Army paſs, and ſuffer the Soldiers to take all they wanted, upon Condition, they ſhould commit no Ravages in their March; which Propoſal was accepted, and ratify'd on each Side. This *Satrapa*, however, kept always a flying Camp, at a ſmall Diſtance from the Army; and there fell a great Quantity of Snow, which put the Troops to ſome Inconvenience; and, beſides which, they were inform'd by a Priſoner, that the perfidious *Perſian* had a Deſign to attack them at a Paſs of the Mountains, in a Defile, through which they muſt neceſſarily march. They prevented this, nevertheleſs, by ſeizing that Poſt, after having put the Enemy to Flight; and, after ſome Days March through Deſarts, they paſs'd the *Euphrates* near its Source, not having the Water above their Middles.

They ſuffer'd exceedingly, afterwards, from a *North*-Wind, which blew in their Faces, and made them ſcarce able to fetch their Breath; ſo that it was thought neceſſary to ſacrifice to the Wind, which ſeem'd to abate thereupon. They march'd on, afterwards, in Snow five or ſix Foot deep, which kill'd ſeveral Servants, and Beaſts of Burden, beſides thirty Soldiers: To comfort themſelves, they made good Fires during the Night, for they found Plenty of Wood. All the next Day, they march'd again through the Snow, when many of them, through Exceſs of Hunger, follow'd but faintly, or continued lying upon the Ground, without Strength or Vigour. However, when ſomething had been given them to eat, they found themſelves reliev'd, and purſu'd their March.

The Enemy ſtill follow'd them; and many, overtaken by the Night, lay by the Way without Fire, or Proviſions; ſo that ſeveral dy'd of their Hardſhips, and the Enemy took ſome Baggage. Several Soldiers were alſo left behind, ſome of whom had loſt their Sight, and others their Toes, by the Snow. Againſt the firſt Evil, it was good to wear ſomething black before the Eyes; and againſt the other, to keep the Legs always in Motion, and the Feet bare at Night. Arriving, at laſt, in a more commodious Place, they diſpers'd themſelves into the neighbouring Villages, to recover, and repoſe, after their Fatigues. The Houſes were built under Ground; with an Opening at Top, like a Well; through which the Deſcent was by a Ladder; but, there was another Entrance for Cattle. They found there, Sheep, Cows, Goats, and Poultry; with Wheat, Barley, and Pulſe; and for Drink, there was Beer, which was very ſtrong, when not mingled with Water; but was agreeable to thoſe who were us'd to it. They drank it, with a Reed, out of the Veſſels that held the Beer, upon which they ſaw the Barley ſwim. The Maſter of the Houſe where *Xenophon* lay, receiv'd him very kindly; and even ſhew'd him where he had conceal'd ſome Wine; beſides which, he made him a Preſent of ſeveral Horſes. He taught him alſo to faſten a Kind of Hurdles to their Feet, and to do the ſame to the other Beaſts of Burden, to prevent their ſinking in the Snow; without which, they would have been up to the Girth therein at every Step. After having reſted ſeven Days in theſe Villages, the Army reſum'd their Rout.

After a March of ſeven Days, they arriv'd at the River *Araxes*, call'd alſo the *Phaſis*, which is about an hundred Foot in Breadth: Two Days after, they diſcover'd the *Phaſians*, *Chalybes*, and *Taochians*, who kept the Paſſes of the Mountains, to prevent their deſcending into the Plain; and, ſeeing it was impoſſible to avoid coming to a Battle, they reſolv'd to engage them the ſame Day: But *Xenophon*, who had obſerv'd, that the Enemy defended only the ordinary Paſſage, and that the Mountain was three Leagues in Extent, propos'd ſending a Detachment, to take Poſſeſſion

of

of the Heights, that commanded the Enemy; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all Suſpicion of their Deſign, by a March in the Night; and by making a falſe Attack by the main Road, to amuſe the *Barbarians*: This was accordingly executed; the Enemy put to Flight, and the Paſs clear'd.

This done, they croſs'd the Country of the *Chalybes*, who are the moſt valiant of all the *Barbarians* in thoſe Parts; and who, when they kill'd any one, cut off his Head, and carry'd it about in Triumph, ſinging, and dancing. They kept themſelves cloſe ſhut up in their Cities; and when the Army march'd, fell ſuddenly upon the Rear; after having carry'd every Thing of Value in the Country into Places of Safety. After twelve or fifteen Days March, they arriv'd at a very high Mountain, call'd *Teches*, from whence they diſcover'd the Sea. The firſt who perceiv'd it, rais'd loud Shouts of Joy for a conſiderable Time; which made *Xenophon* imagine, that the Van-Guard was attack'd, and went with all Haſte to ſupport it. As he approach'd nearer, the Cry of *the Sea! the Sea!* was heard diſtinctly; and the Alarm changed into Joy and Gaiety; and when they came to the Top, nothing was heard but a confus'd Noiſe of the whole Army crying out together, *the Sea! the Sea!* who could not refrain from Tears, nor from embracing their Generals and Officers. And then, without waiting for Orders, they heap'd up a Pile of Stones, and erected a Trophy with broken Bucklers, and other Arms.

From thence they advanc'd to the Mountains of *Colchis*; one of which was higher than the Reſt; and of that the People of the Country had poſſeſs'd themſelves: Whereupon, the *Greeks* drew up in Battle-Array at the Bottom, in order to attempt the Aſcent, which was not impracticable. *Xenophon* did not judge it proper, however, to march in Line of Battle, but by Files; becauſe the Soldiers could not keep their Ranks, from the Inequality of the Ground, that in ſome Places was eaſy, and in others difficult, to climb; which might diſcourage them. This Advice was approv'd, and the Army form'd according to it. The heavy-arm'd Troops amounted to fourſcore Files, each conſiſting of about an hundred Men; with one Thouſand eight Hundred light-arm'd Soldiers, divided into three Bodies; one of which was poſted on the Right, another on the Left, and a Third in the Centre. After having encourag'd his Troops, by repreſenting to them, this was the laſt Obſtacle they had to ſurmount, and implor'd the Aſſiſtance of the Gods, the Army began to mount the Hill. The Enemy were not able to ſtand their Charge, and diſpers'd: They paſs'd thoſe Mountains then, and encamp'd in Villages, where they found Proviſions in Abundance.

A very ſtrange Accident, however, happen'd there to the Army, which put them into a Conſternation. For, the Soldiers, finding Abundance of Bee-Hives in that Place, and eating the Honey, were taken with violent Vomiting and Fluxes, attended with raving Fits; ſo that thoſe, who were leaſt ill, ſeem'd like drunken Men; and the Reſt, either furiouſly mad, or dying. The Earth was ſtrew'd with their Bodies, as after a Defeat; However, none of them dy'd, and the Diſtemper ceas'd the next Day, about the ſame Hour, it had ſeiz'd them. The third, or fourth Day, the Soldiers got up, but in the Condition People are after taking a violent Medicine.

Two Days after, the Army arriv'd near *Trapezus*, a *Greek* Colony of *Sinopians*, ſituate upon the *Euxine*, or *Black Sea*, in the Province of *Colchis*. Here they lay incamp'd for thirty Days; and acquitted themſelves of the Vows they had made to *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and the other Deities, to obtain an happy Return into their own Country. They alſo celebrated there the Games of the Horſe and Foot-Races, Wreſtling, Boxing, and the *Pancratium*; the Whole attended with the greateſt Joy and Solemnity.

After having offer'd Sacrifices to the ſeveral Divinities, and celebrated the Games, they deliberated upon the proper Meaſures for their Return to *Greece*, and concluded upon going thither by Sea; for which Purpoſe, *Chiriſophus* offer'd to go to *Anaxibius*, the Admiral of *Sparta*, who was his Friend, to obtain Ships of him. He ſet out directly; and *Xenophon* regulated the Order it was neceſſary to obſerve, and the Precautions to be taken for the Security of the Camp, Proviſions, and Forage. He believ'd it alſo proper to make ſure of ſome Veſſels, excluſively of thoſe that were expected; and went upon ſome Expeditions againſt the neighbouring People.

As *Chiriſophus* did not return ſo ſoon as was expected, and Proviſions began to be wanting, it was reſolv'd to proceed by Land; becauſe there was not a ſufficient Number of Ships to tranſport the whole Army; and thoſe, which the Precaution of *Xenophon* had procur'd, were allotted to carry the Women, the old, and ſick Men, with all the unneceſſary Baggage. The Army then continu'd its March, and lay ten Days at *Ceraſus*; where there was a general Review of the Troops; who were found to amount to eight Thouſand ſix hundred Men, out of about ten Thouſand; the Reſt having dy'd in the Retreat, of their Wounds, Fatigues, or Diſeaſes.

In the ſmall Time the *Greeks* continued in theſe Parts, ſeveral Diviſions aroſe, both with the Inhabitants of the Country, and ſome of the Officers, who were jealous of *Xenophon*'s Authority, and endeavour'd to render him odious to the Army: But his Wiſdom and Moderation put a Stop to thoſe Diſorders; having made the Soldiers ſenſible that their Safety depended upon preſerving Union and a good Underſtanding amongſt themſelves, and Obedience to their Generals.

From *Ceraſus* they went to *Cotyora*, which is not very remote from it; where they deliberated again upon the proper Meaſures for their Return; the Inhabitants of the Country having repreſented the almoſt inſuperable Difficulties, of going by Land, from the Defiles and Rivers they had to paſs, and having offer'd to ſupply them with Ships. This ſeem'd the beſt Expedient, and the Army embark'd accordingly. They arriv'd, the next Day, at *Sinope*, a City of *Paphlagonia*, and a Colony of the *Mileſians*. *Chiriſophus* arriv'd there with Gallies alſo, but without Money; though the Troops expected to have receiv'd ſome; however, he aſſur'd them the Army ſhould be paid, aſſoon as they were out of the *Euxine* Sea; and, that their Retreat was univerſally celebrated, and the Subject of the Diſcourſe, and Admiration of all *Greece*.

The

The Soldiers now finding themſelves pretty near *Greece*, were deſirous of getting ſome Booty, before they return'd thither; and with that View reſolved to nominate a General with full Authority; whereas, till then, all Affairs had been determin'd in the Council of War, by the Plurality of Voices. They caſt their Eyes upon *Xenophon*, and cauſed him to be deſir'd to accept that Office. He was not inſenſible of the Honour of commanding in Chief; but he foreſaw the Conſequences, and deſired Time to conſider. After having expreſſed the higheſt Senſe of Gratitude for an Offer ſo much to his Honour, he repreſented, that to avoid Jealouſy and Diviſion, the Succeſs of Affairs, and the Intereſt of the Army, ſeem'd to require, that they ſhould chuſe a *Lacedæmonian* for their General; the *Spartan* State being at that Time actually Miſtreſs of *Greece*, and in Conſideration of that Choice, would be diſpoſed to ſupport them. This Reaſon was not approved of; and they objected againſt it, that they were far from intending to be kept in a ſervile Dependence upon *Sparta*; or to ſubmit to regulate their Enterprizes, by the Pleaſure or Diſlike of that State; and preſſed him again to accept the Command. He was then obliged to explain himſelf ſincerely, and without Evaſion; and declared, that having conſulted the Gods by Sacrifice, upon the Offer they made him, they had manifeſted their Will by evident Signs; from whence it appeared, that they did not approve their Choice. It was ſurprizing to ſee the Impreſſion, which the ſole Mention of the Gods made upon the Soldiers, otherwiſe very warm and tenacious of their Opinions; and who, beſides, are commonly little affected with the Motives of Religion. Their great Ardor abated immediately, and without making any Reply, they proceeded to elect *Chiriſophus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, for their General.

His Authority was of no long Continuance: Diſcord, as *Xenophon* had foreſeen, aroſe amongſt the Troops, who were angry, that their General prevented their plundering the *Grecian* Cities, by which they paſſed. This Diſturbance was principally excited by the *Peleponneſians*, who compoſed one Half of the Army, and [illegible] with Pain, *Xenophon*, an *Athenian*, in Au[illegible] Different Meaſures were propoſed; but [illegible] concluded, the Troops divided th[illegible] three Bodies, of which the *Achaians* a[illegible], that is, the *Peloponneſians*, were the Pri[illegible] amounting to four thouſand five hundred heavy-arm'd Foot, with *Lycon* and *Callimachus* for their Generals. *Chriſophus* commanded another Party of about fourteen hundred Men, beſides ſeven hundred light-arm'd Infantry. *Xenophon* had the third, almoſt the ſame in Number, of which three hundred were light-arm'd Soldiers, with about forty Horſe, which were all the Cavalry of the Army. The firſt having obtain'd Ships from the People of *Heraclea*, to whom they had ſent to demand them, ſet out before the Reſt, in Queſt of ſome Booty, and made a Deſcent in the Port of *Calpe*. *Chiriſophus*, who was ſick, march'd by Land; but without quitting the Coaſt. *Xenophon* landed at *Heraclea*, and enter'd into the Heart of the Country.

New Diviſions ſtill aroſe: The Imprudence of the Troops, and their Leaders, had involved them in ill Meaſures, not without Loſs; from whence the Addreſs of *Xenophon* extricated them more than once. Being all reconciled again, however, after various Succeſs, they arrived by Land at *Chryſopolis*, in *Caledonia*, over-againſt *Byzantium*; whither they went ſome Days after; having paſſed the ſmall Arm of the Sea, which ſeparates the two Continents. They were upon the Point of plundering that rich and powerful City, to revenge a Fraud and Injury which had been done them, and from the Hope of enriching themſelves, once for all, when *Xenophon* ran thither. He admitted the Juſtneſs of their Revenge, but he made them ſenſible of the fatal Conſequences which would attend it. "After your pillaging this City, and deſtroy-
"ing the *Lacedæmonians* eſtabliſh'd in it, you will
"be deem'd the mortal Enemies of their Repub-
"lick, and of all their *Allies*. *Athens* my Coun-
"try, that had four hundred Galleys at Sea, and
"in the Arſenals, when it took up Arms againſt
"them; with great Sums of Money in its Trea-
"ſury, and a Revenue of a thouſand Talents;
"and beſides, was in Poſſeſſion of all the Iſles of
"*Greece*, and of many Cities in *Europe* and *Aſia*,
"of which this was one, has nevertheleſs been
"reduced to yield to their Power, and ſubmit to
"their Sway: And do you hope, who are but an
"Handful of Men, without Generals, Proviſions,
"*Allies*, or any Reſource, either from *Tiſſapher-*
"*nes*, who has betray'd you, or the King of *Per-*
"*ſia*, whom you have attempted to dethrone; can
"you hope, I ſay, in ſuch a Condition, to make
"Head againſt the *Lacedæmonians*? Let us de-
"mand to have Satisfaction made us, and not a-
"venge the Fault of the *Byzantines* by a much
"greater Crime of our own, which muſt draw
"upon us inevitaale Ruin." They were ruled at laſt by him, and the Affair accommodated.

From thence he led them to *Salmydeſſa*, to ſerve *Seuthes*, Prince of *Thrace*; who had before ſollicited him, by his Envoys, to bring Troops to his Aid; in order to his Re-eſtabliſhment, in his Father's Dominions, of which his Enemies had deprived him. He had made *Xenophon* great Promiſes, for himſelf and his Troops; but when they had done him the Service he had occaſion for, he was ſo far from keeping his Word, that he did not give them the Pay agreed upon. Hereupon, *Xenophon* reproach'd him exceedingly, with this Breach of Faith; imputing his Perfidy to his Miniſter *Heraclides*, who thought to make his Court to his Maſter, by ſaving him a Sum of Money at the Expence of Juſtice, Faith, and Honeſty; Qualities which ought to be dearer to a Prince than all others, as they contribute the moſt to his Reputation, as well as to the Succeſs of Affairs, and the Security of a State. But that treacherous Miniſter, who look'd upon Honour, Probity, and Juſtice, to be mere Chimæra's, and thought nothing valuable but the Poſſeſſion of much Money, had no Deſign in Reality, but of inriching himſelf by any Means whatſoever; and robbed his Maſter the firſt with Impunity, and all his Subjects along with him. "However, continues *Xe-*
"*nophon*, every wiſe Man, eſpecially in Autho-
"rity and Command, ought to regard Juſtice,
"Probity, and the Faith of Engagements; as the
"moſt precious Treaſure he can poſſeſs; and as
"an aſſured Reſource, and an infallible Support
"in all the Events that can happen." *Heraclides* was the more in the Wrong, for behaving in this Manner to the Troops, as he was a Native of

Greece, and not a *Thracian*; but Avarice had extinguiſh'd in him all Senſe of Honour.

Whilſt the Diſpute between *Seuthes* and *Xenophon* was warmeſt, *Charminus* and *Polynices* arrived, as Ambaſſadors from *Lacedæmon*, and brought Advice, that the Republick had declar'd War againſt *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabaſus*; that *Thimbron* had already embark'd with the Troops, and promiſed a *Darick* a Month to every Soldier, two to each Officer, and four to the Colonels, as ſhould engage in the Service. *Xenophon* accepted this Offer, and having obtain'd from *Seuthes*, by the Mediation of the Ambaſſadors, Part of the Pay due to him, he went by Sea to *Lampſacus* with the Army, which amounted, at that Time, to almoſt ſix thouſand Men. From thence he advanced to *Pergamus*, a City in the Province of *Troas*. Having met near *Parthenia*, where ended the Expedition of the *Greeks*, a great Nobleman returning into *Perſia*, he took him, his Wife and Children, with all his Equipage, and by that Means found himſelf in a Condition to beſtow great Liberalities amongſt the Soldiers, and to make them a ſatisfactory Amends for all the Loſſes they had ſuſtained. *Thimbron* at length arrived, who took upon him the Command of the Troops; and having join'd them with his own, march'd againſt *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabaſus*.

Such was the Iſſue of the celebrated Expedition of *Cyrus*; *Xenophon* reckons from the firſt ſetting out of the Army of that Prince, from the City of *Epheſus*, to their Arrival, where the Battle was fought, five hundred and thirty *Paraſangæ*, or Leagues, and fourſcore and thirteen Days March; and in their Return from the Place of Battle to *Cotyora*, a City upon the Coaſt of the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, ſix hundred and twenty *Paraſangæ*, or Leagues, and an hundred and twenty Days March. And adding both together, he ſays, the Way, going and coming, was eleven hundred and fifty-five *Paraſangæ*, or Leagues, and two hundred and fifteen Days March; and that the whole Time the Army took to perform that Journey, including all the Days of Reſt, was fifteen Months.

It appears by this Calculation, that the Army of *Cyrus* march'd daily, one Day with another, almoſt ſix *Paraſangæ*, or Leagues, in going, and only five, in their Return. It was natural, that *Cyrus*, who deſired to ſurprize his Brother, ſhould uſe all poſſible Diligence for that Purpoſe.

This Retreat of the *Ten Thouſand* GREEKS, has always paſſed amongſt the Judges in the Art of War, as has been already obſerved, for a perfect Model in its Kind, and never had its Equal. Indeed no Enterprize could be form'd with more Valour and Bravery, conducted with more Prudence, nor executed with more Succeſs. Ten Thouſand Men, five or ſix hundred Leagues from their own Country, who have loſt their Generals and beſt Officers, and find themſelves in the Heart of the Enemy's vaſt Empire, undertake, in the Sight of a victorious and numerous Army, with their King at the Head of them, to retire through the Seat of the Empire, and in a Manner from the Gates of his Palace, and to traverſe a vaſt Extent of unknown Countries, almoſt all in Arms againſt them; without being diſmay'd, by the Proſpect of the innumerable Obſtacles, and Dangers, to which they were every Moment liable; from Paſſes of Rivers, Mountains, and Defiles; open Attacks; ſecret Ambuſcades from the People upon their Rout; Famine, almoſt inevitable in vaſt and deſart Regions; and, above all, the Treachery they had to fear from the Troops, who ſeem'd to be employ'd in eſcorting them, but, in Reality, had Orders to deſtroy them. For *Artaxerxes*, who was ſenſible how much the Return of thoſe *Greeks* into their Country, would cover him with Diſgrace, and decry the Majeſty of the Empire, in the Senſe of all People, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he deſired their Deſtruction, ſays *Plutarch*, more earneſtly, than he had to conquer *Cyrus* himſelf, or to preſerve the Sovereignty of his Eſtates. Theſe Ten Thouſand Men, however, notwithſtanding ſo many Obacles, carry'd their Point, and arrived, through a thouſand Dangers, victorious and triumphant in their own Country. *Anthony*, long after, when purſued by the *Parthians*, almoſt in the ſame Country, finding himſelf in the like Danger, cry'd out in Admiration of their invincible Valour, *Oh the Retreat of the Ten Thouſand!*

And it was the good Succeſs of this famous Retreat, which fill'd the People of *Greece* with Contempt for *Artaxerxes*, by demonſtrating to them, that Gold, Silver, Luxury, Voluptuouſneſs, and a numerous Seraglio of Women, were the ſole Marks of that grand Monarch; but that, as to the Opulence, and all his boaſted Power, Pride and vain Oſtentation. It was the Occaſion, more univerſal than ever in *Greece*, of this celebrated Expedition, which gave Riſe to thoſe bold Enterprizes of the *Greeks*, which we ſhall ſoon treat of, that made *Artaxerxes* tremble upon his Throne, and brought the *Perſian* Empire to the very Brink of Deſtruction.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

The Conſequences of the Death of Cyrus *in the Court of* Artaxerxes; *The Cruelty and Jealouſy of* Paryſatis; *She poiſons Queen* Statira, *her Daughter-in-Law, for which ſhe is confin'd to* Babylon; *The* Grecian *Colonies in* Ionia *deſire the Aſſiſtance of the* Lacedæmonians, *which is granted*; Agis *King of* Sparta *dies, and* Ageſilaus *is elected, to the Prejudice of his Nephew* Leotychides; *His Character*; *His Expeditions in* Aſia; *His Interview with* Pharnabaſus; *He is recall'd by the* Ephori *to defend his own Country, and obeys directly*; *Remark thereupon*; *His ſharp Saying at his Departure.*

WE ſhall now return to what paſſed after the Battle of *Cunaxa*, in the Court of *Araxerxes*: As he believed, that he had killed *Cyrus* with his own Hand, and looked upon that Action as the moſt glorious of his Life, he was deſirous that all the World ſhould think the ſame; and it was wounding him in the moſt tender Part, to diſpute that Honour, or endeavour to ſhare it him. The *Carian* Soldier, whom we mention'd before, not contented with the great Preſents the King had made him, upon a different Pretence, perpetually declar'd to all that would hear him, that none but himſelf had kill'd *Cyrus*, and that *Artaxerxes* did him great Injuſtice in depriving him of the Glory due to him. Hereupon that Prince, upon being inform'd of this Inſolence, took a Revenge equally baſe and cruel, and had the Weakneſs to cauſe him to be deliver'd to *Paryſatis*, who had ſworn the Deſtruction of all thoſe that had any Share in the Death of her Son. Animated by her natural Barbarity, ſhe commanded the Executioners to take that unfortunate Wretch, and to make him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite Tortures during ten Days; then, after they had torn out his Eyes, to pour melted Braſs into his Ears, till he expired in that cruel Miſery; which was accordingly executed.

Mithridates alſo, having boaſted in an Entertainment, where he heated his Brain with Wine, that it was he gave *Cyrus* his mortal Wound, paid very dear for that fooliſh and imprudent Vanity. He was condemned to ſuffer the Puniſhment of the Troughs, one of the moſt cruel that was ever invented, and after having languiſh'd in Torment during ſeventeen Days, he died at laſt with great Difficulty.

There only remain'd, for the final Accompliſhment of her Vow, and fully to ſatiate her Vengeance, the Puniſhment of the King's Eunuch *Meſabates*, who, by his Maſter's Order, had cut off the Head and Hand of *Cyrus*. But, as there was nothing to take hold of in his Conduct, *Paryſatis* laid this Snare for him. She was a Woman of great Addreſs, had Abundance of Wit, and excell'd in playing at a certain Game with Dice. After the War, ſhe had been reconciled with the King; play'd often with him; was of all his Parties of Pleaſure; had an unbounded Complaiſance for him; and far from contradicting him in any Thing, prevented his Deſires; and did not bluſh at indulging his Paſſions, even in ſupplying him with the Means of gratifying them. But ſhe took eſpecial Care never to loſe Sight of him, and to leave *Statira* as little alone with him as ſhe could, deſiring to gain the abſolute Aſcendant of her Son's Diſpoſition.

One Day, ſeeing the King entirely unemploy'd, and no Thoughts but to divert himſelf, ſhe propoſed to him to play at Dice for a thouſand *Daricks*; with which he readily comply'd. She ſuffer'd him to win, and paid down the Money: But affecting Regret and Vexation, ſhe preſſed him to begin again, and to play with her for an Eunuch. The King, who ſuſpected nothing, conſented, and they agreed to except five of the favourite Eunuchs on each Side, that the Winner ſhould take take their Choice out of the reſt, and the Loſer be bound to deliver him. Having made theſe Conditions, they ſat down to play: The Queen was all Attention to the Game, and made Uſe of her whole Skill and Addreſs in it; beſides which the Dice favoured her. She won, and choſe *Meſabates*, for he was not one of thoſe excepted. Aſſoon as ſhe had got him into her Hands, before the King could have the leaſt Suſpicion, of the Revenge ſhe meditated, ſhe deliver'd him to the Executioners; and commanded them to flay him alive, to lay him afterwards upon three croſs Bars, and to ſtretch his Skin at large, before his Eyes, upon two Stakes prepared for that Purpoſe; which was perform'd accordingly. When the King knew this, he was very much concern'd thereat, and violently angry with his Mother; but, without giving herſelf any farther Trouble about it, ſhe told him with a Smile, and in a jeſting Way, "Really, you are extremely ſweet temper'd and "kind; to be ſo much out of humour for a de"crepid Wretch of an Eunuch; when I, who loſt "a thouſand good *Daricks*, and paid them down "upon the Spot, don't ſay a Word, and am ſa"tisfy'd."

All theſe Cruelties ſeem to have been only Eſſays and Preparations for a greater Crime which *Paryſatis* meditated. She had retained at Heart a violent Hatred for Queen *Statira*, which ſhe had ſuffer'd to eſcape her upon many Occaſions. She perceived plainly, that her Credit with the King her Son, was only the Effect of his Reſpect and

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Conſideration for her, as his Mother; whereas that for *Statira* was founded on Love and Confidence, the beſt Security of Power with him. Of what is not the Jealouſy of an ambitious Woman capable! *Paryſatis* reſolved to rid herſelf, whatever it coſt her, of a ſo formidable a Rival.

For the more certain Attainment of her Ends, ſhe feign'd a Reconciliation with her Daughter-in-Law, and gave her all the exterior Marks of ſincere Friendſhip and real Confidence. The two Queens, appearing therefore to have forgot their former Sulpicions and Differences, lived well together, ſaw one another as before, and eat at each other's Appartments. But as both of them knew, what Dependence was to be had on the Friendſhips and Careſſes of the Court, eſpecially amongſt the Women, they were neither of them deceived in the other; and the ſame Fears always ſubſiſting, they kept upon their Guard, and never eat but of the ſame Diſhes, and Pieces. Could one believe it poſſible to deceive ſo attentive and cautious a Vigilance? *Paryſatis* one Day, when her Daughter-in-Law was at Table with her, took an extremely exquiſite Bird, that had been ſerved up, cut it in two Parts, gave one Half to *Statira*, and eat the other herſelf. *Statira* ſoon after was ſeized with ſharp Pains, and having quitted the Table, died in the moſt horrible Convulſions; not without inſpiring the King with the moſt violent Suſpicions of his Mother, of whoſe Cruelty, and implacable and revengeful Spirit, he was ſufficiently ſenſible before. He made therefore, the ſtricteſt Enquiry into this Murther: All his Mother's Officers and Domeſticks were ſeized, and put to the Torture; when *Gygis*, one of the Women of *Paryſatis*, and her Confidante, confeſſed the whole. She had cauſed one Side of a Knife to be rubbed with Poiſon; ſo that *Paryſatis*, having cut the Bird in two, put the ſound Part in her Mouth directly, and gave *Statira* the other that was poiſon'd. *Gygis* was put to Death after the Manner the *Perſians* puniſh'd Priſoners, which was thus: They laid their Heads upon a great, and very broad Stone, and beat upon it with another, till the Head was entirely cruſh'd, and had no Remains of its former Figure: But, as for *Paryſatis*, her Son contented himſelf with confining her to *Babylon*, whither ſhe had deſired to retire, and told her, that he would never ſet his Foot within it, whilſt ſhe was there

The Cities of *Ionia*, that had taken the Part of *Cyrus*, apprehending the Reſentment of *Tiſſaphernes*, had applied to the *Lacedæmonians*, as the Deliverers of *Greece*, for their Support, in the Poſſeſſion of the Liberty they enjoy'd; and deſired they would prevent their Country from being ravaged. We have already ſaid that *Thimbron* was ſent thither, to whoſe Troops *Xenophon* had join'd his, after their Return from *Perſia*. *Thimbron* was ſoon recall'd upon ſome Diſcontent, and had for his Succeſſor *Dercyllidas*, ſirnam'd *Siſyphus*, from his Induſtry in finding Remedies in Caſes of Neceſſity, and his Capacity in inventing and making Uſe of warlike Engines. He took upon him the Command of the Army at *Epheſus*; where, when he arrived, he was apprized, that there was a Difference between the two *Satrapæ*, who commanded in that Country.

The Provinces of the *Perſian* Monarchy, which were ſituate at the Extremity of the Empire, required too much Application to be governed immediately by the Prince; and were therefore, intruſted to the Care of the great Lords, commonly called *Satrapæ*. Theſe had each of them, an almoſt ſovereign Authority, in their Governments, and were, properly ſpeaking, not unlike the Viceroys we ſee in our Days, in ſome neighbouring States. They were ſupply'd with a Number of Troops, ſufficient for the Defence of the Country: They appointed all Officers; diſpoſed of the Governments of particular Places; and were charged with levying Tributes, and the Return of them to the Prince: They had Power alſo to raiſe Troops, to treat with neighbouring States, and even with the Generals of the Enemy; in a Word, to do every Thing neceſſary for the good Order, and Tranquillity of their Provinces. They were likewiſe independent of one another; and though they ſerved the ſame Maſter, and it was their Duty to concur to promote the ſame Ends, yet being, each of them, more affected with the particular Advantage of their own Governments, than the general Good of the Empire; they often differ'd among themſelves, form'd oppoſite Deſigns, refuſed to aid their Collegues in Neceſſity, and ſometimes even acted entirely againſt them. The Remoteneſs of the Court, and the Abſence of the Prince, gave Room for theſe Diſſenſions; and perhaps a concealed Policy contributed to keep them up; in order to elude, or prevent, Conſpiracies, which too good an Underſtanding amongſt the Governors might have excited.

Dercyllidas having heard, therefore, that *Tiſſaphernes* and *Pharnabaſus* were at Variance, made a Truce with the former, that he might not have them both upon his Hands at the ſame Time; and entering the Province of *Pharnabaſus*, advanced as far as *Æolia*; which had been govern'd by *Zenis*, the *Dardanian*, under the Authority of that *Satrapa*. After his Death it was to have been given to another, but *Mania*, his Widow, going to *Pharnabaſus*, with handſome Preſents, told him, that having been the Wife of a Man, who had render'd him great Services, ſhe deſir'd him not to deprive her of her Husband's Reward; that ſhe would ſerve him with the ſame Zeal and Fidelity; and that, if ſhe fail'd in either, he was always at Liberty to take her Government from her. She was continued in it by this Means, and acquitted herſelf with all the Judgment and Ability, that could have been expected, from the moſt conſumate Perſon, in the Arts of Ruling. To the ordinary Tributes, which her Husband had paid, ſhe added Preſents of an extraordinary Magnificence; and when *Pharnabaſus* came into her Province, ſhe entertain'd him more ſplendidly than any of the other Governors. She was not contented with the Preſervation of the Cities committed to her Care, but made new Conqueſts, and took *Lariſſa*, *Amaxita*, and *Colona*.

Hence we may obſerve, that Prudence, good Senſe, and Courage, are of all Sexes. She was preſent in all Expeditions, in a Chariot, and in Perſon appointed Rewards and Puniſhments. None of the neighbouring Provinces had a finer Army than her's, and ſhe had a great Number of *Greek* Soldiers in her Pay. She even attended *Pharnabaſus* in all his Enterprizes, and was an extraordinary Support to him: So that the *Satrapa*, who knew all the Value of ſo uncommon a Merit, did

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more Honour to her, than to all the other Governors. He even admitted her into his Council, and treated her with such a Distinction, as might have excited Jealousy; if the Modesty, and Affability of that Lady, had not prevented all ill Effects, by throwing, in a Manner, a Veil over all her Perfections, which soften'd their Lustre, and let them only appear to be the Objects of Admiration.

She had no Enemies but in her own Family: *Midias* her Son in-Law, gall'd with the Reproach, of suffering a Woman to command in his Place; and abusing the entire Confidence she repos'd in him, which gave him Access to her at all Times, strangled her, together with her Son. After her Death, he seiz'd two strong Places, wherein she had secur'd her Treasures; but the other Cities declar'd against him; and he did not long enjoy the Fruits of his Crime; for, *Dercyllidas* happily arriving at that Juncture, all the Fortresses of *Æolia*, either voluntarily, or by Force, surrender'd to him; and *Midias* was depriv'd of the Possessions he had so unjustly acquir'd: This done, the *Lacedæmonian* General, having granted *Pharnabazus* a Truce, took up his Winter-Quarters in *Bithynia*, to avoid being chargeable to his *Allies*.

The next Year, being continu'd in the Command, he march'd into *Thrace*, and arriv'd at the *Chersonesus*. He knew, that the Deputies of that Country had been at *Sparta*, to represent the Necessity, of fortifying the *Isthmus*, with a good Wall, against the frequent Incursions of the *Barbarians*, which prevented the Cultivation of the Lands. Having measur'd the Space, which is more than a League in Breadth, he distributed the Work amongst the Soldiers, and the Wall was finish'd in Autumn the same Year. Within this Wall were inclos'd eleven Cities, several Ports, a great Number of arable Lands, and Plantations, with Pasture of all Kinds: The Work being finish'd, he return'd into *Asia*, after having review'd the Cities, and found them all in good Condition.

Conon, the *Athenian*, after losing the Battle of *Ægospotamos*, having condemn'd himself to a voluntary Banishment, continued in the Isle of *Cyprus*, with King *Evagoras*; not only for the Safety of his Person, but in Expectation of a Change in Affairs; *as one* (says *Plutarch*) *who waits the Return of the Tide, before he embarks.* He had always in View the Re-establishment of the *Athenian* Power, to which his Defeat had given a mortal Wound; equally fill'd with Fidelity and Zeal for his Country, though little favourable to him; and always meditating the Means to raise it from its Ruins, and restore it to its ancient Splendor.

This *Athenian* General, knowing the Execution of the Designs in his Thoughts demanded a powerful Support, wrote to *Artaxerxes* to explain his Scheme; and order'd the Person who carry'd his Letter, to apply himself to *Ctesias*, the Physician, who would present it to the King. It was accordingly deliver'd to that Physician; who, it is said, though he did not approve the Contents of it, added to what *Conon* had wrote, *that he desired the King would send* Ctesias *to him, being a Person very capable of doing him Service, especially in maritime Affairs.* After this, *Pharnabazus*, in Concert with *Conon*, went to Court, to complain against the Conduct of *Iissaphernes*, as too much in Favour of the *Lacedæmonians*. Upon the warm Instances of *Pharnabazus*, the King order'd five hundred Talents to be paid him, for the Equipment of a Fleet, with Instructions to give *Conon* the Command of it: He sent *Ctesias* into *Greece*, who, after having visited *Cnidos*, his native Country, went to *Sparta*.

This *Ctesias* was, at first, in the Service of *Cyrus*, whom he had follow'd in his Expedition: He was taken Prisoner in the Battle, wherein *Cyrus* was kill'd; and was made Use of to dress the Wounds *Artaxerxes* had receiv'd; of which he acquitted himself so well, that the King retain'd him in his Service, and made him his first Physician: He pass'd several Years in his Service in that Quality. Whilst he was there, the *Greeks*, upon all their Occasions at that Court, apply'd themselves to him; as *Conon* did on this. His long Residence in *Persia*, and at the Court, had given him the necessary Time, and Means, for his Information in the History of the Country, which he wrote in twenty-three Books. The six first contain'd the History of the *Assyrians* and *Babylonians*, from *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, down to *Cyrus*. The other seventeen treated of the *Persian* Affairs, from the Beginning of the Reign of *Cyrus*, to the third Year of the ninety-fifth Olympiad, which agrees with the three hundred and ninety-eighth before JESUS CHRIST. He wrote also an History of *India*. *Photius* has left us several Extracts of both these Histories, which are all that remain of *Ctesias*. He often contradicts *Herodotus*, and differs sometimes also with *Xenophon*. He was not in much Esteem with the *Ancients*; who speak of him as of a very vain Man, whose Veracity is not to be rely'd on; and who has inserted Fables, and sometimes even Lies, in his History.

Tissaphernes and *Pharnabasus*, though secretly Enemies to each other, had, upon the King's Orders, united their Troops, to oppose the Enterprizes of *Dercyllidas*, who had march'd into *Caria*. They had reduc'd him to take his Ground so disadvantagiously, that he must inevitably have perish'd, had they charg'd him immediately, without giving him Time to make the necessary Dispositions. *Pharnabasus* was of this Opinion: But *Tissaphernes*, apprehending the Valour of the *Greeks*, who had been in the Army of *Cyrus*, and which he had experienc'd, and imagining all others resembled them, propos'd an Interview, which was accepted: And *Dercyllidas* having demanded, that the *Grecian* Cities should continue free; and *Tissaphernes*, that the Army and Generals of *Lacedæmon* should retire; they made a Truce, till the Answers of their respective Masters could be known.

Whilst these Things pass'd in *Asia*, the *Lacedæmonians* resolv'd, to chastise the Insolence of the People of *Elis*; who, not content with having enter'd into an Alliance with their Enemies in the *Peloponnesian* War, prevented their disputing the Prizes in the *Olympick* Games. Upon Pretence of the Non-payment of a Fine by *Sparta*, they had insulted their Citizens during the Games, and hinder'd *Agis* from sacrificing in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. That King was charged with this Expedition, which did not terminate till the third Year after. He could have taken their City *Olympia*,

lympia, which had no Works; but contented himself with plundering the Suburbs, and the Places for the Exercises, which were very fine. They demanded Peace, which was granted; and were suffer'd to retain the Superintendency of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, to which they had not much Right, but were more worthy of that Honour, than those who disputed it with them.

Agis, in his Return, fell sick; and dy'd, upon arriving at *Sparta*: Almost divine Honours were paid to his Memory; and, after the Expiration of some Days, according to Custom, *Leotychides*, and *Agesilaus*, the one Son, and the other Brother of the Deceas'd, disputed the Crown. The latter maintain'd, that his Competitor was not the Son of *Agis*; and supported his Assertion, by the Confession of the Queen herself, who knew best; and who had often, as well as her Husband, acknowledg'd as much. In Effect, there was a current Report, that she had him by *Alcibiades*, as has been related in its Place; and that the *Athenian* General had corrupted her, by a Present of a Thousand *Daricks*. However, *Agis* protested the contrary at his Death; for, *Leotychides* having thrown himself at his Feet, all bath'd in Tears, he could not refuse the Favour he implor'd of him, and own'd him for his Son, before all that were present.

However, most of the *Spartans*, charm'd with the Virtue, and great Merit of *Agesilaus*, and deeming it an extraordinary Advantage, to have a Person for their King, who had been educated amongst them; and who had pass'd, like them, through all the Rigour of the *Spartan* Education, supported him with their whole Power. An ancient Oracle, that advis'd *Sparta* to beware of *a lame Reign*, was urged against him; But *Lysander* only made a Jest of it, and turn'd its Sense against *Leotychides* himself; endeavouring to prove, that, as a Bastard, he was the *lame King* the Oracle intended to caution them against: Hereupon, *Agesilaus*, both by his own great Qualities, and the powerful Support of *Lysander*, carry'd it against his Nephew, and was declar'd King.

As, by the Laws, the Kingdom devolv'd to *Agis*, his Brother, *Agesilaus*, who seem'd to be destin'd to pass his Life as a private Person, had been bred up, like other Children, in the *Spartan* Discipline, that was a very rough Manner of Life, and full of laborious Exercise, but taught Youth Obedience perfectly well. The Law dispens'd with this Education only in such Children, as were design'd for the Throne. *Agesilaus*, therefore, had this peculiar to himself, that he did not arrive at commanding, till he had first learn'd perfectly well how to obey. Thence it was, that of all the Kings of *Sparta*, he best knew how to make his Subjects love and esteem him: Because that Prince, to the great Qualities with which Nature had endow'd him for commanding, and the Sovereignty, had acquir'd, from his Education, the Advantage of being human and popular.

It is surprizing, that *Sparta*, a City so renown'd, in Point of Education and Policy, should conceive it proper to abate any Thing of its Severity of Discipline, in Favour of the Princes, who were to reign; they having most Need of being early habituated to the Yoke of Obedience, in order to their being the better qualify'd to command.

Plutarch observes, that, from his Infancy, *Agesilaus* was remarkable for uniting Qualities in himself, which are generally incompatible; a Vivacity of Spirit, an invincible Resolution, and an ardent Desire of being First, and surpassing all others, with a Gentleness, Submission, and Docility, that comply'd at a single Word, and made him infinitely sensible of the slightest Reprimand; so that every Thing might be obtain'd of him from the Motives of Honour, but nothing by Fear or Violence.

He was lame, but that Defect was cover'd by the Gracefulness of his Person; and still more, by the Gaiety, with which he supported and rally'd it first himself. It may even be said, the Infirmity of his Body set his Valour and Ardor for Glory in a stronger Light; there being no Labour nor Enterprize, however difficult, that he would refuse, upon Account of that Inconvenience. Praise, without an Air of Truth and Sincerity, was so far from giving him Pleasure, that it offended him; and was never receiv'd by him in that Light, but when it came from the Mouths of those, who, upon other Occasions, had represented his Failings to him with Freedom. He would never, during his Life, suffer his Picture to be drawn; and even when dying, expressly desir'd, no Image might be made of him, either in Colours, or *Relievo*. His Reason was, his great Actions, if he had done any, would supply the Place of Monuments; without which, all the Statues in the World could do him no Manner of Honour. We only know he was of small Stature, which the *Spartans* did not affect in their Kings; and *Theophrastus* affirms, the *Ephori* laid a Fine upon King *Archidamus*, the Father of *Agesilaus*, for having espous'd a very little Woman: *For* (said they) *she'll bring us Poppets, instead of Kings.*

It has been remark'd, *Agesilaus*, in his Way of living with the *Spartans*, behav'd better to his Enemies than Friends; for, he never did the least Wrong to the former, and often violated Justice, in Favour of the latter. He would have been asham'd, not to have honour'd, and rewarded his Enemies, when their Actions deserv'd it; and was not able to reprove his Friends, when they committed Faults. He would even support them, when they were in the Wrong; and, upon such Occasions, look'd upon a Zeal for Justice, as a vain Pretence to cover the Refusal of serving them. And, as a Proof of this, a short Letter is cited, which was written by him to a Judge, in Recommendation of a Friend; the Words are: *If* Nicias *be not guilty, acquit him for his Innocence; if he be, acquit him upon my Account: But, however as it will, acquit him.*

It is understanding the Rights and Privileges of Friendship very ill, to be capable of rendering it, in this Manner, the Accomplice of Crimes, and Protectress of bad Actions. *It is the fundamental Law of Friendship* (says *Cicero*) *never to ask of, or grant any Thing to Friends, that does not consist with Justice and Honour.*

Agesilaus was not so scrupulous in this Point; at least, in the Beginning; and omitted no Occasion of pleasing his Friends, and even his Enemies. By this officious and obliging Conduct, supported by his extraordinary Merit, he acquir'd great Credit, and almost absolute Power in the City; which ran so high, as to render him suspected by his

his Country: The *Ephori*, to prevent its Effects, and check his Ambition, laid a Fine upon him; alledging, as their ſole Reaſon, *That he attached the Hearts of the Citizens to himſelf alone; which were the Right of the Republick, and ought not to be poſſeſſed but in common.*

When he was declar'd King, he was put into Poſſeſſion of the whole Eſtate of his Brother *Agis*, of which *Leotychides* was depriv'd, as a Baſtard: But, ſeeing the Relations of that Prince, on the Side of his Mother *Lampito*, were all very poor, he divided the whole Inheritance with them; and, by that Act of Generoſity, acquir'd great Reputation, and the Good-Will of all the World, inſtead of the Envy and Hatred, he might have drawn upon himſelf, by the Inheritance. Theſe Sort of Sacrifices are very glorious, though rare; their Value, we believe, not being ſufficiently known.

Never was King of *Sparta* ſo powerful as *Ageſilaus*; and *it was only* (as *Xenophon* ſays) *by obeying his Country in every Thing, that he acquired ſo great an Authority*: Which ſeems a Kind of Paradox, and is thus explain'd by *Plutarch*. The *Ephori* and Senate had, at that Time, the greateſt Power lodg'd in their Hands. The Office of the *Ephori* ſubſiſted only one Year; they were inſtituted to moderate the too great Power of the Kings, and ſerve as a Barrier againſt it, as we have obſerv'd elſewhere. For this Reaſon, the Kings of *Sparta*, from their Eſtabliſhment, had always retain'd a Kind of hereditary Averſion for them, and continually oppos'd their Meaſures. *Ageſilaus* took a quite contrary Method. Inſtead of thwarting them perpetually, and claſhing, upon all Occaſions, with their Meaſures, he made it his Buſineſs to cultivate their good Opinion; treated them always with the utmoſt Deference and Regard; never enter'd upon the leaſt Enterprize, without having firſt communicated it to them; and, upon their Summons, quitted every Thing, and repair'd to the Senate, with the utmoſt Submiſſion and Reſignation: Whenever he ſate upon his Throne to adminiſter Juſtice, if the *Ephori* enter'd, he never fail'd to riſe up to do them Honour. By all theſe Inſtances of Reſpect, he ſeem'd to add new Dignity to their Charge, whilſt, in Reality, he increas'd his own Power, without its being obſerv'd; and added to the Sovereignty a Grandeur, the more ſolid and permanent, as it was the Effect of the People's Good-Will and Eſteem for him. The greateſt of the *Roman* Emperors, as *Auguſtus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*, were convinc'd, that the utmoſt a Prince could do, to honour and exalt the Dignity of the principal Magiſtrates, was only adding to his own Power, and ſtrengthening his Authority; which neither ſhould, nor can be founded on any Thing but Juſtice. Such was the brave *Ageſilaus*, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter, and with whoſe Character it was, therefore, neceſſary to begin.

He had ſcarce aſcended the Throne, when Accounts came from *Aſia*, that the King of *Perſia* was equipping a great Fleet, with Intent to deprive the *Lacedæmonians* of their Empire at Sea. *Conon*'s Letters, ſeconded by the Remonſtrances of *Pharnabaſus*, who, in Concert with him, had repreſented to *Artaxerxes*, the Power of *Sparta* as formidable, had made a ſtrong Impreſſion upon that Prince. From that Time, he had it ſeriouſly in his Thoughts to humble that proud Republick, by raiſing up its Rival; and, by that Means, re-eſtabliſhing the ancient Ballance between them; which could alone aſſure his Safety, by keeping them perpetually employ'd againſt each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their Forces againſt him.

Lyſander, who was deſirous of being ſent into *Aſia*, in order to re-eſtabliſh his Friends and Creatures in the Government of the Cities, from which *Sparta* had remov'd them, ſtrongly inclin'd *Ageſilaus*, to take upon himſelf the Charge of that War; and to prevent the *Barbarian* King, by attacking him remote from *Greece*, before he ſhould have finiſh'd his Preparations. The Republick having made this Propoſal to him, he could not refuſe it, but charg'd himſelf with the Expedition againſt *Artaxerxes*; upon Condition that thirty *Spartan* Captains ſhould be granted him, to aſſiſt him, and compoſe his Council, with two Thouſand new Citizens, to be choſen out of the *Helots*, who had been lately made Freemen; and ſix Thouſand Troops of the *Allies*, which was immediately reſolv'd. *Lyſander* was plac'd at the Head of the thirty *Spartans*; not only upon Account of his great Reputation, and the Authority he had acquir'd, but for the particular Friendſhip between him and *Ageſilaus*; who was indebted to him for the Throne, as well as the Honour which had been lately conferr'd upon him, of being elected Generaliſſimo.

The glorious Return of the *Greek*, who had follow'd *Cyrus*; and whom the whole Power of *Perſia*, was not able to prevent from retreating into their own Country, had inſpir'd all *Greece* with a wonderful Confidence in its Forces, and the utmoſt Contempt for the *Barbarians*. In this Diſpoſition of the People, the *Lacedæmonians* conceiv'd it would be a Reproach to them, to neglect ſo favourable a Juncture for delivering the *Greeks* in *Aſia*, from their Subjection to theſe *Barbarians*; and for putting an End to the Outrages and Violences with which they were continually oppreſſing them. They had already attempted this by their Generals *Thimbron* and *Dercyllidas*; but all their Endeavours having hitherto prov'd ineffectual, they referr'd the Conduct of this War to the Care of *Ageſilaus*. He promis'd them, either to conclude a glorious Peace with the *Perſians*, or to employ them ſo effectually, as ſhould leave them neither Leiſure, nor Inclination, to remove the War into *Greece*. This King had great Views, and thought of nothing leſs, than attacking *Artaxerxes* in *Perſia* itſelf.

When he arriv'd at *Epheſus*, *Tiſſaphernes* ſent to demand what Reaſon had induc'd his coming into *Aſia*, and why he had taken up Arms? He reply'd, that he came to aid the *Greeks* who inhabited there, and re-eſtabliſh them in their ancient Liberty: Whereupon, that *Satrapa*, who was not yet prepar'd, preferr'd Art to Force, and aſſur'd him, that his Maſter would give the *Grecian* Cities of *Aſia* their Liberty, provided he committed no Acts of Hoſtility, till the Return of the Couriers. To this *Ageſilaus* agreed; and the Truce was ſworn on both Sides: Notwithſtanding which, *Tiſſaphernes*, who laid no great Streſs upon an Oath, took the Advantage of this Delay to aſſemble Troops on all Sides. The *Lacedæmo-*

Lacedæmonian General was appriz'd of it, but, however, kept his Word; being convinc'd, that in Affairs of State, the Breach of Faith can have but a very short and precarious Succefs; whereas, a Reputation eſtabliſh'd upon inviolable Fidelity, in the Obſervance of Engagements, which the Perfidy itſelf of the other contracting Party has not Power to alter, will eſtabliſh a Credit and Confidence, equally uſeful and glorious: In Effect, *Xenophon* remarks, that this religious Obſervation of Treaties gain'd him the univerſal Eſteem and Opinion of the People; whilſt the different Conduct of *Tiſſaphernes* intirely loſt him their Favour.

Ageſilaus made Uſe of this Interval, in acquiring an exact Knowledge of the State of the Cities, and in making ſuitable Regulations. He found great Diſorders every-where; their Government being neither Democratical, as under the *Athenians*, nor Ariſtocratical, as *Lyſander* had eſtabliſh'd it. The People of the Country neither had any Communication with *Ageſilaus*, nor had ever known him; for which Reaſon, they made no Court to him; imagining, that he had the Title of General for Form-Sake only, and that the whole Power was really veſted in *Lyſander*. As no Governor had ever done ſo much Good to his Friends, or Miſchief to his Enemies, it is not at all ſurprizing, that he was ſo much belov'd by one, and fear'd by the other. All, therefore, were eager to pay their Homage to him; were every Day in Crowds at his Door; and made his Train very numerous when he went abroad; whilſt *Ageſilaus* remain'd almoſt alone. Such a Conduct could not fail of offending a General and King, extreamly ſenſible of Slights or Inſults, and jealous in what concern'd his Authority; though otherwiſe not envious of any one's Merit; but, on the contrary, much inclin'd to diſtinguiſh it with his Favour. Accordingly, he did not diſſemble his Diſguſt; but paid no Regard to *Lyſander*'s Recommendations, and ceas'd to employ him himſelf. *Lyſander* preſently perceiv'd this Alteration in the King's Behaviour to him: He diſcontinu'd, therefore, his Applications for his Friends to *Ageſilaus*, and deſir'd them not to viſit him any more, nor attach themſelves to him; but addreſs themſelves directly to the King, and cultivate the Favour of thoſe, who, at that Time, had Power to ſerve and advance their Creatures. Accordingly, the moſt Part of them left off importuning him with their Affairs, but did not ceaſe to pay their Court to him: On the contrary, they were only more aſſiduous than ever about his Perſon; attended him in Throngs, when he took the Air abroad; and regularly aſſiſted at all his Exerciſes; *Lyſander*, naturally vain, and long accuſtom'd to the Homage and Submiſſion, that attend abſolute Power, did not take ſufficient Care, to diſcountenance the Court paid him by the ſervile Crowd, who continually made their Addreſſes to him, with more Application than ever.

This ridiculous Affectation of Authority and Grandeur, grew ſtill more and more offenſive to *Ageſilaus*; and ſeem'd as if intended to inſult him. He reſented it ſo highly, that, having diſpos'd of the moſt conſiderable Commands and beſt Governments to private Officers, he appointed *Lyſander* Commiſſary of the Stores, and Diſtributor of Provitions, and afterwards to inſult and deride the *Ionians*, told them, *That they might now go and conſult his Maſter-Butcher.*

Lyſander thought it, then, incumbent upon him to ſpeak, and come to an Explanation with him. Their Converſation was briet and conciſe. *Certainly, my Lord* (ſaid *Lyſander*) *you know very well how to mortify and humble your Friends. Yes, ſo as they would ſet themſelves above me; but, when they are mindful of my Dignity, I know alſo how to let them ſhare in it. But, perhaps, my Lord* (reply'd *Lyſander*) *I have been injur'd by falſe Reports, and Things I never did, have been imputed to me. I muſt beg, therefore, if it be only upon Account of the Strangers, who have, all of them, their Eyes upon us, that you would give me ſuch an Employment in your Army, wherein you ſhall think me leaſt capable of diſpleaſing, and moſt of ſerving, you effectually.*

The Effect of this Expoſtulation was, that *Ageſilaus* conferr'd upon him the Government of the *Helleſpont*; in which Employment he retain'd all his Reſentment, without, however, neglecting any Part of his Duty; or of what conduc'd to the Succeſs of Affairs. Some ſmall Time after, he return'd to *Sparta*, without any Marks of Honour or Diſtinction; but infinitely incens'd againſt *Ageſilaus*, and with the Hopes of making him fully ſenſible thereof.

It muſt be allow'd, that *Lyſander*'s Conduct, as we have here repreſented it, ſhews a Vanity, and Meanneſs of Mind, on his Side, much unworthy of his Character. On the other Hand, perhaps, *Ageſilaus* carry'd too far his Senſibility and Delicacy, in Point of Honour; and was a little too ſevere upon a Friend and Benefactor; whom ſecret Animadverſions, attended with Openneſs of Heart, and Expreſſions of Kindneſs, might have reclaim'd to his Duty. But, as ſhining as *Lyſander*'s Merit was, and as conſiderable as the Services he had render'd *Ageſilaus*, might be, they could not, all of them, give him a Right, not only to an Equality with his King and General, but to the Superiority he affected, which, in ſome Meaſure, tended to make the other inſignificant. He ought to have remember'd, that it is never allowable for an Inferior to forget himſelf, and to exceed the Bounds of a juſt Subordination.

To return from whence we have digreſs'd; when *Tiſſaphernes* had receiv'd the Troops aſſign'd him by the King, and drawn together all his Forces, he ſent to command *Ageſilaus* to retire out of *Aſia*; and declar'd War againſt him, in Caſe of Refuſal. Hereupon, his Officers were all alarm'd, not believing him in a Condition to oppoſe the great Army of the *Perſian* Monarch; but, as for himſelf, he heard the Heralds of *Tiſſaphernes* with a gay Countenance; and order'd them to tell their Maſter, he was under a very great Obligation to him, *for having made the Gods, by his Perjury, the Enemies of* Perſia, *and the Friends of* Greece. He promis'd himſelf great Things from this Expedition; and would have thought it an exceeding Diſgrace for him, that ten Thouſand *Greeks*, under the Command of *Xenophon*, ſhould have paſs'd through the Heart of *Aſia* to the *Grecian* Sea, and beat the King of *Perſia*, as often as he appear'd againſt them; and that he, who commanded the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Empire extended over all *Greece* by Sea and Land, ſhould not execute ſome Exploit worthy of Glory and Remembrance.

At first, therefore, to revenge the Perfidy of *Tissaphernes*, by a just and allowable Deceit, he made a Feint of marching his Army into *Caria*, the Residence of that *Satrapa*; and assoon as the *Barbarian* had caus'd his Troops to march that Way, he turn'd short, and fell upon *Phrygia*, where he took many Towns, and amass'd immense Treasures, which he distributed amongst the Officers and Soldiers; letting his Friends see (says *Plutarch*) that, to break a Treaty, and violate an Oath, is to despise the Gods themselves; and that, on the contrary, to deceive an Enemy by the Stratagems of War, is not only just and glorious, but a sensible Delight, attended with the greatest Advantages.

The Spring being come, he assembled all his Forces at *Ephesus*; and, to exercise his Soldiers, he propos'd Prizes both for the Horse and Foot. This small Incentive set every Thing in Motion; the Place for Exercises was perpetually full of all Kind of Troops; and the City of *Ephesus* seem'd only a *Palæstra*, and a School of War; the whole Market-Place was fill'd with Horses and Arms, and the Shops with different Kinds of military Equipage; *Agesilaus* was seen returning from the Exercises, follow'd by a Crowd of Officers and Soldiers; all of them crown'd with Wreaths; which they were going to deposite in the Temple of *Diana*, to the Admiration and Delight of all the World. *For* (says *Xenophon*) *where Piety and Discipline are seen to flourish, there is all Manner of Reason to hope for the greatest Success.*

To give his Soldiers new Valour, from a Contempt of their Enemies, he made Use of this Contrivance. He order'd the Commissaries, who had Charge of the Booty, to strip the Prisoners, and expose them to Sale. There were Abundance of Buyers for their Habits; but, for themselves, their Bodies were so soft, white, and delicate, having been bred up effeminately, and never us'd to bear, even the Heat of the Sun; that they laugh'd at them, as neither of Service, nor Value. *Agesilaus* then approaching, said to his Soldiers, pointing to the Men, *See there against whom you fight*; and shewing them their rich Spoils, *and there for what you fight.*

When the Season for taking the Field return'd, *Agesilaus* gave out, that he would march into *Lydia*; whereupon, *Tissaphernes*, who had not forgot the first Stratagem, and was not willing to be deceiv'd a second Time, made his Troops march directly for *Caria*; not doubting but *Agesilaus* would turn his Arms that Way; the rather, because it was natural for him, as he wanted Cavalry, to endeavour to gain a Footing in an uneven, mountainous Country, which might render the Horse of an Enemy useless and unserviceable. But he deceiv'd himself; *Agesilaus* enter'd *Lydia*, and approach'd *Sardis*; upon which, *Tissaphernes* hasten'd thither with his Horse, with Intent to relieve the Place; and *Agesilaus*, knowing that his Infantry had not had Time to arrive, thought proper to take Advantage of so favourable an Opportunity, to give him Battle, before he had re-assembled all his Troops. He drew up his Army in two Lines; the first he form'd of his Squadrons, whose Intervals he fill'd up with Platoons of the light-arm'd Foot; ordering them to begin the Charge, whilst he follow'd with the second Line, compos'd of his heavy-arm'd Infantry. The *Barbarians* did not sustain the first Shock, but took to their Heels immediately; and the *Greeks* pursued them, and forced their Camp, where they made a great Slaughter, and a still greater Booty.

After this Battle, the Troops of *Agesilaus* were at intire Liberty to plunder and ravage the whole Country of the *Persians*; and, at the same Time, had the Satisfaction, to see their Prince inflict an exemplary Punishment, upon *Tissaphernes*; who was a very wicked Man, and the most dangerous Enemy of the *Greeks*. The King had already receiv'd Abundance of Complaints of his Conduct; and, upon this Occasion, he was accus'd of Treason, as not having done his Duty in the Battle. Queen *Parysatis*, always actuated by her Hatred and Revenge against those, who had any Share in the Death of her Son *Cyrus*, did not a little contribute to the Death of this *Satrapa*; by aggravating, with all her Power, the Charges brought against him; for, she had been intirely restor'd to Favour, by the King her Son.

As *Tissaphernes* had a great Authority in *Asia*, *Artaxerxes* was afraid to attack him openly; and thought it necessary to take suitable Precautions, in seizing so powerful an Officer, who might have prov'd a dangerous Enemy. He charg'd *Tithraustes*, therefore, with this important Commission; and, to that End, gave him two Letters. The first was for *Tissaphernes*, and contain'd his Orders about the War with the *Greeks*, with full Power to act as was requisite. The second was address'd to *Ariæus*, Governor of *Lariſſa*, who was commanded to assist *Tithraustes* with his Counsel, and all his Forces, in seizing *Tissaphernes*. *Ariæus* lost no Time, but sent to desire that *Satrapa* would come to him, that they might confer together upon the Operations of the ensuing Campaign: And *Tissaphernes*, who suspected nothing, went to him with only a Guard of three Hundred Men. Whilst he was in a Bath, without Sabre, or other Arms, he was seiz'd, and put into the Hands of *Tithraustes*, who caus'd his Head to be struck off, sent it immediately to *Persia*; and the King gave it to *Paryſatis*; an agreeable Present to a Princess of her violent and vindictive Nature. Though this Conduct of *Artaxerxes* seems little worthy of a Monarch, no-body lamented the Fate of that *Satrapa*, who had no Veneration for the Gods, nor any Regard for Men; who look'd upon Probity and Honour as empty Names; who made a Jest of the most sacred Oaths, and believ'd, the whole Affability, and Policy of a Statesman, consisted in knowing how to deceive others by Hypocrisy, Fraud, Perfidy, and Perjury.

Tithraustes had a third Writing from the King, whereby he was appointed to command the Armies, in the Room of *Tissaphernes*: Wherefore, after having executed his Commission, he sent great Presents to *Agesilaus*, to induce him to enter more readily into his Views and Interest; and order'd him to be told, that the Cause of the War being remov'd, and the Author of all Differences put to Death, nothing oppos'd an Accommodation; that the King of *Persia* consented the Cities of *Asia* should enjoy their Liberty, on paying him the customary Tribute, provided he would withdraw his Troops, and return into *Greece*. To this, *Agesilaus* reply'd, that he could conclude nothing without the Orders of *Sparta*, upon whom alone

depended the Peace; that, as for him, he was better pleas'd with inriching his Soldiers than himself; that the *Greeks*, besides, thought it more glorious and honourable, to take Spoils from their Enemies, than accept their Presents. However, as he was not unwilling to give *Tithraustes* the Satisfaction of removing out of his Province, nor to express his Gratitude to him, for having punish'd the common Enemy of the *Greeks*, he march'd into *Phrygia*, which was the Province of *Pharnabasus*. *Tithraustes* had himself propos'd that Expedition to him, and paid him thirty Talents for the Charges thereof.

Upon his March, he receiv'd a Letter from the Magistrates of *Sparta*, with Orders to take upon him the Command of the Naval Army, and a Power to depute whom he thought fit in his Stead. By these new Powers, he saw himself absolute Commander, of all the Troops of that State in *Asia*, both by Sea and Land. They came to this Resolution, that all Operations being directed by one and the same Head, and the two Armies acting in Concert, the Plans which should be form'd, might be executed with more Uniformity, and every Thing conspire to the same End. *Sparta*, till then, had never done the Honour to any of their Generals, to confide to him, at the same Time, the Command of the Armies by Sea and Land. So that all the World agreed in the Opinion, that he was the greatest Personage of his Time; and best sustain'd the high Reputation he enjoy'd. But he was Man, and had his Failings.

The first Thing he did was to establish *Pisander*, as his Lieutenant in the Fleet; in which he seems to have committed a considerable Fault; because, having about him many older, and more experienc'd Captains, without Regard to the Service of the Publick, only to honour an Ally, and to please his Wife, who was *Pisander*'s Sister, he intrusted him with the Command of the Fleet; that Employment being much above his Abilities; though he was not without his Merit.

This is the common Temptation of Persons in Power; who believe they possess it only for themselves, and their Families; as if the Advantage of Relation to them was a sufficient Title and Qualification for Posts, which require great Abilities. They do not reflect, that they not only expose the Affairs of a State to Ruin by their private Views; but sacrifice, besides, the Interests of their own Glory, which cannot be maintain'd, but by Successes, it were inconsistent to expect, from Instruments so ill chosen.

Agesilaus continued, some Time, with his Army in *Phrygia*, in the Government of *Pharnabasus*; where he liv'd in the Abundance of every Thing, and amass'd great Sums of Money. From thence advancing as far as *Paphlagonia*, he made an Alliance with King *Cotis*, who passionately desir'd his Amity, from the Sense of his Faith in the Observance of Treaties, and his other Virtues. The same Motives had already induc'd *Spithridates*, one of the King's principal Officers, to quit the Service of *Pharnabasus*, and go over to *Agesilaus*; to whom, after his Revolt, he had render'd great Services; for, he had a great Body of Troops, and was very brave. This Officer, having enter'd *Phrygia*, had laid waste the whole Country under *Pharnabasus*; who never dar'd, either to appear in the Field against him, or even to rely upon his Fortresses: But, carrying away whatever was most valuable and dear to him, he kept flying continually before him, and retir'd from one Place to another, changing his Camp every Day. *Spithridates*, at length, taking with him some Troops, and the *Spartan*, *Herippidas* (who was the chief of the Council of Thirty, sent by the Republick to *Agesilaus* the second Year) watch'd him one Day so closely, and attack'd him so successfully, that he made himself Master of his Camp, and all the rich Spoils with which it abounded: But, *Herippidas*, injudiciously setting himself up as an inexorable Comptroller, was for bringing the Booty that had been embezzled, to an Account; forcing, even the Soldiers of *Spithridates*, to restore what they had taken; and, by visiting their Tents, and searching them with an unseasonable Exactness and Severity, affronted *Spithridates* to such a Degree, that he withdrew directly to *Sardis* with his *Paphlagonians*.

It is said, that, in this whole Expedition, nothing so sensibly affected *Agesilaus*, as the Retreat of *Spithridates*: For, besides his being very sorry for the Loss of so good an Officer, and so good Troops, he apprehended being reproach'd with a mean and sordid Avarice; a Vice, equally dishonourable to himself, and his Country; and of which he had taken Pains to avoid the slightest Suspicion, during his whole Life. He did not think it consistent with the Duty of his Office, to shut his Eyes, through slothful Ease, and Indolence, against all the Malversations that were committed under him; but he knew at the same Time, that there is a Rigour and Severity, which, by being carry'd too far, degenerates into the contrary Extream; and, by too great an Affectation of Virtue, becomes a real, and dangerous Vice.

Some Time after, *Pharnabasus*, who saw his Country ravaged, demanded an Interview with *Agesilaus*, which was negociated by a common Friend of them both. *Agesilaus* arriv'd first with his Friends at the Place agreed on, and sate down in Expectation of *Pharnabasus* upon the Turf, under the Shade of a Tree. When *Pharnabasus* arriv'd, his People spread Skins upon the Ground, of exceeding Softness, from the Length of their Hair; with rich Carpets of various Colours, and magnificent Cushions: But, when he saw *Agesilaus* sitting only upon the Turf. without any Preparation, he was asham'd of his Effeminacy, and sate down also upon the Grass. On this Occasion, the *Persian* Pride was seen to pay Homage to the *Spartan* Modesty and Simplicity.

After reciprocal Salutations, *Pharnabasus* spoke to this Effect: That he had serv'd the *Lacedæmonians* in the *Peloponnesian* War, to the utmost of his Power, fought several Battles for them, and supported their Naval Army, without giving any Room to reproach him with Fraud or Treachery, as *Tissaphernes* had: That he was surpriz'd at their coming to attack him in his Government; burning the Towns, cutting down the Trees, and laying waste the whole Country: That, if it was the Custom with the *Greeks*, who made Profession of Honour and Virtue, to treat their Friends and Benefactors in such a Manner, he did not know what they might mean by Justice and Equity. These Complaints were not entirely without Foundation; and were utter'd with a modest, but pathetick,

thetick, Air, and Tone of Voice. The *Spartans*, who attended *Ageſilaus*, not ſeeing how they could be anſwer'd, caſt down their Eyes, and kept a profound Silence: But *Ageſilaus*, who obſerv'd it, likewiſe, reply'd almoſt in theſe Terms: "Lord "*Pharnabaſus*, you are not ignorant, that War "often arms the beſt Friends againſt each other, "for the Defence of their Country. Whilſt we "were ſuch to the King your Maſter, we treated "him as a Friend; but, as we are become his "Enemies, we make open War againſt him, as it "is juſt we ſhould; and endeavour to hurt him, "by what we act againſt you. However, from "the Inſtant you ſhall think fit to throw off the "Yoke of Bondage, and prefer being call'd the "Friend and Ally of the *Greeks*, to the Name of "the King of *Perſia*'s Slave, you may reckon "all the Troops you ſee before your Eyes, our "Arms, our Ships, our Perſons to the laſt Man, "are only here to defend your Poſſeſſions, and "ſecure your Liberty; which, of all Bleſſings, is "the moſt precious and deſirable."

To this, *Pharnabaſus* anſwer'd, that, if the King ſent another General in his Place, and ſubjected him to the New-Comer, he ſhould very willingly accept his Offer; but that, otherwiſe, he would not depart from the Faith he had ſworn to him, nor quit his Service. *Ageſilaus* then taking him by the Hand, and riſing with him, reply'd, "That "it would pleaſe the Gods, Lord *Pharnabaſus*, "with ſuch noble Sentiments, you were rather "our Friend than our Enemy." He then promis'd to withdraw from his Government, and never return into it, whilſt he could ſubſiſt elſewhere.

Ageſilaus had been two Years at the Head of the Army; and had already made the moſt remote Provinces of *Aſia* tremble at his Name; and reſound with the Fame of his great Wiſdom, Diſintereſtedneſs, Moderation, intrepid Valour in the greateſt Dangers, and invincible Patience in ſupporting the greateſt Fatigues. Of ſo many Thouſand Soldiers under his Command, not one was worſe provided, or lay harder, than himſelf. He was ſo indifferent, as to Heat and Cold, that he ſeem'd form'd only to ſupport the moſt rigorous Seaſons; and whatever Weather it pleas'd *God* to ſend: Which are *Plutarch*'s expreſs Words. The moſt agreeable of all Sights to the *Grecks*, eſtabliſh'd in *Aſia*, was to ſee the Lieutenants of the great King, his *Satrapæ*, and other great Lords, who were before ſo haughty and untractable, ſoften their Note in the Preſence of a Man meanly clad; and, at his ſingle Word, however ſhort and conciſe, alter their Language and Conduct, and in a Manner, transform themſelves into different Creatures. Deputies, from all Parts, were ſent by the People to form Alliances with him; and his Army increas'd every Day, by the Troops of the *Barbarians*, that came to join him. All *Aſia* was already in Motion, and moſt of the Provinces upon the Point of revolting: *Ageſilaus* had reſtor'd Order and Tranquillity in all the Cities, had reinſtated them in the Poſſeſſion of their Liberty on reaſonable Conditions, not only without ſhedding of Blood, but without even baniſhing one Perſon. Not content with ſuch a Progreſs, he had form'd the Deſign to attack the *Perſian* King in the Heart of his Dominions; and put him in Fear for his own Perſon, and the Tranquillity he enjoy'd in *Ecbatana*, and *Suſa*; and, in ſhort, to find him ſo much Buſineſs, as ſhould make it impracticable for him to embroil all *Greece*, from his Cabinet, by corrupting the Orators, and Perſons of greateſt Authority in its Cities, with his Preſents.

Hereupon, *Tithrauſtes*, who commanded for *Artaxerxes* in *Aſia*, ſeeing the Tendency of the Deſigns of *Ageſilaus*; and, being deſirous to prevent their Effects, ſent *Timocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece*, with great Sums of Money, to corrupt the principal Perſons in the Cities; and, by their Means, occaſion Defections from *Sparta*. He knew, that the Haughtineſs of the *Lacedæmonians* (for, all their Generals did not reſemble *Ageſilaus*) and the imperious Manner in which they treated their Neighbours and *Allies*, eſpecially, ſince they look'd upon themſelves as Maſters of *Greece*, had univerſally diſguſted the People; and excited a Jealouſy, that waited only the Occaſion to make a Rupture with them. This Severity of governing had a natural Cauſe in their Education: Accuſtom'd, from their Infancy, to obey, without Delay, or Reply; firſt, their Tutors; afterwards, their Magiſtrates; they exacted a like Submiſſion from the Cities in their Dependance; were eaſily enraged at the leaſt Oppoſition; and, by this Strictneſs and Severity, render'd themſelves inſupportable.

Tithrauſtes, therefore, did not find it difficult, to draw off the *Allies* from their Party. *Thebes*, *Argos*, and *Corinth*, enter'd into his Meaſures: The Deputy went not to *Athens*. Theſe three Cities, influenc'd by thoſe who govern'd them, made a League againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; who, on their Side, prepar'd vigorouſly for the War. The *Thebans*, at the ſame Time, ſent Deputies to the *Athenians*, to implore their Aid, and deſire, that they would enter into the Alliance. The Deputies, after having ſlightly paſs'd over their ancient Diviſions, inſiſted ſtrenuouſly upon the conſiderable Service they had render'd *Athens*, in refuſing to join its Enemies, when they endeavour'd its final Deſtruction. They repreſented to them, the favourable Opportunity that offer'd, for re-eſtabliſhing themſelves in their ancient Power; and depriving the *Lacedæmonians* of the Empire of *Greece*. That all the *Allies* of *Sparta*, either without, or within the Confines of *Greece*, were weary of their ſevere, and unjuſt Sway, and waited only the Signal to revolt. That the Moment the *Athenians* ſhould declare themſelves, all the Cities would rouze up at the Sound of their Arms; and that, the King of *Perſia*, who had ſworn the Ruin of *Sparta*, would aſſiſt them with all his Forces both by Sea and Land.

Thraſybulus, whom the *Thebans* had ſupply'd with Arms and Money, when he undertook the Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Athenian* Liberty; ſeconded their Demand with great Vigour; and the Aid was unanimouſly reſolv'd. However, the *Lacedæmonians*, on their Side, took the Field, without Loſs of Time, and enter'd *Phocis*; and *Lyſander* wrote to *Pauſanias*, who commanded one of the two Armies, to give him Notice, to march early the next Day to *Haliartus*, which he intended to beſiege, and that he ſhould be there himſelf at Sun-Riſe. This Letter was intercepted; and *Lyſander*, after he had waited his coming a great While, was obliged to engage, and kill'd in the Battle.

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Pauſanias receiv'd this bad News on his Way; but, however, continued his March to *Haliartus*; and call'd a Council of War, to conſider whether he ſhould venture upon a ſecond Battle: Upon mature Deliberation, he did not think it was conſiſtent with Prudence to hazard it, and contented himſelf with making a Truce, to remove the Bodies of thoſe who had fallen in the former Fight.

Upon his Return to *Sparta*, he was cited to give an Account of his Conduct; and, refuſing to appear, was condemn'd to die: But he avoided the Execution of that Sentence, by Flight, and retir'd to *Tegæum*; where he paſs'd the Remainder of his Life, under the Shelter and Protection of *Minerva*, to whom he devoted himſelf as a Suppliant, and dy'd of the Intemperature of the Air.

Lyſander's Poverty, having been diſcover'd after his Death, did great Honour to his Memory; when it was known, that, of all the Gold and Treaſure which had paſs'd through his Hands; of a Power ſo extenſive as his had been, of ſo many Cities under his Government; and which made their Court to him: In a Word, of that Dominion and Sovereignty which was always exercised by him, he had made no Manner of Advantage, for the Advancement and inriching of his Houſe.

Some Days before his Death, two of the principal Citizens of *Sparta* had contracted themſelves to his two Daughters; but, when they knew in what Condition he had left his Affairs, they refus'd to marry them. The Republick did not ſuffer ſo ſordid a Baſeneſs to go unpuniſh'd, nor *Lyſander*'s Poverty, which was the ſtrongeſt Proof of his Diſintereſtedneſs, and Incorruption, to be treated as an Obſtacle to allying into his Family. They were fin'd a great Sum, publickly diſgrac'd, and expos'd to the Contempt of all Perſons of Honour: For, at *Sparta*, there were Penalties eſtabliſh'd, not only for ſuch as refus'd to marry, or marry'd too late, but alſo for thoſe who marry'd amiſs: And thoſe, eſpecially, were reckon'd of this Number, who, inſtead of marrying into Families of Virtue, and with their Relations, had no View but of adding to their Wealth in Wedlock. An admirable Law, and highly tending to perpetuate Probity and Honour in Families, which an impure Mixture of Blood, and *Manners* ſeldom fail to alter, and extirpate!

It muſt be own'd, that a generous Diſintereſtedneſs, in the Midſt of all that could inflame and gratify the Love of Gain, is very rare, and well worthy of Admiration; but, in *Lyſander*, it was attended with great Defects, which entirely obſcur'd its Luſtre. Without ſpeaking of his Imprudence, in introducing Gold and Silver into *Sparta*, which he deſpis'd himſelf, though he render'd it deſirable to his Country, and thereby occaſion'd its Ruin, what Opinion can we have of a Man, brave indeed, well-read in Men, skilful in Affairs, and of great Ability in the Arts of governing, and what is commonly call'd Policy, but who regards Probity and Juſtice as nothing. To whom Falſhood, Fraud, and Perfidy, appear legal Methods to obtain his Ends! Who does not fear, for the Advancement of his Friends, and to increaſe the Number of his Creatures, to commit the moſt flagrant Injuſtice and Oppreſſion! And is not aſham'd to prophane whatever is moſt ſacred in Religion, even to the corrupting Prieſts, and forging Oracles, to ſatiate the empty Ambition of being equal to a King, and of aſcending a Throne!

When *Ageſilaus* was juſt upon the Point of leading his Troops into *Perſia*, the *Spartan*, *Epicydidas*, arriv'd to let him know, that *Sparta* was threaten'd with a furious War; and that the *Ephori* recall'd him, and order'd him to return immediately for the Defence of his Country. Hereupon, *Ageſilaus* did not deliberate a Moment, but return'd this Anſwer directly to the *Ephori*, which *Plutarch* has tranſmitted to us.

AGESILAUS *to the* Ephori *greeting.*

WE have reduced Part of Aſia, *put the* Barbarians *to Flight, and made great Preparations for War in* Ionia: *But, as you order me to return, we are not far behind this Letter; and ſhould be before it, if poſſible. We received the Command not for ourſelves, but our Country, and its Allies. We know, that a General does not deſerve, or poſſeſs that Name rightly, but as he ſubmits to the Laws, and obeys the Magiſtrates.*

This ready Obedience of *Ageſilaus*, has been much admir'd and applauded, and not without Reaſon; *Hannibal*, though depreſſed with Misfortunes, and driven almoſt entirely out of *Italy*, obey'd his Citizens with great Reluctance; when they recall'd him, to deliver *Carthage* from the Dangers that threaten'd it. Here a victoriousPrince ready to enter the Enemy's Country, and attack the King of *Perſia* even upon his Throne, almoſt aſſured of the Succeſs of his Arms; at the firſt Order of the *Ephori*, renounces the moſt ſoothing Hopes, and the moſt exalted Expectations. He demonſtrates the Truth of what was ſaid, *That at* Sparta *the Laws ruled Men, and not Men the Laws.*

On his Departure, he ſhrewdly ſaid, *that thirty Thouſand of the King's* Archers *drove him out of Aſia*; alluding thereby, to a Species of *Perſian* Coin, which had, on one Side, the Figure of an *Archer*; and thirty Thouſand of which Pieces had been diſtributed about *Greece*, to corrupt the Orators, and Perſons of greateſt Power in the Cities.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Lacedæmonians *raiſe an Army in the Abſence of* Ageſilaus, *and engage the Enemy near* Nemæa, *who are defeated; They are beaten, in their Turn, at Sea, near* Cnidos; *The fatal Conſequences of that Overthrow;* Ageſilaus *routs the Enemy on the Plains of* Coronæa, *and returns victorious to* Sparta; *where he always retains his former Simplicity of Manners, and Virtue;* Conon *rebuilds the Walls of* Athens, *and reſtores it to its former Splendor; He is treacherouſly ſeized by* Tiribaſus, *and, it is thought, put to Death; the* Lacedæmonians *conclude a ſhameful Treaty with the* Perſians; Artaxerxes *invades* Evagoras *King of* Salamis; *The fine Character of that Prince;* Tiribaſus *falſly accuſed, and his Accuſer puniſh'd; the Expedition of* Artaxerxes *againſt the* Caduſians; *his Generoſity to his Soldiers on that Occaſion; the great Abilities, fine Character, and unfortunate End of* Datames *the* Carian.

AGESILAUS, on quitting *Aſia*, where he was regretted as the common Father of the People, appointed *Euxenes* his Lieutenant, and gave him four thouſand Men for the Defence of that Country. *Xenophon* went with him, and left at *Epheſus*, with *Megabyzus* the Guardian of *Diana*'s Temple, Half the Gold he had brought with him from his Expedition in *Perſia* with *Cyrus*; to keep it for him in Truſt, and, in Caſe of Death, to conſecrate it to that Goddeſs.

In the mean Time, the *Lacedæmonians* had raiſed an Army; and given the Command of it to *Ariſtodemus*, Guardian to King *Ageſipolis*, then an Infant. Their Enemies likewiſe aſſembled, to concert the Operations of the War; upon which Occaſion, *Timolaus* of *Corinth* ſaid, the *Lacedæmonians* reſembled a River, that grew larger as it moved from its Source; or to a Swarm of Bees, which it is eaſy to burn in their Hive, but diſperſe themſelves a great Way, when they fly abroad, and become formidable by their Stings. He was therefore of Opinion, that it was proper to attack them in their Capital; which was approved and reſolved. But the *Lacedæmonians* did not give them Time: They took the Field, and found the Enemy near *Nemæa*, a City not very remote from *Corinth*, where a fierce Battle enſued; and the *Lacedæmonians* had the Advantage, which was very conſiderable: Hereupon, *Ageſilaus*, having received this News at *Amphipolis*, as he was haſtning to the Relief of his Country, ſent it directly to the Cities of *Aſia* for their Encouragement; and to give them Hopes of his ſpeedy Return, if the Succeſs of Affairs would admit.

When the Approach of *Ageſilaus* was known at *Sparta*, the *Lacedæmonians*, that remain'd in the City, to do him Honour for the ready Obedience he had paid to their Orders, cauſed Proclamation to be made by Sound of Trumpet, that all young Perſons, who were willing to aid their King, might come and inliſt themſelves for that Purpoſe. Not one fail'd to enter himſelf immediately, with the utmoſt Joy; however the *Ephori* choſe only fifty, of the braveſt and moſt robuſt, whom they ſent to him, and deſired, that he would enter *Bœotia* with the utmoſt Expedition, which he did accordingly.

About the ſame Time, the two Fleets came up with each other, near *Cnidos*, a City of *Caria*: That of the *Lacedæmonians* was commanded by *Piſander*, Brother-in-Law to *Ageſilaus*; and that of the *Perſians*, by *Pharnabaſus*, and *Conon* the *Athenian*. The latter, having obſerved that the Supplies of the King of *Perſia* came ſlowly, and occaſion'd the Loſs of many favourable Opportunities, had reſolved to go in Perſon to the Court, to ſollicit that Prince's Aſſiſtance; but as he would not proſtrate himſelf before him, according to the *Perſian* Cuſtom, he could not explain himſelf, but by the Intervention of others. Notwithſtanding this Diſadvantage, he repreſented to him, with a Force and Spirit, ſeldom pardon'd in thoſe who treat with Princes, that it was equally ſhameful and aſtoniſhing, that his Miniſters, contrary to his Intention, ſhould ſuffer his Affairs to be diſconcerted, and ruined for want of the neceſſary Expences; that the richeſt Monarch in the World, ſhould give Place to his Enemies, in the very Point wherein he was ſo infinitely ſuperior to them; and that for want of remitting the Sums his Service required to his Generals, all their Deſigns were render'd abortive. Theſe Remonſtrances were free, but juſt, and ſolid: The King received them perfectly well, and ſhew'd, by his Example, that Truth may be often ſpoken to Princes with Succeſs, if Courage is not wanting. *Conon* obtain'd all he demanded, and the King made him Admiral of his Fleet.

It was compoſed of more than fourſcore and ten Galleys, to which the Enemy's was ſomewhat inferior in Number: They came in View of each other near *Cnidos*, a Maritime City of *Aſia Minor*. *Conon*, who had, in ſome Meaſure, occaſion'd the

taking of *Athens*, by the Loſs of the Sea-Fight near *Ægoſpotamos*, uſed extraordinary Efforts, in this, to retrieve his Misfortune; and to efface, by a glorious Victory, the Diſgrace of his former Defeat. Beſides, he had this Advantage, in the Battle he was going to fight, the *Perſians* would be at the whole Expence, and bear all the Loſs themſelves; whereas the entire Fruits of the Victory would redound to the *Athenians*, without hazarding any Thing of their own. *Piſander* had alſo the ſtrongeſt Motives to ſhew his Valour upon this Occaſion; both that he might not degenerate from the Glory of his Brother-in-Law, and to juſtify the Choice he had made, in appointing him Admiral. In Effect, he behaved with extreme Valour; and had, at firſt, ſome Advantage; and even when the Battle grew warm, and the Enemies of *Sparta* betook themſelves to Flight, he would not ſubmit to follow them, but died Sword in Hand. *Conon* took fifty Galleys; the reſt eſcaped to *Cnidos*; and the Conſequence of this Victory, was the Revolt of almoſt all the *Allies* of *Sparta*; ſeveral of whom declared for the *Athenians*, whilſt the reſt reſum'd their ancient Liberty. After this Overthrow, the Affairs of the *Lacedæmonians* daily declin'd. All their Actions in *Aſia* were no more than the feeble Efforts, of an aſpiring Power; till the Defeats of *Leuctra*, and *Mantinea*, compleated their Downfal.

Ageſilaus was in *Bœotia*, and about to give Battle, when this bad News was brought him: Apprehending that it might diſcourage and deter his Troops, he cauſed it to be reported in the Army, that the *Lacedæmonians* had gain'd a conſiderable Victory at Sea; and appearing in Publick with a Wreath of Flowers upon his Head, he offer'd a Sacrifice of Thankſgiving for the good News, and ſent Part of it in Preſents to his Officers. The two Armies, almoſt equal in Strength, were in View of each other, upon the Plains of *Coronæa*, when they drew up in Battle: *Ageſilaus* gave the Left-Wing to the *Orchomenians*, and took the Right himſelf. On the other Side, the *Thebans* were upon the Right, and the *Argives* on the Left. *Xenophon* ſays, that this was the moſt furious Battle in his Time; and may be believed, as he was preſent in it, and fought near the Perſon of *Ageſilaus*, with whom he had returned from *Aſia*.

The firſt Charge was not very obſtinate, nor of long Continuance: The *Thebans* ſoon put the *Orchomenians* to Flight, and *Ageſilaus* overthrew and routed the *Argives*. But both Parties, having learnt that their Left-Wing had been ſeverely handled, and fled, return'd immediately; *Ageſilaus* to oppoſe the *Thebans*, and to wreſt the Victory out of their Hands; and the *Thebans*, to follow their Left-Wing, which was retired to *Helicon*. *Ageſilaus*, at that Moment, might have aſſured himſelf of a compleat Victory, if he would have let the *Thebans* paſs on, and had charged them after in the Rear; but giving Way to the Ardour of his Courage, he reſolved to ſtop them by an Attack in Front, and to beat them by pure Force: In which, ſays *Xenophon*, he ſhew'd more Valour than Prudence.

The *Thebans* ſeeing *Ageſilaus* advance againſt them, drew all their Foot immediately into one Body; formed a Hollow-Square; and waited his coming up in good Order. The Engagement was ſharp and bloody on all Sides; but particularly where *Ageſilaus* fought at the Head of the fifty young *Spartans*, ſent him by the City. The Valour and Emulation of thoſe young Men, were of great Service to *Ageſilaus*, and may be ſaid to have ſaved his Life; for they combated around him with exceeding Ardour, and expoſed themſelves foremoſt in all Dangers, for the Safety of his Perſon. They could not, however, prevent his receiving ſeveral Wounds, through his Armour, from Pikes and Swords. Notwithſtanding, after an exceeding warm Diſpute, they brought him off alive from the Enemy, and making their Bodies a Rampart for him, ſacrificed a great Number of *Thebans* to his Defence; many of thoſe young Men being alſo left upon the Field. At length, finding it too difficult to break the *Thebans* in Front, they were forced to have Recourſe to what they had at firſt rejected. They opened their *Phalanx* to let them paſs; which when they had done, as they march'd afterwards in more Diſorder, they charged them again upon the Flanks and Rear. They could, however, neither break them, nor put them to Flight. Thoſe brave *Thebans* made their Retreat continually fighting, and gain'd *Helicon*; elate with the Succeſs of the Battle, wherein, on their Side, they had always remain'd invincible.

Ageſilaus, though very much weaken'd, by the great Number of his Wounds, and the Quantity of Blood he had loſt, would not retire to his Tent; till he had been carry'd to the Place where his *Phalanx* was drawn up, and had ſeen all the dead Bodies carry'd off, even upon their own Arms. He was inform'd there, that many of the Enemy had taken Refuge in the Temple of *Minerva Itonienſis*, which was not very diſtant from the Field of Battle, and ask'd what he would have done with them: As he was full of Veneration for the Gods, he gave Orders to let them go, and even ſent them a Guard to eſcort them in Safety whereever they thought fit.

The next Morning, *Ageſilaus*, to try whether the *Thebans* would have the Courage to renew the Battle, commanded his Troops to crown themſelves with Flowers, and the Muſick of the Army to play, whilſt a Trophy was erected and adorn'd in Honour of his Victory. At the ſame Inſtant, the Enemy ſent Heralds to demand his Permiſſion to bury their Dead; which was granted, with a Truce; and having confirm'd his Victory, by that Act of a Conqueror, he cauſed himſelf to be carry'd to *Delphos*, where the *Pythian* Games were then celebrated. He made there a ſolemn Proceſſion, which was follow'd by a Sacrifice, and conſecrated the tenth Part of the Booty, taken in *Aſia*, to the God, which amounted to an hundred Talents. Theſe great Men, as religious as brave, never fail'd to expreſs, by Preſents, their Gratitude to the Gods, for their Succeſſes in Arms; declaring, in that publick Homage, that they believed themſelves indebted for their Victories to their Protection.

After this Feſtival, *Ageſilaus* return'd to *Sparta*. His Citizens received him with all the Marks of the moſt real Joy; and beheld him with Admiration, when they obſerved the Simplicity of his Manners, and the conſtant Frugality and Temperance of his Life. At his Return from foreign Countries, where Luxury, ſlothful Effeminacy, and the

the Love of Pleaſures, entirely prevailed, he was not infected with the *Barbarian* Cuſtoms, as moſt of the other Generals had been: He made no Alteration in his Diet, Baths, the Equipage of his Wife, Ornaments of his Arms, or Furniture of his Houſe. In the Midſt of ſo ſhinning a Reputation, and the univerſal Applauſe, always the ſame, or rather more modeſt than before, he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf from the reſt of the Citizens, by a rather greater Submiſſion to the Laws, and a more inviolable Attachment to the Cuſtoms of his Country; convinced, that he was only King to be the brighter Example of thoſe Virtues to others. He reckon'd, very juſtly, that true Greatneſs conſiſted in Virtue alone; for hearing the *Great King* (ſo the *Perſian* Monarchs uſed to call themſelves) ſpoken of in magnificent Terms, and his Power extremely extoll'd; *I cannot conceive*, ſaid he, *wherein he is greater than me, unleſs he be more virtuous.*

Some Citizens, at *Sparta*, vitiated by the prevailing Taſte of *Greece*, made their Merit and Glory conſiſt in keeping a great Number of Horſes for the Race: He perſuaded, therefore, his Siſter *Cyniſca* to diſpute the Prize in the *Olympic* Games; in Order to ſhew the *Greeks*, that thoſe Victories, on which they ſet ſo high a Value, were not the Effects of Valour and Bravery, but of Riches and Expence. She was the firſt of her Sex, who ſhar'd in this Honour. He had not the ſame Opinion of the Exerciſes, which contributed to render the Body more robuſt, and enure it to Labour and Fatigue; but to render them the more eſteem'd, would often honour them with his Preſence.

Some Time after *Lyſander*'s Death, he diſcover'd the Conſpiracy, form'd by that Captain, againſt the two Kings, which till then had not been heard of, and was diſcover'd by a kind of Accident. It came to Light in this Manner: Upon ſome Affairs, which related to the Government, it was neceſſary to conſult *Lyſander*'s Papers; and *Ageſilaus* went to his Houſe for that Purpoſe. In running them over, he fell upon the Sheets, in which the Harangue of *Cleon*, for the new Method of proceeding in the Election of Kings, was contain'd at large. Surprized at peruſing it, he gave over his Search, and went away abruptly, to communicate that Oration to the Citizens; and to let them ſee what Manner of Man *Lyſander* was, and how much they had been deceived in him: But *Lacratidas*, a wiſe and prudent Perſon, and Preſident of the *Ephori*, interpoſed, by telling him; That it was highly improper to raiſe *Lyſander* from the Dead; on the contrary, that it was neceſſary to bury his Harangue along with him, as of dangerous Tendency, from the great Art with which it was compoſed, and the Force of Perſuſion, univerſally prevalent in it, againſt which it might prove no eaſy Matter to reſiſt. Hereupon, *Ageſilaus* was brought over to the ſame Opinion, and the Piece was conſign'd to Silence and Oblivion, as the beſt Uſe that could be made of it.

As his Credit was very great at *Sparta*, he had *Teleutias*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, declared Admiral of the Fleet: And it were to be wiſh'd, that Hiſtory, to juſtify this Choice, had tranſmitted down to us, any good Qualities in that Commander, beſides his Nearneſs of Blood to the King. *Ageſilaus*, ſoon after, ſet out with his Land-Army to beſiege *Corinth*: and took the *long Walls*, as they were called, whilſt his Brother *Teleutias* attack'd it by Sea. He did ſeveral other Exploits againſt the People of *Greece*, that were Enemies to *Sparta*, which ſhew'd indeed the Valour and Experience of the General, but were not always deciſive, and which, we thought, for that Reaſon might be omitted.

At the ſame Time *Pharnabaſus*, and *Conon*, having made themſelves Maſters at Sea, ravaged the whole Coaſt of *Laconia*: And that *Satrapa*, returning to his Government of *Phrygia*, left *Conon* the Command of the naval Army, with very conſiderable Sums, for the re-eſtabliſhment of *Athens*: Whereupon *Conon*, victorious, and crown'd with Glory, repaired thither, where he was received with univerſal Applauſe. The ſad Proſpect of a City, formerly ſo flouriſhing, and at the ſame Time reduced to ſo melancholy a Condition; cauſed him more Grief, than it gave him Joy, in ſeeing his beloved Country again, after ſo many Years abſence. He loſt no Time, however, but fell immediately to work, employing, beſides Maſons, and the uſual Artiſans, the Soldiers, Mariners, Citizens, *Allies*, in a Word, all that were well inclin'd to *Athens*; Providence decreeing, that this City, formerly deſtroy'd by the *Perſians*, ſhould be re-built by their own Hands; and that, having been diſmantled and demoliſhed by the *Lacedæmonians*, it ſhould be re-inſtated at their own Coſt, and by the Spoils taken from them. What a Viciſſitude and Alteration was this! *Athens*, at this Time, had thoſe for its *Allies*, which had formerly been its moſt violent Enemies; and for Enemies, thoſe with whom before it had contracted the moſt ſtrict, and moſt confirmed Union. *Conon*, ſeconded by the Zeal of the *Thebans*, ſoon re built the Walls of *Athens*, reſtored the City to its ancient Splendor, and render'd it more formidable than ever, to its Enemies. After having offer'd to the Gods a whole *Hecatomb*, that is to ſay, a Sacrifice of an hundred Oxen, as a Thankſgiving, for the happy re-eſtabliſhment of his native Country, he made a Feaſt, to which all the Citizens, without Exception, were invited.

Sparta could not, without extreme Affliction, behold ſo glorious a Revolution: It looked upon the Grandeur, and Power of a City, its ancient Rival, and almoſt continual Enemy, as its own Ruin; which made the *Lacedæmonians* take the mean Reſolution of revenging itſelf, at once, upon *Athens*, and *Conon* its Reſtorer, by making Peace with the King of *Perſia*. With this View they diſpatched *Antalcides* to *Tiribaſus*: His Commiſſion conſiſted of two principal Articles. The firſt was, to accuſe *Conon* to that *Satrapa*, of having defrauded the King of the Money, which he had employ'd in the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Athens*, and of having form'd the Deſign of depriving the *Perſians* of *Æolia*, and *Ionia*, and to ſubject them anew to the Republick of *Athens*, upon which they had formerly depended. The ſecond was, to make *Tribaſus* the moſt advantageous Propoſals his Maſter could deſire. *Antalcides*, without giving himſelf any Manner of Trouble in regard to *Aſia*, ſtipulated only, that all the Iſlands, and other Cities, ſhould enjoy their Laws and Liberty. The *Lacedæmonians* thus gave up to the King, with the laſt Injuſtice and the utmoſt Baſeneſs, all the *Greeks* ſettled in *Aſia*; for whoſe Liberty *Ageſilaus* had ſo long contended. It is true, he had no Share

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in this moſt infamous Negotiation; the whole Reproach of which ought to fall on *Antalcides*, who being the ſworn Enemy of the King of *Sparta*, haſten'd the Peace by all Manner of Means, becauſe the War augmented the Authority, Glory, and Reputation of *Ageſilaus*.

The moſt conſiderable Cities of *Greece*, had ſent Deputies, at the ſame Time, to *Thiribaſus*; and *Conon* was at the Head of thoſe from *Athens*. All of them were unanimous in rejecting ſuch Propoſals. Without ſpeaking of the Intereſts of the *Greeks* of *Aſia*, with which they were extremely affected, the *Athenians* ſaw themſelves expoſed by this Treaty, to the Loſs of the Iſles of *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, and *Scyros*; the *Thebans*, to abandon the Cities of *Bœotia*, of which they were in Poſſeſſion, and which would thereby regain their Independence; and the *Argives*, to renounce *Corinth*; with the Loſs of which, that of *Argos* itſelf would ſoon, in all Probability, be attended: The Deputies therefore withdrew, without concluding any Thing.

Hereupon, *Tiribaſus* ſeized *Conon*, and put him in Priſon; but not daring to declare openly for the *Lacedæmonians*, without an expreſs Order to that Purpoſe, he contented himſelf with ſupplying them underhand with conſiderable Sums of Money, for the Equipment of a Fleet, in order that the other Cities of *Greece* might not be in a Condition to oppoſe them. After having taken theſe Precautions, he ſet out directly for the Court, to give the King an Account of the State of his Negotiation. That Prince was highly ſatisfy'd with it, and directed him, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to put the laſt Hand thereto: *Tiribaſus* alſo laid before him, the *Lacedæmonians* Accuſation of *Conon*; and ſome Authors, according to *Cornelius Nepos*, have affirm'd, that he was carry'd to *Suſa*, and there executed by the King's Order. The Silence of *Xenophon*, who was his Cotemporary, in regard to his Death, makes it doubtful, whether he did not eſcape from Priſon, or ſuffer, as has been ſaid.

Tiribaſus, upon his Return, ſummon'd the Deputies of the *Grecian* Cities to be preſent at the reading of the Treaty: It was to this Effect, that all the *Grecian* Cities of *Aſia* ſhould remain dependent on the King; and that the reſt, as well ſmall as great, ſhould have full Poſſeſſion of their Liberty. *Artaxerxes* farther reſerved to himſelf the Iſles of *Cyprus* and *Clazomene*, and left thoſe of *Scyros*, *Lemnos*, and *Imbros* to the *Athenians*, to whom they had long belong'd. By the ſame Treaty he engaged to join with ſuch People as came into it, in order to make War by Sea and Land, againſt all that ſhould refuſe to accept it. We have already ſaid it was *Sparta* itſelf propoſed theſe Conditions.

All the other Cities of *Greece*, or at leaſt the greateſt Part of them, rejected ſo infamous a Treaty with Horror. However, as thoſe People, weakened and exhauſted by domeſtick Diviſions, and not in a Condition to ſupport a War againſt ſo powerful a Prince, who threaten'd to fall with all his Forces upon thoſe, who ſhould refuſe to come into this Peace; they were obliged, againſt their Will, to comply with it; except the *Thebans*, who had the Courage to oppoſe it openly at firſt; but were at length reduced to accept it with the others, by whom they found themſelves univerſally abandon'd.

Such was the Fruit of the Jealouſy and Diviſions, which arm'd the *Grecian* Cities againſt each other; and was the End propoſed by the Policy of *Artaxerxes*, in diſtributing Sums of Money amongſt the ſeveral States: They were ſtill invincible in Arms, and by the Sword, but not by the Gold and Preſents of the *Perſians*; ſo different were they from the Character of the ancient *Greeks* their Fore-fathers.

To comprehend aright how much *Sparta* and *Athens* differ'd from what they had been in former Times, we need only compare the two Treaties concluded between the *Greeks* and *Perſians*; the former by *Cimon* the *Athenian*, under *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, above ſixty Years before; and the latter by *Antalcides* the *Lacedæmonian*, under *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. In the firſt, *Greece*, victorious and triumphant, aſſures the Liberty of the *Aſiatick Greeks*, gives the Law to *Perſia*, impoſes what Conditions it pleaſes, and preſcribes without Bounds, by prohibiting them to approach nearer to the Sea with their Troops, than the Diſtance of three Days March; or to appear with long Veſſels, in all the Extent of the Seas, between the *Cyanæan* and *Chalidonian* Iſlands, that is to ſay, from the *Euxine* to the Coaſts of *Pamphilia*. In the ſecond, on the contrary, *Perſia*, grown haughty and imperious, takes Pleaſure in humbling its Conquerors; in depriving them, with the ſingle Stroke of a Pen, of their Empire in *Aſia Minor*; in forcing them to abandon baſely, all the *Greeks* eſtabliſh'd in thoſe rich Provinces, to ſubſcribe to their own Subjection; and to confine themſelves, in their Turn, within the narrow Bounds of *Greece*.

From whence can ſo ſtrange an Alteration ariſe? Are there not on both Sides the ſame Cities, the ſame People, the ſame Forces, and the ſame Intereſt? No doubt there are; but they are not the ſame Men, or rather, they have not the ſame Principles of Policy. Let us recollect thoſe happy Times of *Greece*, ſo glorious for *Athens* and *Sparta*, when *Perſia* came pouring, like a Deluge, upon their little Country, with all the Forces of the *Eaſt*. What was it that render'd theſe two Cities invincible, and ſuperior to ſuch numerous and formidable Armies? Their Union and good Underſtanding. No Diſſenſion between the two States; no Jealouſy of commanding; no private View of Intereſt; in ſhort, no other Conteſts between them, but of Honour, Glory, and the Love of their Country.

To ſo laudable an Union may be added an irreconcilable Hatred for the *Perſians*, which became a kind of Nature in the *Greeks*, and was the moſt diſtinguiſhing Character of that Nation. It was a capital Crime, and puniſh'd with Death, only to mention Peace, or propoſe any Accomodation with them; and an *Athenian* Mother threw the firſt Stone at her Son, who had dared to make make ſuch a Motion; and ſet others the Example of ſtoning him.

This ſtrict Union of the two States, and declar'd Abhorrence of the common Enemy; were a long Time the potent Barriers of their Security; render'd them invincible; and may be ſaid to have been the Source, and Principle, of all the glorious Succeſſes, which raiſed the Reputation of *Greece* to ſo high a Point. But by a Misfortune common to the moſt flouriſhing States, thoſe very Succeſſes became the Cauſe of its Ruin, and prepar'd the Way for the Diſgraces it experienced in the Sequel.

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These two States, which might have carried their victorious Arms into the Heart of *Persia*, and have attack'd, in their Turn, the Great King upon his Throne itself; instead of forming, in Concert, such an Enterprize, which would at once have crown'd them with Glory, and loaded them with Riches, have the Folly to leave their common Enemy at Repose, to embroil themselves with each other, upon trivial Points of Honour, and Interests of little Importance; and to exhaust the Forces ineffectually against themselves, which ought to have been solely against the *Barbarians*, who could not have resisted them. For it is remarkable, that the *Persians* never had any Advantage over the *Athenians* or *Lacedæmonians*, whilst they were united together, and that it was their Divisions only, which supplied them with the Means, to conquer both alternately, and always the one by the other.

These Divisions induced them to take such Measures, as neither *Sparta* nor *Athens* would have otherwise been capable of: We see both the one, and the other, dishonour themselves by their mean and abject Flatteries, not only of the King of *Persia*, but even of his *Satrapæ*; pay their Court to them; earnestly sollicit their Favours, creep to them, and even suffer their ill Humour; and all this, to obtain some Supplies of Troops or Money, forgetting that the *Persians*, haughty and insolent with such as seem'd afraid of them, became timorous, and little, to those who had the Courage to despise them. But, in short, what did they gain by all these mean Condescensions? The Treaty, which gave Occasion for these Reflections, and will, for ever, be the Reproach of *Sparta* and *Athens*.

What has been said of the Ease, with which the *Greeks* might have render'd themselves formidable to their Enemies, will be more evident, if we consider, on one Side, the Diversity of People, and Extent of Country, which composed the vast Empire of the *Persians*; and on the other, the Weakness of the Government, incapable of animating so great a Mass, and of supporting the Weight of so much Business and Application. At the Court, every Thing was carried by the Intrigues of Women, and the Cabals of Favourites; whose whole Merit often consisted in flattering their Prince, and soothing his Passions. It was upon their Credit, Officers were chosen, and the first Dignities disposed of; by their Opinions, the Services of the Generals of Armies were judged, and their Rewards decreed. The Sequel will shew, that from the same Source arose the Insurrections of Provinces, the Distrust of the greatest Part of the Governours, the Discontent and consequential Revolt of the best Officers, and the ill Success of almost all the Enterprizes that were form'd.

Artaxerxes, having got rid of the Care and Perplexity, which the War with the *Greeks* had occasioned, apply'd himself to terminating that of *Cyprus*, which had lasted several Years, but had been carry'd on with little Vigour, and turned the greatest Part of his Forces that Way.

Evagoras reign'd at that Time in *Salamis*, the capital City of the Isle of *Cyprus*. He was descended from *Teucer* of *Salamis*, who at his Return from *Troy* built this City, and gave it the Name of his Country. His Descendants had reigned there from that Time, but a Stranger of *Phœnicia*, having dispossessed the lawful King, had taken his Place; and to maintain himself in the Usurpation, had fill'd the City with *Barbarians*, and subjected the whole Island to the King of *Persia*.

Under this Tyrant *Evagoras* was born; of whose Education great Care was taken: He was distinguish'd amongst the Youth by the Beauty of his Aspect, the Vigour of his Body, and more by the Modesty and Innocence of his Behaviour, which are the greatest Ornaments of that Age. As he advanced in Years, the greatest Virtues, Valour, Wisdom, and Justice, were observed to brighten in him. He afterwards carried these Virtues to so conspicuous an Height, as to give Jealousy to those that govern'd; who perceived justly, that so shining a Merit could not continue in the Obscurity of a private Condition; but his Modesty, Probity, and Integrity re-assur'd them, and they reposed an entire Confidence in him; to which he always answer'd by an inviolable Fidelity; without ever meditating their Expulsion from the Throne, by Violence or Treachery.

A more justifiable Means conducted him to it; the Divine Providence, as *Isocrates* expresly says, prepared the Way for him. One of the principal Citizens murder'd the Person upon the Throne; and had contrived to seize *Evagoras*, and to rid himself of him, in order to secure the Crown to himself; but that Prince escaping his Pursuit, retired to *Solos*, a City of *Cilicia*. His Banishment was so far from abating his Courage, that it gave him new Vigour. Attended only with fifty Followers, determin'd, like himself, to conquer or die, he return'd to *Salamis*, and expell'd the Usurper, though supported by the Credit and Protection of the King of *Persia*. Having re-establish'd himself in *Salamis*, he soon render'd his little Kingdom most flourishing, by his Application to the Relief of his Subjects, and by protecting them in all Things; by governing them with Justice and Benevolence; by making them active and laborious; by inspiring them with a Taste for the Cultivation of their Lands; the Breeding of Cattle, Commerce, and Navigation. He form'd them also for War, and made them excellent Soldiers.

He was already very powerful, and had acquir'd great Reputation, when *Conon*, the *Athenian* General, after his Defeat at *Ægos-potamos*, took Refuge with him; not thinking it possible for him to find a safer Asylum, nor a more powerful Support of his Country. The Resemblance of their Manners, and Sentiments, soon made them contract a strict Amity with each other, which continued ever after, and proved equally advantageous to both. *Conon* was in great Credit at the King of *Persia*'s Court, which he employ'd with that Prince, by the Means of *Ctesias* the Physician, to accommodate his Differences with his Host *Evagoras*, and happily effected it.

Evagoras and *Conon*, with the great Design of subverting, or at least of reducing, the great Power of *Sparta*, which had render'd itself formidable to all *Greece*, concerted together the Means for obtaining that End. They were both Citizens of *Athens*; the latter by Birth, and the other by Right of Adoption; which his great Services, and Zeal for that Republick, had deserved. The *Satrapæ* of *Asia* saw, with Pain, their Country ravaged by the *Lacedæmonians*, and found

themſelves in great Difficulties, from not being in a Condition to make Head againſt them. *Evagoras* remonſtrated to them, that it was neceſſary to attack the Enemy as well by Sea as Land; and he did not contribute a little, by his Credit with the King of *Perſia*, to *Conon*'s being appointed Admiral of his Fleet. The celebrated Victory over the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidos* was was the Conſequence, and gave the mortal Wound to the Power of that Republick. The *Athenians*, in Acknowledgment of the important Services *Evagoras* and *Conon* had render'd them with *Artaxerxes*, erected Statues in Honour of them.

Evagoras, on his Side, extending his Conqueſts from City to City, endeavour'd to make himſelf Maſter of the whole Iſland. The *Cypriots* had Recourſe to the King of *Perſia*. That Prince, alarmed by the rapid Progreſs of *Evagoras*, of which he apprehended the Effects, and conſcious of what Importance it was to him, to prevent an Iſland's falling into the Hands of an Enemy, whoſe Situation was ſo favourable for keeping *Aſia Minor* in Awe, promiſed them an immediate and powerful Support, without declaring, openly, however, againſt *Evagoras*.

Being employ'd elſewhere by more important Affairs, he could not keep his Word with them ſo ſoon as he expected, and had promiſed: The War of *Cyprus* continued ſix Years, and the Succeſs, with which *Evagoras* ſupported it againſt the great King, ought to have remov'd from the *Greek* all Terror of the *Perſian* Name; and united them againſt the common Enemy. It is true, the Reinforcements ſent by *Artaxerxes*, till then, were but inconſiderable; as they alſo were the two following Years. During all that Time, it was leſs a real War, than a Preparation for One: But, when he had diſengaged himſelf from the *Greeks*, he apply'd to it in Earneſt, and attack'd *Evagoras* with all his Forces.

The Army, commanded by *Orontes*, the King's Son-in-Law, conſiſted of three hundred Thouſand Men, and the Fleet, of three hundred Gallies; of which, *Tiribaſus*, a *Perſian* of the higheſt Rank, and greateſt Reputation, was Admiral. *Gaos*, his Son-in-Law, commanded under him. *Evagoras*, on his Side, aſſembled as many Troops and Ships as he could; but they were an Handful, in Compariſon with the formidable Preparation of the *Perſians*. He had a Fleet of only ninety Gallies, and his Army ſcarce amounted to twenty Thouſand Men. As he had Abundance of light Veſſels, he laid Snares for thoſe that carry'd the Proviſions of the Enemy, of which he ſunk a great Number, took many, and prevented the Reſt from arriving; which occaſion'd a Famine amongſt the *Perſians*, attended with violent Seditions, which could not be appeaſed but by the coming of freſh Convoys from *Cilicia*. *Evagoras* alſo ſtrengthen'd his Fleet with ſixty Gallies, which he cauſed to be built; and fifty, ſent him by *Achoris*, King of *Ægypt*; with all the Money and Corn, for which he could have Occaſion.

Being thus reinforc'd, *Evagoras*, with his Land-Forces, attack'd immediately a Part of the Enemy's Army, which was ſeparated from the Reſt, and entirely routed it. This firſt Action was ſoon follow'd by another at Sea, in which the *Perſians* were worſted for ſome Time; till animated by the warm Reproaches, and Remonſtrances of their Admiral, they reſum'd Courage, and obtain'd a compleat Victory. *Salamis* was immediately beſieged by Sea and Land; however, *Evagoras*, leaving the Defence of the City to his Son *Pythagoras*, quitted it in the Night with ten Gallies, and ſail'd for *Egypt*, to engage that King to ſupport him vigorouſly againſt the common Enemy. He did not obtain from him all the Aid he expected. At his Return, he found the City in exceeding Diſtreſs; and finding himſelf without Refuge or Hope, was obliged to capitulate. The Propoſals made to him were, that he ſhould abandon all the Cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamis*, where he ſhould content himſelf to reign; that he ſhould pay an annual Tribute to *Artaxerxes*; and remain in Obedience to him, as a Servant to a Maſter. The Extremity to which he was reduc'd, obliged him to accept the other Conditions, hard as they were; but he could never reſolve to comply with the laſt; and perſiſted always in declaring, that he would only treat as one King with another: However, *Tiribaſus*, who commanded the Siege, would abate nothing of his Pretenſions.

In the mean While, *Orontes*, the other General, jealous of his Collegue's Glory, had written ſecretly to Court againſt him; accuſing him, amongſt other Things, of conniving with *Evagoras*, and forming Deſigns againſt the King; ſtrengthening his Accuſation, from his continuing to hold a ſecret Intelligence with the *Lacedæmonians*; and his evident Endeavours to make the Chiefs of the Army his Creatures, by Preſents, Promiſes, and an Affability, not natural to him. *Artaxerxes*, upon theſe Letters, believed he had no Time to loſe; and that it was neceſſary to prevent a Conſpiracy, which was ready to break out. He diſpatch'd Orders, therefore, immediately to *Orontes*, to ſeize *Tiribaſus*, and ſend him to Court in Chains; which was preſently put in Execution. *Tiribaſus*, upon his Arrival, demanded to be brought to a Tryal in Form; and that the Heads of the Accuſation ſhould be communicated to him, and the Proofs, and Witneſſes produced. But the King, employ'd in other Cares, had no Leiſure, at that Time, to take Cognizance of the Affair.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Orontes* ſeeing the Beſieged made a vigorous Defence; and that the Soldiers of the Army, diſcontented with the Removal of *Tiribaſus*, quitted the Service, and refuſed to obey him; was afraid Matters would take a bad Turn under his Command: He, therefore, cauſed *Evagoras* to be tamper'd with underhand; the Negotiation was reſum'd; the Offers made by the latter, at firſt, were accepted; and the mortifying Article, which had prevented the Concluſion of the Treaty, retrench'd: Purſuant thereto, the Siege was raiſed, *Evagoras* continuing King of *Salamis* only, and engaging to pay an annual Tribute.

It appears, that this Prince liv'd twelve or thirteen Years after the Concluſion of this Treaty; for his Death is dated in the Year of the World 3634. His Old-Age was attended with a Happineſs, and Tranquility, never interrupted with Sickneſs or Diſeaſe; the uſual Effect of a ſober and temperate Life. *Nicocles*, his eldeſt Son, ſucceeded him; and inherited his Virtues, as well as Throne. He celebrated his Funeral with the utmoſt Magnificence.

nificence. The Diſcourſe, intitled *Evagoras*, compos'd by *Iſocrates*, to inſpire the young King with the Deſire of treading in the Steps of his Father, and from which we have extracted the ſubſequent *Elogium*, ſerv'd for his Funeral-Oration. He alſo addreſſed another Tract to *Nicocles*, which bears his Name; wherein he gives him admirable Precepts for well-governing.

Though *Evagoras* was only Sovereign of a little State, *Iſocrates*, who was well able to judge of Virtue and Merit, compares him with the moſt powerful Monarchs; and propoſes him as the perfect Model of a good King; from the Aſſurance, that, not the Extent of Provinces, but Extent of Mind, and Greatneſs of Soul, conſtitutes great Princes. In Effect, he points out to us many Qualities that are truly royal in him; and which ought to give us a very high Idea of his Merit.

Evagoras was not of the Number of thoſe Princes, who believe, that to reign, it is ſufficient to be of the Blood Royal; and, that the Birth, which gives a Right to the Crown, gives alſo the Merit and Qualities for wearing it with Honour. He did not fancy that, whereas, every other Condition and Station of Life, render'd a Kind of Apprenticeſhip neceſſary to ſucceed therein, the Art of reigning, the moſt difficult and important of all, required no Pains and Preparation to learn it. He came into the World with the moſt happy Diſpoſitions; a great Fund of Genius; an eaſy Conception; a lively, and inſtant Penetration, which nothing eſcaped; a Solidity of Judgment, that immediately reſolv'd, when it was neceſſary to act; Qualities, which might ſeem to diſpenſe with all Study and Application; and yet, as if he had been born without Talents, and found himſelf obliged to ſupply by Study what he might want by Nature, he neglected no Means for the Embelliſhment of his Mind; but devoted a conſiderable Part of his Time in inſtructing himſelf; and in reflecting, meditating, and conſulting, the Judgment and Merit of others.

When he aſcended the Throne, his greateſt Care and Application was to know Mankind (in which principally conſiſts the Ability of a Prince) and of thoſe who are at the Head of Affairs. He had, no Doubt, prepar'd himſelf for that Science, by the Study of Hiſtory, which gives a Kind of Anticipation of it, ſupplies the Place of Experience, and teaches us what the Men are with whom we are to live, by what they have been in other Ages. But we ſtudy Men quite differently in themſelves, by their Manners, Characters, Conduct, and Actions. The Love of the Commonwealth render'd him attentive to all Perſons, who were capable of ſerving, or hurting it. He apply'd himſelf to the Diſcovery of their moſt ſecret Inclinations, and Principles of Action; and to the Knowledge of their different Talents, and Degrees of Capacity; in order to aſſign each his proper Poſt, to beſtow Authority according to Merit, and to make the private and publick Good promote each other. He neither rewarded, or puniſh'd his Subjects (ſays *Iſocrates*) from the Report of others; but ſolely upon his own Knowledge, and Experience of them; and neither the Virtues of the Good, or the Vices of the Bad, eſcap'd his Penetration and Enquiry.

He had one Quality, very ſeldom found in thoſe who poſſeſs Sovereign Power; eſpecially when they believe themſelves capable of governing alone: We mean, a wonderful Docility and Attention to the Senſe of others, which aroſe from a Diffidence in his own Abilities. With his great Qualities, he ſeem'd not to have Occaſion for Recourſe to the Counſel of others; and, nevertheleſs, took no Reſolution, nor form'd no Enterprize, without having firſt conſulted the wiſe Perſons, he had placed about him in his Court; inſtead of which, Pride and Preſumption, the lurking Poiſons of ſovereign Power, incline the moſt Part of thoſe, who arrive at Thrones, either not to ask any Counſel, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon diſcovering what was excellent in every Form of Government, and private Condition of Life, he propoſed the uniting of all their high Qualities and great Advantages in himſelf; affable and popular, as in a Republican State; grave and ſerious, as in the Councils of the aged, and the Senate; ſteady and deciſive, as Monarchy after mature Deliberation; a profound Politician, by the Extent, and Rectitude of his Views; an accompliſh'd Warrior, from his intrepid Valour in Battle, directed by a wiſe Moderation; a good Father, a good Relation, a good Friend; and, which crowns all his Praiſe in every Circumſtance of his Character, always Great, and always himſelf.

He ſupported his Dignity and Rank, not with an Air of Pride and Haughtineſs, but by a Serenity of Aſpect, and a mild and eaſy Majeſty, reſulting from innate Virtue, and the Evidence of a good Conſcience. He won the Hearts of his Friends by his Liberality; and conquer'd others by a Greatneſs of Soul, to which they could not refuſe their Eſteem and Admiration.

But, what was moſt royal in him, and gain'd the entire Confidence of his Subjects, Neighbours, and even Enemies, was his Sincerity, Faith, and Regard to all his Engagements; his Hatred, or rather Deteſtation, of all Diſguiſes, Falſhood, and Fraud. A ſingle Word, on his Side, had as much Regard paid to it as the moſt ſacred Oath; and it was known, that nothing was capable of inducing him to violate it, in the leaſt Circumſtance whatſoever.

It was by all theſe excellent Qualities, that he effectually reform'd the City of *Salamis*, and entirely chang'd the Face of its Affairs, in a very ſhort Time: He found it groſs, ſavage, and barbarous; without any Taſte either for Learning, Commerce, or Arms. What cannot a Prince do who loves his People, and is belov'd by them; who believes himſelf great and powerful, only to render them happy; and knows how to ſet a juſt Value upon, and do Honour to, their Labours, Induſtry, and Merit of every Kind? He had not been many Years upon the Throne, before Arts, Sciences, Commerce, Navigation, and military Diſcipline, were ſeen to flouriſh at *Salamis*; inſomuch, that that City did not give Place to the moſt opulent of *Greece*.

Iſocrates often repeats, that in the Praiſes he gives *Evagoras*, of which we have only extracted a Part, far from exaggerating any Thing, he always falls ſhort of Truth. To what can we attribute a Reign ſo wiſe, ſo juſt, ſo moderate, ſo conſtantly employ'd in rendering his Subjects happy,

happy, and in promoting the publick Good? The Condition of *Evagoras*, before he came to govern, ſeems to us, to have contributed very much thereto. The being born a Prince, and the having never experienced any other Condition than that of Maſter and Sovereign, are, in our Opinion, great Obſtacles to the Knowledge and Practice of the Duties of that high Station. *Evagoras*, who came into the World under a Tyrant, had long obey'd before he commanded. He had born, in a private, and dependant Life, the Yoke of an abſolute and deſpotick Power. He had ſeen himſelf expoſed to Envy and Calumny, and had been in Danger for his Merit and Virtue. Such a Prince needed only be told, upon his aſcending the Throne, what was ſaid to a great Emperor: "You have not always been what you are now: "Adverſity has prepared you to make a good "Uſe of Power: You have lived long with us, "and like us: You have been in Danger under "bad Princes: You have trembled for yourſelf, "and known, by Experience, how Virtue and "Innocence have been treated." What he had perſonally ſuffer'd, what he had fear'd for himſelf, or others, what he had ſeen unjuſt and unreaſonable in the Conduct of his Predeceſſors, had open'd his Eyes, and taught him all his Duty. It ſufficed to tell him, what the Emperor *Galba* told *Piſo*, when he adopted him his Aſſociate in the Empire. "Remember what you condemn'd, or "applauded, in Princes, when you was a private "Man: You need only conſult the Judgment "you then paſſed upon them, and to act con-"formably to it, for your Inſtruction in the Art "of reigning well."

We have already ſaid, that *Tiribaſus*, having been accuſed by *Orontes*, of forming a Conſpiracy againſt the King, had been ſent to Court in Chains: Whereupon, *Gaos*, Admiral of the Fleet, who had marry'd his Daughter, apprehending, that *Artaxerxes* would ſeize him, as an Accomplice with his Father-in-Law, and cauſe him to be put to Death, upon meer Suſpicion, conceiv'd he had no other Means for his Security, than an open Revolt. He was very well belov'd by the Soldiers, and all the Officers of the Fleet were particularly at his Devotion. Without Loſs of Time, therefore, he ſent Deputies to *Achoris*, King of *Egypt*, and concluded a League with him againſt the *Perſian* Monarch. On another Side, he ſollicited the *Lacedæmonians* warmly to come into that League, with Aſſurances of making them Maſters of all *Greece*, and of eſtabliſh-univerſally their Form of Government; at which they had long ſeem'd to aſpire. They hearken'd, therefore, favourably to theſe Propoſals, and embraced with Joy this Occaſion of taking up Arms againſt *Artaxerxes*; the rather, becauſe the Peace they concluded with him, by which they had given up the *Greeks* of *Aſia*, had cover'd them with Shame, and fill'd them with Remorſe.

Aſſoon as *Artaxerxes* had put an End to the War of *Cyprus*, he thought of concluding alſo the Affair of *Tiribaſus*. He was ſo juſt to appoint for that Purpoſe three Commiſſioners, who were great Lords of *Perſia*, of diſtinguiſh'd Probity, and of the higheſt Reputation in his Court. The Affair came to an Examination, and Hearing on both Sides: For, ſo conſiderable a Crime, as that of having conſpir'd againſt the King's Perſon, no other Proofs were produc'd, than the Letter of *Orontes*; that is, of a declared Enemy, ſtudious to ſupplant his Rival. *Orontes* was in Hopes, from his Credit at Court, that the Affair would not have been diſcuſſed in the uſual Forms; and that, upon the Memorial ſent by him, the Accuſed would have been condemn'd, without farther Examination. By an anciently eſtabliſh'd Regulation, to which, amongſt other Privileges, they had a Right by Birth, no Perſon was ever to be condemn'd, without being firſt heard, and confronted with his Accuſers. This was granted to *Tiribaſus*, who anſwer'd to all the Articles of the Letter. As to his Connivance with *Evagoras*, the Treaty itſelf, concluded by *Orontes*, was his Apology; as it was abſolntely the ſame, that Prince had propoſed to him, except a Condition, which would have done Honour to his Maſter. As to his Intelligence with the *Lacedæmonians*, the glorious Treaty he had made them ſign, ſufficiently explain'd, whether his own, or the King's Intereſts, were his Motives for it. He did not deny his Credit in the Army; but apprehended, it had not been long a Crime to be belov'd by the Officers, and Soldiers; and concluded his Defence, in repreſenting the long Services he had render'd the King with inviolable Fidelity; and eſpecially his good Fortune, in having formerly ſav'd his Life, when he was hunting, and was near being devour'd by two Lyons. The three Commiſſioners were unanimous in declaring *Tiribaſus* innocent. The King reſtor'd him to his former Favour, and, juſtly enraged at the black Deſign of *Orontes*, let the whole Weight of his Indignation fall upon him. A ſingle Example of this Kind againſt Informers convicted of Falſhood, would, for ever, ſhut the Door againſt Calumny. How many Innocents have been oppreſſed, for want of obſerving this Rule, which even the *Pagans* conſider'd as the Baſis of all Juſtice, and the Guardian of the publick Tranquillity.

When *Artaxerxes* had terminated the *Cyprian* War, he enter'd upon another againſt the *Caduſians*, who, it is probable, had revolted, and refuſed to pay the cuſtomary Tribute; for, Authors ſay nothing, as to the Occaſion of this War. Thoſe People inhabited Part of the Mountains, ſituate between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* Seas, in the *North* of *Media*. The Soil is there ſo barren, and ſo unfit for Cultivation, that no Corn is ſow'd upon it. The People ſubſiſt entirely upon Apples, Pears, and other Fruits of that Kind. Inur'd from their Infancy to a hard and laborious Life, they look'd upon Dangers and Fatigues as nothing; and, for that Reaſon, made excellent Soldiers. The King march'd againſt them in Perſon, at the Head of an Army of three hundred Thouſand Foot, and ten Thouſand Horſe. *Tiribaſus* was with him in this Expedition.

Artaxerxes had not advanc'd far into the Country, before his Army ſuffer'd extreamly by Famine: The Troops could find nothing to ſubſiſt upon; and it was impoſſible to bring Proviſions from other Places, the Ways being ſo difficult and impracticable. The whole Camp were reduced to eat their Carriage-Beaſts; which ſoon became ſo ſcarce, that the Head of an Aſs was valued at ſixty *Drachmas*, and was very hard to be had at that

Price.

Price. The King's Table itſelf began to fall ſhort; and only a few Horſes remain'd, the Reſt having been entirely conſum'd.

In this melancholy Juncture, *Tiribaſus* bethought himſelf of a Stratagem, which ſaved both *Artaxerxes*, and the Army. The *Caduſians* had two Kings, who were encamp'd ſeparately with their Troops: *Tiribaſus*, who took Care to be inform'd of all that paſſed, had been appriz'd, that there was ſome Miſunderſtanding between them; and that their Jealouſy of each other prevented their acting in Concert, as they ought to have done. After having communicated his Deſign to *Artaxerxes*, he went himſelf to one of the Kings, and diſpatch'd his Son to the other. They each of them inform'd the Prince to whom they apply'd, that the other had ſent Embaſſadors to treat with *Artaxerxes* privately; and adviſed him to loſe no Time, but to make his Peace directly, in order that the Conditions of it might be the more advantageous; promiſing to aſſiſt him with their whole Credit. The Fraud ſucceeded: Ambaſſadors ſet out from both Princes, with *Tiribaſus*, and his Son, in their Company.

As this double Negotiation laſted ſome Time, *Artaxerxes* began to ſuſpect *Tiribaſus*; and his Enemies, taking that Opportunity, forgot nothing to his Prejudice, that might ruin him in the King's Opinion. That Prince already repented the Confidence he had repoſed in him; and thereby gave Room for thoſe who envy'd him, to ſpread abroad their Calumnies and Invectives. Upon what does the Fortune of the moſt faithful Subjects depend with a credulous and ſuſpicious Prince! Whilſt this paſſed, arriv'd *Tiribaſus* on his Side, and his Son on the other; each with Ambaſſadors from the *Caduſians*. The Treaty being concluded with both Parties, and the Peace made, *Tiribaſus* became more powerful than ever in his Favour, and return'd with him.

The King's Behaviour in this March was much admired: Neither the Gold with which he was cover'd, his Purple Robes, nor the Jewels that glitter'd all over him, and were worth twelve Thouſand Talents, prevented his having an equal Share in the whole Fatigue with the meaneſt Soldier. He was ſeen, with his Quiver at his Back, and his Shield on his Arm, diſmounting from his Horſe, and marching foremoſt in thoſe rugged and difficult Countries. The Soldiers obſerving his Patience and Fortitude, and animated by his Example, became ſo light, that they ſeem'd rather to fly than walk. At length, he arriv'd at one of his Palaces, where the Gardens were in admirable Order; and there was a Park of vaſt Extent, and well planted; which was the more ſurprizing, as the whole Country about it was entirely barren, and bore no Kind of Trees. As it was the Depth of Winter, and exceſſive cold, he permitted the Soldiers to cut down the Wood in this Park, without excepting the fineſt Trees, either Pines, or Cypreſſes. But the Soldiers, not being able to reſolve to fell Timber of ſuch exceeding Beauty and Stateline's, the King took an Ax, and began by cutting the fineſt and largeſt Tree himſelf; after which the Troops ſpar'd none, cut down all the Wood they wanted, and kindled as many Fires, as were neceſſary for their paſſing the Night without any Inconvenience. When we reflect, how much Value great Perſons generally ſet upon their Gardens, and Houſes of Pleaſure, we muſt confeſs and admire the Generoſity of *Artaxerxes*, in making this Sacrifice; which argued a Goodneſs of Heart, and laudable Senſibility, for the Diſtreſſes and Sufferings of his Soldiers: But he did not always ſupport this Character.

The King had loſt in this Enterprize a great Number of his beſt Troops, and almoſt all his Horſes: And, as he imagin'd, that he was deſpiſed upon that Account, and the ill Succeſs of his Expedition, he became very much out of Humour with the Grandees of his Court, and put to Death a great Number of them in the Emotions of his Wrath; and more out of Diſtruſt, and the Fear of their attempting ſomething againſt him. For, ſuch Apprehenſion in a ſuſpicious Prince is a very deſtructive and bloody Paſſion; whereas, true Courage is gentle, humane, and averſe to all Jealouſy and Diſtruſt.

One of the principal Officers, who periſh'd in this Expedition againſt the *Caduſians*, was *Camiſares*; by Nation, a *Carian*, and Governor of *Leuco-Syria*; a Province incloſed between *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*. His Son, *Datames*, ſucceeded him in that Government; which was given him, in Conſideration of the good Services, he had alſo render'd the King in the ſame Expedition. He was the greateſt Captain of his Time; and *Cornelius Nepos*, who has given us his Life, does not prefer *Amilcar*, and *Hannibal*, to him, amongſt the *Barbarians*. It appears from that Account, that no one ever excell'd him in Boldneſs, Valour, and Ability in inventing Schemes and Stratagems; in Activity in the Execution of his Deſigns; in Preſence of Mind, to reſolve in the Heat of Action, and to find Remedies upon the moſt deſperate Occaſions; in a Word, in every Thing that regards military Knowledge. It ſeems, that nothing was wanting to his acquiring a more illuſtrious Name, than a nobler Theatre, and more exalted Occaſions; and, perhaps, an Hiſtorian to have given a more extenſive Narration of his Exploits: For, *Cornelius Nepos*, according to his general Plan, could not relate them but in a very ſuccinct Manner.

He began to diſtinguiſh himſelf particularly, by the Execution of a Commiſſion, that was given him to reduce *Thyus*, a very powerful Prince, and Governor of *Paphlagonia*, who had revolted againſt the King. As he was his near Relation, he thought it incumbent upon him, at firſt, to try the Methods of Lenity and Reconciliation; which almoſt coſt him his Life, through the Treachery of *Thyus*, by the Ambuſcades he laid for him. Having eſcap'd ſo great a Danger, he attack'd him with open Force; though he ſaw himſelf abandon'd by *Ariobarzanes*, *Satrapa* of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and all *Phrygia*, whom Jealouſy prevented from giving him Aid. He took his Enemy Priſoner, with his Wife and Children; and knowing with what Joy the King would receive the News, he endeavour'd to make it the more ſenſible by the Pleaſure of a Surprize. He ſet out with his illuſtrious Priſoner, without giving the Court any Advice; and made great Marches, to prevent its being known from Fame before his Arrival. When he came to *Suſa*, he equipp'd *Thyus* in a very ſingular Manner. He was a Man of a very tall Stature, of an haggard and terrible Aſpect, and a black Complexion, with the Hair of his Head

and Beard very long. He dreſſed him in a magnificent Habit, put a Collar and Bracelets of Gold about his Neck and Arms, and added to to this Equipage all the Ornaments of a King, as he was, in Effect. For himſelf, in the groſs Habit of a Peaſant, and clad like a Hunter, he led *Thyus* upon the Left in a Leaſh, like a wild Beaſt that had been taken in the Toils. The Novelty of the Sight drew the whole City after it: But no-body was ſo much ſurpriz'd and pleas'd as the King, when he ſaw them approach in that pleaſant Maſquerade. The Rebellion of a Prince, very powerful in his his Country, had given *Artaxerxes* great and juſt Alarm, and he did not expect to have ſeen him ſo ſoon in his Hands: Wherefore, ſo ſudden, and ſucceſsful an Execution, gave him an higher Opinion than ever of the Merit of *Datames*.

To expreſs his Senſe of it, he gave him an equal Share in the Command of the Army, deſign'd againſt *Egypt*, with *Pharnabaſus* and *Tithraustes*, the two principal Perſons in the State; and even appointed him General in Chief, when he recall'd *Pharnabaſus*.

When he was upon the Point of ſetting out for this Expedition, *Artaxerxes* order'd him to march directly againſt *Aſpis*; who had made the Country revolt, which he commanded, in the Neighbourhood of *Cappadocia*. The Commiſſion was but of little Importance for an Officer, who had been appointed General, and beſides very dangerous; becauſe it was very neceſſary to go in queſt of the Enemy into a very remote Country. The King ſoon perceiv'd his Error, and countermanded him; but *Datames* had ſet out directly with an Handful of Men, and march'd Night and Day; judging, that Diligence, without a great Number of Troops, was all that was neceſſary to ſurprize and vanquiſh the Enemy. It happen'd according to his Expectation; and the Couriers diſpatch'd by the King, met *Aſpis* in Chains upon the Road to *Suſa*.

Nothing was then talk'd of at the Court, but *Datames*: It was not known which to admire moſt, his ready Obedience, his wiſe and enterprizing Bravery, or his extraordinary Succeſs. So glorious a Reputation gave Offence to the Courtiers in Power: Enemies in ſecret to each other, and divided by a Contrariety of Intereſts, and a Competition in their Pretenſions, they united together againſt a ſuperior Merit, which reproach'd their Defects; and was, therefore, a Crime in their Eyes. They conſpir'd to ruin him in the King's Opinion, and ſucceeded but too well. As they perpetually beſieged him, and he was not upon his Guard againſt Perſons, who appear'd ſo well affected to his Service, they inſpir'd him with Jealouſy and Suſpicion, to the Prejudice of the moſt zealous and faithful of his Officers.

An intimate Friend of *Datames* at the Court, and who held one of the higheſt Poſts there, appriz'd him of what paſſed, and of the Conſpiracy, which had been form'd againſt him, and had already loſt him conſiderably with the King. He repreſented to him, that, if the *Egyptian* Expedition, with which he was charged, ſhould take a bad Turn, he would find himſelf expoſed to great Danger: That it was the Cuſtom with Kings to attribute good Succeſſes to themſelves, and their auſpicious Fortune only, and to impute the bad to the Faults of their Generals; for which they were reſponſible, at the Peril of their Heads: That he ran the greater Riſque, as all that were about the King's Perſon, and had the Aſcendant over him, were his declar'd Enemies, and had ſworn his Deſtruction.

Upon this Advice, *Datames* reſolv'd to quit the King's Service, though without doing any Thing till then, contrary to the Fidelity he ow'd him. He left the Command of the Army to *Mandrocles* of *Magneſia*; departed with his own Troops for *Cappadocia*; ſeiz'd *Paphlagonia*, which join'd it; raiſed Troops; took Poſſeſſion of Fortreſſes, and put good Garriſons into them. He then receiv'd Advice, that the *Piſidians* were arming againſt him: He did not wait their coming, but made his Army march thither, under the Command of his youngeſt Son, who had the Misfortune to be kill'd in a Battle; but, however lively his Affliction might be upon that Occaaſion, he conceal'd his Death, leſt the bad News ſhould diſcourage his Troops. When he approach'd near the Enemy, his firſt Care was to take Poſſeſſion of an advantageous Poſt; nevertheleſs, *Mithrobarzanes*, his Father-in-Law, who commanded the Horſe, believing his Son entirely ruin'd, determin'd to go over to the Enemy. Whereupon, *Datames*, without Concern or Emotion, cauſed a Rumour to be ſpread throughout the Army, that it was only a Feint concerted between him and his Father-in-Law; and follow'd him cloſe, as if he deſign'd to put his Troops into a Diſpoſition, for charging the Enemy in two different Attacks. This Stratagem had all the Succeſs he expected from it: When they join'd Battle, *Mithrobarzanes* was treated as an Enemy on both Sides, and cut in Pieces with his Troops: The Army of the *Piſidians* alſo was put to Flight, and left *Datames* Maſter of the Field, and of all the rich Booty found in the Camp of the Conquer'd.

Datames had not, till then, declar'd openly againſt *Artaxerxes*; the Actions we have related being only againſt Governors, with whom he might have particular Differences; which, as we have obſerv'd before was common enough. His eldeſt Son, call'd *Sciſmas*, made himſelf his Accuſer, and diſcover'd his whole Deſigns to the King; whereupon, *Artaxerxes* was highly apprehenſive of the Conſequence. He knew all the Merit of this new Enemy, and that he did not engage in any Enterprize, without having maturely conſider'd all its Conſequences, and taken the neceſſary Meaſures to ſecure its Succeſs; and that, till then, the Execution had always anſwer'd the Wiſdom of his Projects. He ſent an Army againſt him into *Cappadocia*, of almoſt two hundred Thouſand Men; of which twenty Thouſand were Horſe, all commanded by *Autophradates*. The Troops of *Datames* did not amount to the twentieth Part of the King's: So that he had no Refuge, but in himſelf, the Valour of his Soldiers, and the happy Situation of the Poſt he had choſen; for, in that conſiſted his chief Excellence; never Captain having better known how to take his Advantages, or chuſe his Ground, when he was to draw up his Army in Battle.

His Poſt, as has been obſerv'd, was infinitely ſuperior to that of the Enemy. He had pitch'd upon a Situation, where they could not ſurround him; where, upon the leaſt Movement they made,

made, he could come to Blows with them with very conſiderable Advantage; and where, had they reſolv'd to fight, their Odds in Number would have been uſeleſs to them. *Autophradates* well knew, that, according to all the Rules of War, he ought not to hazard a Battle at ſuch a Diſadvantage: But he obſerv'd, at the ſame Time, it was much to his Diſhonour, with ſo numerous an Army, to make Choice of a Retreat, or to continue any longer in Inaction before a Handful of Soldiers: He, therefore, gave the Signal. The firſt Onſet was fierce; but the Troops of *Autophradates* ſoon gave Way, and were entirely routed, and the Victor purſued them, for ſome Time, with great Slaughter; whereas, only a Thouſand Men were kill'd on the Side of *Datames*.

Several Battles, or rather Skirmiſhes, were fought afterwards, in which the latter was always victorious; becauſe, perfectly knowing the Country, and ſucceeding in all the Stratagems of War, he always poſted himſelf advantageouſly, and engaged the Enemy in difficult Ground, from whence they could not extricate themſelves without Loſs. *Autophradates*, therefore, ſeeing all his Endeavours ineffectual, and his Supplies entirely exhauſted; and deſpairing of ever being able to reduce by Force ſo artful, and valiant an Enemy, treated about an Accommodation, and propoſed to him, the being reſtor'd to the King's Favour, upon honourable Conditions. *Datames* was not ignorant, that there was little Security for him in ſuch a Choice; becauſe Princes are ſeldom reconcil'd, in Earneſt, with a Subject, who has fail'd in his Obedience; and to whom they ſee themſelves, in ſome Sort, obliged to ſubmit. However, as only Deſpair had hurry'd him into the Revolt, and he had always retain'd at Heart the Sentiments of Zeal and Affection for his Prince; he accepted the Offers with Joy, which would put an End to the deſperate Condition his Misfortune had engag'd him in; and afforded him the Means of returning to his Duty, and employing his Talents for the Service of the Prince to whom they were due. He promiſed to ſend Deputies to the King; upon which enſued a Ceſſation of Arms, and *Autophradates* retir'd into *Phrygia*, which was his Government.

Datames was not deceiv'd: *Artaxerxes*, furiouſly enraged againſt him, had changed the Eſteem and Affection, he formerly profeſſed for him, into an implacable Hatred. Finding himſelf incapable of conquering him by Force of Arms, he was not aſham'd to employ Artifice and Treachery: Means unworthy every Man of Honour, and much more ſo of a Prince! He hir'd ſeveral Murderers to aſſaſſinate him; but *Datames* was ſo happy to eſcape their Ambuſcades. At length, *Mithridates*, the Son of *Ariobarzanes*, to whom the King had made magnificent Promiſes, if he could deliver him from ſo formidable an Enemy; having inſinuated himſelf into his Friendſhip, and having a long Time treated him with all the Marks of the moſt entire Fidelity, to acquire his Confidence; took the Advantage of a favourable Opportunity, when he was alone, and ſtabb'd him with his Sword, before he was in a Condition to defend himſelf.

We are ſurpriz'd, that, as he was comparable to the greateſt Perſons of Antiquity, he has remain'd, in a Manner, bury'd in Silence and Oblivion. His great Actions and Exploits are, however, worthy of being preſerv'd in Hiſtory. For, it is in ſuch ſmall Bodies of Troops, as thoſe of *Datames*, that the whole Soul is exerted, in which the higheſt Prudence is ſhewn; and becauſe Chance hath no Share, and the Abilities of a General appear in their full Light.

The HISTORY *of the SICILIAN GREEKS.*

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of Dionyſius *the* Elder, *Tyrant of* Syracuſe; *The artful Means he made Uſe of to poſſeſs himſelf of the Tyranny; Inſurrections againſt him; He finds Ways to quell them; He propoſes attacking the* Carthaginians; *His great Preparations for that Purpoſe; The various Succeſſes of that War; The violent Paſſion of* Dionyſius *for Poetry; His Death, and Character.*

SYRACUSE had regain'd its Liberty about ſixty Years, by the Expulſion of the Family of *Gelon*. The Events which paſſed in that Interval, except the Invaſion of the *Athenians*, are of no great Importance, and little known; but thoſe which follow, are of a different Nature, and make Amends for the Chaſm; we mean, the Reigns of *Dionyſius*, the Father and Son, Tyrants of *Syracuſe*; the firſt of whom govern'd thirty-eight, and the other twelve, in all fifty Years.

This

This Hiſtory will preſent to our View, a Series of the moſt odious and horrid Crimes, though it abounds, at the ſame Time, with Inſtruction. When, on the one Side, we behold a Prince, the declar'd Enemy of Liberty, Juſtice, and Laws; treading under his Feet the moſt ſacred Rights of Nature and Religion, inflicting the moſt cruel Torments upon his Subjects, beheading ſome, burning others for a ſlight Word, delighting and feaſting himſelf with human Blood; and gratifying his ſavage Inhumanity with the Sufferings and Miſeries of ever Age and Condition: We ſay, when we behold ſuch an Object, can we deny a Truth, which the *Pagan* World itſelf hath confeſſed, and *Plutarch* takes Occaſion to obſerve, in ſpeaking of the Tyrants of *Sicily*; that *God*, in his Anger, gives ſuch Princes to a People, and makes Uſe of the Impious, and the Wicked, to puniſh the Guilty, and the Criminal. On the other Side, when the ſame Prince, the Dread and Terror of *Syracuſe*, is perpetually anxious and trembling for his own Life, and abandon'd to Remorſe and Regret, can find no Perſon in his whole State, not even his Wives or Children, in whom he can confide; Who will not think with *Tacitus*; *That it is with Reaſon the Oracle of Wiſdom has ſaid, that if the Hearts of Tyrants could be ſeen, we ſhould find them torn in Pieces with a thouſand Evils! Nothing being more true, than that the Body does not ſuffer more from Afflictions and Torments, than the Minds of ſuch Wretches from their Crimes, Cruelties, and the Injuſtice and Violence of their Undertakings.*

But the Condition of a good Prince is quite different. He loves his People, and is beloved by them; he enjoys a perfect Tranquillity within himſelf, and lives with his Subjects as a Father with his Children. Though he knows that the Sword of Juſtice is in his Hands, he apprehends the Uſe of it. He loves to turn aſide its Edge, and can never reſolve to exert his Power, but with extreme Reluctance, in the laſt Extremity, and with all the Forms and Sanctions of the Laws. A Tyrant puniſhes only from Caprice and Paſſion, and believes, ſays *Plutarch* of *Dionyſius*, that he is not really Maſter; and does not act with ſupreme Authority, but as he ſets himſelf above all Laws, has no other, but his Will and Pleaſure, and ſees himſelf obey'd implicitly. Whereas (continues the ſame Author) he that can do whatever he will, is in great Danger of doing what he ought not.

Beſides theſe Characteriſticks of Cruelty and Tyranny, which particularly diſtinguiſh'd the firſt *Dionyſius*, we ſhall ſee in his Hiſtory, whatever unbounded Ambition, ſupported with great Valour, extenſive Abilities, and the neceſſary Talents for acquiring the Confidence of a People, is capable of undertaking for the Attainment of a Sovereignty; the various Means he had the Addreſs to employ, for the maintaining himſelf in it, againſt the Oppoſition of Enemies; and laſtly, the Tyrant's Succeſs in eſcaping, during a Reign of thirty-eight Years, the many Conſpiracies form'd againſt him, and in tranſmitting peaceably the Tyranny to his Son, as a legitimate Poſſeſſion, and a Right of Inheritance.

Dionyſius was a Native of *Syracuſe*, of noble and illuſtrious Extraction, according to ſome, though others ſay his Birth was baſe and obſcure; but, however that was, he diſtinguiſh'd himſelf by his Valour, and acquired great Reputation, in a War with the *Carthaginians*. He was one of thoſe, who accompany'd *Hermocrates*, when he attempted to re-enter *Syracuſe* by Force of Arms, after having been baniſhed through the Intrigues of his Enemies. The Event of that Enterprize was not happy; *Hermocrates* was kill'd; and the *Syracuſians* did not ſpare his Accomplices, ſeveral of whom were publickly executed; and *Dionyſius* was left amongſt the Wounded. The Report of his Death, deſignedly given out by his Relations, ſaved his Life: Providence had ſpared *Syracuſe* an infinite Number of Misfortunes, had he expired either in the Fight, or by the Executioner.

The *Carthaginians* had made ſeveral Attempts to eſtabliſh themſelves in *Sicily*, and to make themſelves Maſters of the principal Towns of that Iſland. Its happy Situation for their maritime Commerce, the Fertility of its Soil, and the Riches of its Inhabitants, were powerful Incitements to ſuch an Enterprize. We may form an Idea of the Wealth of its Cities, from the Account of *Agrigentum* given by *Diodorus Sculus*. The Temples were of extraordinary Magnificence, eſpecially that of *Jupiter Olympius*, which was three hundred and forty Feet in Length, ſixty in Breadth, and one hundred and twenty in Height. The Pizza's, or Galleries, in their Extent and Beauty, anſwered to the reſt of the Building. On one Side was repreſented the Battle of the Giants, on the other the Taking of *Troy*, in Figures as large as the Life. Without the City was a Lake, hollow'd by Art, which was ſeven *Stadia* (above a Quarter of a League) in Circumference. It was full of all Kinds of Fiſh, cover'd with Swans, and other aquatick Fowls, and afforded the moſt agreeable Proſpect imaginable.

It was about the Time of which we ſpeak, that *Exenetes*, Victor in the *Olympick* Games, enter'd the City in Triumph in a magnificent Chariot, attended by three hundred more, all drawn by white Horſes. Their Habits were adorned with Gold and Silver, and nothing was ever more ſplendid than their Appearance. *Gellias*, the moſt wealthy of the Citizens of *Agrigentum*, erected ſeveral large Apartments in his Houſe for the Reception and Entertainment of his Gueſts. Servants waited, by his Order, at the Gates of the City, to invite all Strangers to lodge at their Maſter's Houſe, whither they conducted them. Hoſpitality was much practiſed and eſteem'd by the Generality of this City. A violent Storm having obliged five hundred Horſemen to take Shelter there, *Gellias* entertain'd them all in his Houſe, and ſupply'd them immediately with dry Clothes, of which he had always a great Quantity in his Wardrobe. This is underſtanding how to make a noble Uſe of Riches. His Cellar is much talk'd of by Hiſtorians, in which he had three hundred Reſervoirs, hewn out of the Rock, each of which contain'd an hundred *Amphoræ*, that is, ſeven hundred Gallons.

This great and opulent City was beſieged, and, at length, taken by the *Carthaginians*: Its Fall ſhook all *Sicily*, and ſpread an univerſal Terror. The Cauſe of its being loſt, was imputed to the *Syracuſians*, who had been too ſlow in ſending it Relief: Whereupon, *Dionyſius*, who from that Time had no other Thoughts, but of his grand Deſign,

Deſigns, and was ſecretly active in laying the Foundations of his future Power, took the Advantage of this favourable Opportunity, and of the general Complaints of *Sicily*, againſt the *Syracuſians*, to render the Magiſtrates odious, and to exclaim againſt their Government. In a publick Aſſembly, held to conſider of the preſent State of Affairs, when No-body dared to open their Mouths, for Fear of the Perſons at the Helm, *Dionyſius* roſe up, and boldly accuſed the Magiſtrates of Treaſon; adding, that it was his Opinion, that they ought to be depoſed immediately, without waiting till the Term of their Adminiſtration ſhould expire. They retorted this Audacity with treating him as a ſeditious Perſon, and a Diſturber of the publick Tranquillity, and laid a Fine upon him, according to the Laws. This was to be paid, before he could be admitted to ſpeak again, and *Dionyſius* was not in a Condition to diſcharge it. *Philiſtus*, one of the richeſt Citizens (who wrote the Hiſtory of *Sicily*, which is not come down to us) depoſited the Money, and exhorted him at the ſame Time, to give his Opinion, upon the State of Affairs, with all the Liberty, which became a Citizen, zealous for his Country.

Accordingly, *Dionyſius* reſum'd his Diſcourſe, with more Vigor than before: He had long cultivated the Study of Eloquence, which he look'd upon, with Reaſon, as a neceſſary Talent, in a republican Government; eſpecially, in his Views of acquiring the People's Favour, and of conciliating them with his Meaſures. He began with deſcribing, in a lively and pathetick Manner, the Ruin of *Agrigentum*, a neighbouring City, in their Alliance; the deplorable Extremity, to which the Inhabitants had been reduced, of quitting the Place under the Cover of the Night; the Cries and Lamentations of Infants, and of aged and ſick Perſons, whom they had been obliged to abandon to a cruel and unrelenting Enemy; and the conſequential Murder of all who had been left in the City, whom the barbarous Victor dragged from the Temples and Altars of the Gods, feeble refuges againſt the *Carthaginian* Fury and Impiety. All theſe Evils he imputed to the Treachery of the Commanders of the Army; who, inſtead of marching to the Relief of *Agrigentum*, had retreated with their Troops; to the criminal Protraction, and Delay of the Magiſtrates, corrupted by *Carthaginian* Bribes; to the Pride of the Great and Rich, who regarded nothing but eſtabliſhing their own Power, upon the Ruins of their Country's Liberty. He then repreſented *Syracuſe* as compoſed of two different Bodies; the one, by their Power and Influence, uſurping all the Dignities and Wealth of the State; the other, obſcure, deſpiſed, and trod under Foot, bearing the ſad Yoke of a ſhameful Servitude, rather Slaves than Citizens. He concluded with ſaying, that the only Remedy for ſo many Evils, was, to elect Perſons from amongſt the People, devoted to their Intereſts, and who, not being capable of keeping them in Awe by their Riches and Authority, would be ſolely employ'd for the publick Good, and apply in earneſt to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Liberty of *Syracuſe*.

This Diſcourſe was liſten'd to with infinite Pleaſure, as all Speeches are, which flatter the natural Propenſity of Inferiors to complain of the Government; and was follow'd with the univerſal Applauſe of the People; who always give themſelves up blindly to thoſe, who know how to deceive them, under the ſpecious Pretext of ſerving their Intereſt: All the Magiſtrates were depoſed upon the Spot, and others ſubſtituted in their Room, with *Dionyſius* at the Head of them.

This was only the firſt Step to the Tyranny, at which he did not ſtop: The Succeſs of his Undertaking, inſpired him with new Courage and Confidence: He had alſo in View the diſplacing of the Generals of the Army, and to have their Power transferred to himſelf: The Deſign was bold and dangerous, and he applied to it with Addreſs. Before he attack'd them openly, he raiſed his Batteries againſt them at a Diſtance; decrying them by his Emiſſaries, to the People, and ſparing no Pains, to render them ſuſpected. He cauſed it to be whiſper'd among the Populace, that thoſe Commanders held ſecret Intelligence with the Enemy; that diſguiſed Couriers were frequently ſeen paſſing and repaſſing; and that it was not to be doubted, but ſome Conſpiracy was on Foot. He affected, on his Side, not to ſee thoſe Leaders, nor to open himſelf to them at all upon the Affairs of the Publick: He communicated none of his Deſigns to them; as if he was apprehenſive of rendering himſelf ſuſpected, by having any Intercourſe or Correſpondence with them. Perſons of Senſe, and Diſcernment, were not at a Loſs to diſcover the Tendency of theſe undermining Arts; nor were they ſilent, upon the Occaſion: But the common People, prejudiced in his Favour, applauded and admir'd his Zeal continually, and look'd upon him as the ſole Protector, and Aſſerter of their Rights and Liberties.

Another Scheme, which he laid, and executed with his uſual Addreſs, was of very great Service to him, and exceedingly promoted his Deſigns. There was a great Number of baniſh'd Perſons diſperſed in *Sicily*, whom the Faction of the Nobility of *Syracuſe* had expell'd the City at different Times, and upon different Pretences. He knew what an additional Strength ſo numerous a Body of Citizens would be to him, whom Gratitude to a Benefactor, and Reſentment againſt thoſe who had occaſion'd their Baniſhment; the Hope of retrieving their Affairs, and of enriching themſelves out of the Spoils of his Enemies; render'd moſt proper for the Execution of his Deſigns, and attach'd unalterably to his Perſon and Intereſt. He applied therefore earneſtly to get them recall'd. It was given out, that it was neceſſary to raiſe a numerous Body of Troops to oppoſe the Progreſs of the *Carthaginians*, and the People were in great Pain about the Expence, to which the new Levies would amount. *Dionyſius* took the Advantage of this favourable Conjuncture, and the Diſpoſition of the Publick: He repreſented, that it was ridiculous to bring foreign Troops, at a great Expence, from *Italy* and *Peloponneſus*, whilſt they might ſupply themſelves with excellent Soldiers, without being at any Charge at all: That there were Numbers of *Syracuſans*, in every Part of *Sicily*, who, notwithſtanding the ill Treatment they had received, had always retain'd the Hearts of Citizens, under the Name and Condition of Exiles; that they preſerved a tender Affection, and inviolable Fidelity for their Country; and had choſe rather to wander about *Sicily*, without Support or Settlement, than to take Party in the Armies of the

Enemy, however advantagious the Offers, to induce them to it, had been. This Diſcourſe of *Dionyſius*, had all the Effect upon the People, that he could have wiſh'd; and his Collegues, though they perceiv'd plainly what they had in View, were afraid to contradict him; rightly judging, that their Oppoſition would not only prove ineffectual, but would incenſe the People againſt them, and beſides, would add to the Reputation of *Dionyſius*, to whom it would leave the Honour of recalling the Exiles. Their Return was therefore decreed; and they accordingly came all to *Syracuſe*, without loſing Time.

A Deputation from *Gela*, a City depending upon *Syracuſe*, arrived about the ſame Time, to demand to have that Garriſon reinforced: *Dionyſius*, therefore, immediately marched thither with two thouſand Foot, and four hundred Horſe. He found the City in a great Commotion, and divided into two Factions; one, of the People; and the other, of the Rich and Powerful. The latter having been tried in Form, were condemned by the Aſſembly to die, and to have their Eſtates confiſcated for the Uſe of the Publick. This Confiſcation was apply'd to pay off the Arrears, which had long been due to the former Garriſon, commanded by *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*; and *Dionyſius* promiſed the Troops he brought with him from *Syracuſe*, to double the Pay they were to receive from the City. This was attaching ſo many new Creatures to himſelf: The Inhabitants of *Gela* treated him with the higheſt Marks of Honour; and ſent Deputies to *Syracuſe*, to return their Thanks, for the important Service, that City had done them, in ſending *Dionyſius* thither. Having endeavoured, in vain, to bring *Dexippus* into his Meaſures, he return'd with his Troops to *Syracuſe*; after having promiſed the Inhabitants of *Gela*, who uſed all Means in their Power to keep him amongſt them, that he would ſoon return with more conſiderable Supplies.

He arrived at *Syracuſe*, juſt as the People were coming out of the Theatre, who ran in Throngs about him, enquiring with Earneſtneſs what he had heard of the *Carthaginians*. He anſwer'd, with a ſad and dejected Air, that the City nouriſh'd far more dangerous and formidable Enemies in her Boſom; that whilſt *Carthage* was making extraordinary Preparations, for the Invaſion of *Syracuſe*, thoſe, who were in Command, inſtead of animating the Zeal and Attention of the Citizens, and ſetting every Thing at Work againſt the Approach of ſo potent an Enemy, lull'd them aſleep with trivial Amuſements, and idle Shews, and ſuffer'd the Troops to want Neceſſaries; converting their Pay to their private Uſes, in a fraudulent Manner, deſtructive to the publick Affairs; that he had always ſufficiently comprehended the Cauſe of ſuch a Conduct; that, however, it was not now upon mere Conjecture, but upon too evident Proof, his Complaints were founded; that *Imilcar*, the General of the *Carthaginians*, had ſent an Officer to him, on Pretence of treating about the Ranſom of Priſoners; but, in Reality, to prevail on him not to be too ſtrict in examining into the Conduct of his Collegues; and that, if he would not enter into the Meaſures of *Carthage*, at leaſt, that he would not oppoſe them; that, for his Part, he came to reſign his Command, and lay down his Dignity, that he might leave no Room for injurious Suſpicions of his acting in Concert, and holding Intelligence with Traitors, who ſold the Commonwealth.

This Diſcourſe being rumour'd amongſt the Troops, and about the City, occaſion'd great Inquietude and Alarms: Next Day the Aſſembly was ſummon'd, and *Dionyſius* renew'd his Complaints againſt the Generals, which were received with univerſal Applauſe. Some of the Aſſembly cried out, that it was neceſſary to appoint him Generaliſſimo, with unlimited Power; and that it would be too late for ſo ſalutary a Remedy, when the Enemy was at the Gates of *Syracuſe*; that the Importance of the War which threaten'd them, required ſuch a Leader; that it was in the ſame Manner, formerly, that *Gelon* was elected Generaliſſimo, and defeated the *Carthaginian* Army at *Himera*, which conſiſted of three hundred thouſand Men; that as for the Accuſation, alledged againſt the Traitors, it might be referred to another Day, but that the preſent Affair would admit no Delay. Nor was it deferred, in Effect; for the People (who, when once prejudiced, give precipitately into any Reſolution, without conſidering) elected *Dionyſius* Generaliſſimo, with unlimited Power, that Inſtant. In the ſame Aſſembly, he cauſed it to be decreed, that the Soldiers Pay ſhould be doubled; inſinuating, that the State would be amply reimburſed, by the Conqueſts that would follow the advancing that Money. This being done, and the Aſſembly diſmiſſed, the *Syracuſans*, upon cool Reflection on what had paſſed, began, to be in ſome Conſternation; as if it had not been the Effect of their own Choice. They grew ſenſible, though too late, that from the Deſire of preſerving their Liberty, they had given themſelves a Maſter.

Dionyſius rightly judged the Importance, of taking his Meaſures, before the People repented what they had done: There remain'd but one Step more to the Tyranny, which was, to have a Body of Guards aſſign'd him; and that he accompliſh'd, in the moſt artful and politick Manner. He propoſed, that all the Citizens under forty Years of Age, and capable of bearing Arms, ſhould march with Proviſions, for thirty Days, to the City of *Leontium*. The *Syracuſans* were at that Time in Poſſeſſion of that Place, and had a Garriſon therein: It was full of Fugitives, and foreign Soldiers, who were very fit Perſons for the Execution of his Deſigns: He juſtly ſuſpected, that the greateſt Part of the *Syracuſans* would not follow him: He ſet out, however, and encamp'd, in the Night, upon the Plains near the City. It was not long before a great Noiſe was heard throughout the whole Camp. This Tumult was raiſed by Perſons, poſted for that Purpoſe, by *Dionyſius*. He pretended, that Ambuſcades had been laid, with Deſign to aſſaſſinate him; and, in great Trouble and Alarm, retired for Refuge into the Citadel of *Leontium*, where he paſſed the reſt of the Night, after having cauſed a great Number of Fires to be lighted, and drawn off ſuch of the Troops as he moſt confided in. At Break of Day the People aſſembled in a Body, to whom, expreſſing ſtill great Apprehenſion, he explain'd the Danger he had been in; and demanded Permiſſion to chuſe himſelf a Guard of ſix hundred Men for the Security of his Perſon. *Piſiſtratus* had ſet him the Example long before; and had uſed the ſame Stratagem

tagem when he made himſelf Tyrant of *Athens*. His Demand ſeem'd very reaſonable, and was accordingly comply'd with. He choſe out a thouſand Men for his Guard, upon the Spot, arm'd them compleatly, equipp'd them magnificently, and made them great Promiſes for their Encouragement. He alſo attach'd the foreign Soldiers to his Intereſt, in a peculiar Manner; and by ſpeking to them with great Freedom and Affability. He made many Removals and Alterations in the Troops, to ſecure the Officers to his Service; and diſmiſſed *Dexippus*, in whom he could not confide, to *Sparta*. At the ſame Time, he order'd a great Part of the Garriſon, which he had ſent to *Gela*, to join him, and aſſembled from all Parts Fugitives, Exiles, Debtors, and Criminals; a Train worthy of a Tyrant.

With this Eſcort he return'd to Syracuſe, that trembled at his Approach. The People were no longer in a Condition to oppoſe his Undertakings, or to diſpute his Authority. The City was full of foreign Soldiers, and ſaw itſelf upon the Point of being attack'd by the *Carthaginians*. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more in the Tyranny, he eſpouſed the Daughter of *Hermocrates*, the moſt powerful Citizen of *Syracuſe*, and who had contributed the moſt to the Defeat of the *Athenians*. He alſo gave his Siſter in Marriage to *Polyxenus*, Brother-in-Law of *Hermocrates*. He afterwards ſummon'd an Aſſembly, in which he got rid of *Daphneus* and *Demarchus*, who had been the moſt active in oppoſing his Uſurpation. In this Manner *Dionyſius*, from a ſimple Notary, and a Citizen of the loweſt Claſs, made himſelf abſolute Lord and Tyrant of the greateſt and moſt opulent City of *Sicily*.

Dionyſius had a rude Shock to encounter, in the Beginning of his Uſurpation: The *Carthaginians* having beſieged *Gela*, he march'd to its Relief, and after ſome unſucceſsful Endeavours againſt the Enemy, threw himſelf into the Place: He behaved there with little Vigour, and all the Service he did the Inhabitants was, to make them abandon their City in the Night, and to cover their Flight, in Perſon. He was even ſuſpected of acting in Concert with the Enemy; and the more, becauſe they did not purſue him, and that he loſt very few of his foreign Soldiers: All the Inhabitants who remain'd at *Gela* were butcher'd. Thoſe of *Camarina*, to avoid the ſame Fate, follow'd their Example; and withdrew, with all the Effects they could carry away. The moving Sight of aged Perſons, Matrons, young Virgins, and tender Infants, hurry'd on, beyond their Strength, ſtruck the Troops of *Dionyſius* with Compaſſion, and incenſed them againſt the Tyrant. Thoſe he had raiſed in *Italy* withdrew to their own Country; and the *Syracuſan* Cavalry, after having made a vain Attempt to kill him upon the March, by Reaſon of his being ſurrounded with his Foreigners, march'd forwards, and having enter'd *Syracuſe*, went directly to his Palace, which they plunder'd, uſing his Wife, at the ſame Time, with ſo much Violence and ill Uſage, that ſhe died of it ſoon after. *Dionyſius*, who had foreſeen their Deſign, follow'd them cloſe, with only an hundred Horſe, and four hundred Foot; and having march'd almoſt twenty Leagues with the utmoſt Expedition, he arrived at Midnight at one of the Gates, which he found ſhut againſt him: He ſet Fire to it, and open'd himſelf a Paſſage in that Manner. The richeſt of the Citizens ran thither to diſpute his Entrance; but were ſurrounded by the Soldiers, and almoſt all of them kill'd. *Dionyſius* having enter'd the City, put all to the Sword, that came in his Way; plunder'd the Houſes of his Enemies, of whom he kill'd a great Number, and forced the reſt to leave *Syracuſe*. The next Day, in the Morning, the whole Body of his Troops arrived: The unhappy Fugitives of *Gela* and *Camarina*, out of Horror for the Tyrant, retired to the *Leontines*. *Imilcar*, having ſent an Herald to *Syracuſe*, a Treaty was concluded: By one of the Articles whereof it was ſtipulated, that *Syracuſe* ſhould continue under the Government of *Dionyſius*; which confirm'd all the Suſpicions, that had been conceived of him: This happen'd in the Year that *Darius Nothus* died.

It was then he ſacrificed every Thing that gave him Umbrage to his Peace, and Security: He knew, that after having deprived the *Syracuſans* of all that was dear to them, he could not fail of incurring their extreme Abhorrence; and the Fear of the Miſeries, he was conſequently to expect, encreaſed in the wicked Uſurper, in Proportion to their Hatred of him. He look'd upon all his new Subjects as ſo many Enemies, and believed, that he could only avoid the Dangers, which ſurrounded him on all Sides, and attended him in all Places, by extirpating one Part of the People, to intimidate the other. He did not conſider, that in adding the Cruelty of Executions to the Oppreſſion of the Publick, he only multiply'd his Enemies; and induced them, after the Loſs of their Liberty, to preſerve, at leaſt, their Lives, by attempting upon his.

In the mean while, as he foreſaw, that the *Syracuſans* would not fail to take the Advantage of the Tranquillity, in which the Treaty lately concluded with the *Carthaginians* had left them, to attempt the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Liberty, neglected nothing, on his Side, for the Support of his Power. He fortify'd Part of the City, called the Iſle, which was before very ſtrong, from the Nature of its Situation, and might be defended by a moderate Garriſon: He ſurrounded it with good Walls; flank'd at due Diſtances with high Towers; and ſeparated, in that Manner, from the reſt of the City. To theſe Works he added a ſtrong Citadel, to ſerve him for a Retreat and Refuge in Caſe of Accident, and cauſed a great Number of Shops and Piazza's to be erected, capable of containing a conſiderable Multitude of Inhabitants.

As to the Lands, he choſe out the beſt of them, which he beſtow'd upon his Creatures, and the Officers of his making; and diſtributed the reſt in equal Proportions, among the Citizens and Strangers, including the Slaves, who had been made free amongſt the firſt. He divided the Houſes, in the ſame Manner, reſerving thoſe in the Iſle for ſuch of the Citizens as he could moſt confide in, and for his Strangers.

After having taken theſe Precautions, for his own Security, he began to think of ſubjecting ſeveral free States of *Sicily*, which had aided the *Carthaginians*. He began with the Siege of *Herbeſſes*: The *Syracuſans* in his Army, ſeeing their Swords in their Hands, thought it their Duty to uſe them, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Liberty.

berty. At a Time, when they met in Throngs to concert their Measures, one of the Officers, who took upon him to reprove them on that Account, was kill'd upon the Spot; and his Death serving as a Signal for their Revolt, they sent immediately to *Ætna*, for the Horse, who had retired thither at the Beginning of the Revolution. *Dionysius*, alarm'd at this Insurrection, raised the Siege, and march'd directly to *Syracuse*, to keep it in Obedience. The Revolters follow'd him close, and having seiz'd upon the Suburb *Epipolis*, cut off all Communication with the Country: They receiv'd Aid from their *Allies*, both by Sea and Land; and setting a Price upon the Tyrant's Head, they promised the Freedom of the City, to such of the Strangers, as should abandon him: A great Number came over to them; whom they treated with the utmost Favour and Humanity, and batter'd the Walls of the *Isle* with their Engines continually, without giving *Dionysius* the least Respite.

The Tyrant, finding himself reduc'd to Extremities, abandon'd by the greatest Part of the Strangers, and shut up on the Side of the Country, assembled his Friends, to consult with them, rather by what Kind of Death, he should put a glorious Period to his Career, than upon the Means of saving himself. They endeavour'd to inspire him with new Courage, and were divided in their Opinions: But, at last, the Advice of *Philistus* prevail'd; which was, that he should, by no Means, renounce the Tyranny. This being resolv'd, *Dionysius*, to gain Time, sent Deputies, to the Revolters, and demanded Permission to quit the Place with his Adherents, which was granted, and five Ships to transport his People and Effects: In the mean While, he had sent Dispatches secretly to the *Campanians*, who garrison'd the Places in the Possession of the *Carthaginians*, with Offers of a considerable Reward, if they would come to his Relief.

The *Syracusans*, who, after the Treaty, believ'd their Business done, and the Tyrant entirely defeated, had disarm'd Part of their Troops, and the Rest acted with great Indolence, and little Discipline. The Arrival of the *Campanians*, to the Number of twelve hundred Horse, infinitely surpriz'd and alarm'd the City. After having beaten such as disputed their Passage, they open'd themselves a Way to *Dionysius*: At the same Time, three hundred Soldiers more arriv'd to his Assistance: The Face of Things was then entirely alter'd; and Terror and Dejection changed Parties. *Dionysius*, in a Sally, drove them vigorously as far as that Part of the City call'd *Neapolis*: The Slaughter was not very considerable, because he had given Orders to spare those who fled. He caused the Dead to be interr'd; and inform'd those, who had retir'd to *Ætna*, that they might return with entire Safety. Many came to *Syracuse*; but others did not think it advisable to confide in the Faith of a Tyrant. The *Campanians* were rewarded to their Satisfaction, and dismissed.

The *Lacedæmonians*, at this Time, took such Measures with *Syracuse*, as were most unworthy of the *Spartan* Name: They had lately subverted the Liberty of *Athens*, and declar'd publickly in all the Cities subject to them, against popular Government. They deputed, however, one of their Citizens to *Syracuse*, to express, in Appearance, the Part they took in the Misfortunes of that City, and to offer it their Aid: But, in Reality, he was sent to confirm *Dionysius*, in supporting himself in the Tyranny; expecting that, from the Increase of his Power, he would prove of great Advantage and Support to their own.

Dionysius saw, by what had so lately happen'd at *Syracuse*, what he was to expect from that People, for the future: Wherefore, whilst the Inhabitants were employ'd abroad in Harvest-Work, he search'd their Houses, and seiz'd upon all the Arms he could find. He afterwards enclosed the the Citadel with an additional Wall, fitted out Abundance of Ships, arm'd great Numbers of Strangers, and took all possible Measures, to secure himself, against the Disaffection of those Citizens.

After having made this Provision for his Safety at home, he prepar'd to extend his Conquests abroad; from whence he did not only propose the Increase of his Dominions, and Revenues, but the additional Advantage of diverting his Subjects from the Sense of their lost Liberty, by turning their Attention upon their ancient, and always abhorr'd Enemy; and by employing them in lofty Projects, military Expeditions, and glorious Exploits, to which the Hopes of Riches and Plunder would be annex'd. He conceiv'd this to be also the Means to acquire the Affection of his Troops; and that the Esteem of the People would be a Consequence of the Grandeur and Success of his Enterprizes.

Dionysius wanted neither Courage nor Policy, and had all the Qualities of a great General. He took, either by Force, or Fraud, *Naxos*, *Catana*, *Leontium*, and some other Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Syracuse*; and which, for that Reason, were very convenient for his Purposes. Some of them he treated with Favour and Clemency, to engage the Esteem and Confidence of the People: Others he plunder'd, to strike Terror into the Country. The Inhabitants of *Leontium* were transplanted to *Syracuse*.

These Conquests alarm'd the neighbouring Cities, who saw themselves threaten'd with the same Misfortune: *Rhegio*, situate upon the opposite Coast of the Strait which divides *Sicily* from *Italy*, prepar'd to prevent it; and enter'd into an Alliance with the *Syracusan* Exiles, who were very numerous; and with the *Messenians* on the *Sicilian* Side of the Strait, who were to aid them with a powerful Supply. They had levy'd a considerable Army, and were upon the Point of marching against the Tyrant, when Discord arose amongst the Troops, and render'd the Enterprize abortive: It terminated in a Treaty of Peace and Alliance between *Dionysius* and the two Cities.

He had long revolv'd a great Design in his Mind, which was to ruin the *Carthaginian* Power in *Sicily*; a great Obstacle to his own, as his discontented Subjects never fail'd of Refuge in the Towns dependant upon that Nation. The Calamity of the Plague, which had lately ravaged *Carthage*, and extreamly diminish'd its Strength, seem'd to afford a favourable Opportunity for the Execution. But, as a Man of Ability, he knew that the Greatness of the Preparations, ought to answer that of an Enterprize, to assure the Success of it; and he apply'd to them in a Manner,

which expreſſed the Extent of his Views, and extraordinary Capacity. He, therefore, uſed uncommon Pains and Application for that Purpoſe; conſcious that the War, into which he was entering with one of the moſt powerful Nations then known, might be of long Duration, and have Variety of conſiderable Events.

His firſt Care was to bring to *Syracuſe*, as well from the conquer'd Cities in *Sicily*, as from *Greece* and *Italy*, a great Number of Artiſans and Workmen of all Kinds; whom he induc'd to come thither, by the Offer of great Gain and Reward; the certain Means of engaging the moſt excellent Perſons in every Profeſſion. He cauſed an infinite Number of every Kind of Arms to be forged, Swords, Javelins, Lances, Partizans, Helmets, Cuiraſſes, Bucklers; all after the Manner of the Nation by whom they were to be worn. He built alſo a great Number of Gallies, that had from three to five Benches of Rowers, and were entirely of a new Invention; with Abundance of other Barks and Veſſels, for the Tranſportation of Troops and Proviſions.

The whole City ſeem'd but one Workſhop, and continually reſounded with the Noiſe of the ſeveral Artiſans. Not only the Porches, Piazza's, Portico's, Places of Exerciſe, and publick Places, but private Houſes of any Extent were full of Workmen. *Dionyſius* had diſtributed them with admirable Order. Each Species of Artiſts, divided by Streets and Diſtricts, had their Overſeers and Inſpectors; who, by their Preſence, and Direction, promoted, and compleated the Works. *Dionyſius* himſelf was perpetually amongſt the Workmen, encouraging them with Praiſe, and rewarding their Merit. He knew how to confer different Marks of Honour upon them, according to their diſtinguiſhing themſelves by their Ingenuity or Application. He would even make ſome of them dine with him at his own Table, where he entertain'd them with the Freedom and Kindneſs of a Friend. It is juſtly ſaid by *Cicero*, *that Honour nouriſhes Arts and Sciences; and Men of all Ranks and Conditions are animated by the Love of Glory.* The Prince, who knows how to put the two great Springs and ſtrongeſt Incentives of the human Soul, Intereſt and Glory, in Motion, under proper Regulations, will ſoon make all Arts and Sciences flouriſh in his Kingdom; and fill it with Perſons, who excel in every Profeſſion. And this happen'd, at that Time, at *Syracuſe*; where a ſingle Perſon of great Ability in the Art of governing, excited ſuch Ardor and Emulation amongſt the Artificers, as it is not eaſy to be imagin'd or deſcrib'd.

Dionyſius apply'd himſelf more particularly to the Navy. He knew that *Corinth* had invented the Art of building Gallies, with three and five Benches of Oars, and was ambitious of gaining *Syracuſe*, a *Corinthian* Colony, the Glory of bringing that Art to Perfection; which he effected. The Timber for building his Gallies was brought, Part from *Italy*, where it was drawn on Carriages to the Sea-ſide, and from thence ſhipp'd to *Syracuſe*, and from Mount *Ætna*, which, at that Time, produc'd Abundance of Pine and Fir-Trees. In a ſhort Space, a Fleet of two hundred Sail was ſeen, in a Manner, to riſe out of the Earth; and an hundred others formerly built, were refitted by his Order. He cauſed alſo an hundred and ſixty Docks to be made within the great Port, each of them capable of containing two Gallies, and a hundred and fifty more to be repair'd.

The Sight of ſuch a Fleet, built in ſo ſhort a Time, and fitted out with ſo much Magnificence, would have given Reaſon to believe, that all *Sicily* had united its Labours and Revenues, in accompliſhing ſo great a Work. On the other Side, the View of ſuch an incredible Quantity of Arms newly made, would have inclin'd one to think, that *Dionyſius* had ſolely devoted himſelf to the Proviſion of them, and had exhauſted his Treaſures in the Expence. They conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand Shields, as many Helmets and Swords; and upwards of fourteen thouſand Cuiraſſes, finiſh'd with all the Art and Elegance imaginable. They were intended for the Horſe; for the Tribunes and Centurions of the Foot, and foreign Troops, who had the Guard of his Perſon. Darts, Arrows, and Lances, innumerable; and the Engines, and Machines of War, in Proportion to the reſt of the Preparations.

The Fleet was to be mann'd by an equal Number of Citizens and Strangers: *Dionyſius* did not think of raiſing Troops, till all his Preparations were compleat: *Syracuſe*, and the Cities in Subjection thereto, ſupply'd him with Part of his Forces. Many came from *Greece*, eſpecially from *Sparta*. The conſiderable Pay he offer'd, brought Soldiers in Crowds, from all Parts, to lift in his Service.

He omitted none of the Precautions neceſſary for the Succeſs of his Enterprize; the Importance, as well as Difficulty, of which was well known to him. He was not ignorant, that every Thing depends upon the Zeal and Affection of the Troops for their General; and apply'd himſelf particularly to the gaining the Hearts, not of his own Subjects only, but of all the Inhabitants of *Sicily*; and ſucceeded in it to a Wonder. He had entirely changed his Behaviour for ſome Time. Kindneſs, Courteſy, Clemency, a Diſpoſition to do Good, and an inſinuating Complaiſance to every one, had taken Place of that haughty and imperious Air, and Inhumanity of Temper, that had render'd him ſo odious. He was ſo entirely alter'd, that he did not ſeem to be the ſame Man.

Whilſt he was haſtening his Preparations for the War, and applying to the Attainment of his Subjects Affections, he meditated an Alliance with the two powerful Cities, *Rhegio* and *Meſſina*; which might diſconcert his great Deſigns by a formidable Diverſion. The League form'd by thoſe Cities ſome Time before, though without any Effect, gave him ſome Uneaſineſs. He, therefore, thought it neceſſary, to make ſure of the Amity of them both. He preſented the Inhabitants of *Meſſina*, with a conſiderable Quanity of Land, which was ſituate in their Neighbourhood, and lay very commodiouſly for them. To give the People of *Rhegio* an Inſtance of his Eſteem and Regard for them, he ſent Embaſſadors, to deſire that they would give him one of their Citizens in Marriage. He had loſt his firſt Wife in the popular Commotion, as we have before related.

Dionyſius, ſenſible, that nothing eſtabliſhes a Throne more effectually, than the Proſpect of a Succeſſor; who may enter into the ſame Deſigns;

have the ſame Intereſts, purſue the ſame Plan, and obſerve the ſame Maxims of Government; took the Opportunity of the preſent Tranquility of his Affairs, to contract a double Marriage; in order to have a Succeſſor, to whom he might transfer the Sovereignty, which had coſt him ſo many Pains and Dangers to acquire.

The People of *Rhegio*, to whom *Dionyſius* had firſt apply'd, having call'd a Council to take his Demand into Conſideration, came to a Reſolution, not to contract any Alliance with a Tyrant; and return'd for their final Anſwer, that they had *only the* Hangman's *Daughter to give him*. The Raillery was home; and cut deep: We ſhall ſee, in the Sequel, how dear that City paid for their Jeſt.

The *Locrians*, to whom *Dionyſius* ſent the ſame Embaſſadors, did not ſhew themſelves ſo difficult and delicate, but ſent him *Doris* for a Wife, who was the Daughter of one of their moſt illuſtrious Citizens. He cauſed her to be brought from *Locris*, in a Galley with five Benches of Rowers, of extraordinary Magnificence, and ſhining on all Sides with Gold and Silver. He marry'd, at the ſame Time, *Ariſtomache*, Daughter of *Hipparinus*, the moſt conſiderable, and powerful, of the *Syracuſian* Citizens, and Siſter of *Dion*, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter. She was brought to his Palace, in a Chariot drawn by four white Horſes, which was then a ſingular Mark of Diſtinction. The Nuptials of both were celebrated the ſame Day, with univerſal Rejoicings throughout the whole City, and were attended with Feaſts, and Preſents, of incredible Magnificence. It was contrary to the Manners, and univerſal Cuſtom of the *Weſtern* Nations, from all Antiquity, that he eſpouſed two Wives at once; taking in this, as in every Thing elſe, the Liberty aſſum'd by Tyrants, of ſetting themſelves above all Laws.

However, *Dionyſius* ſeem'd to have an equal Affection for his two Wives, without giving the Preference to either; to remove all Cauſe of Jealouſy and Diſcord. The People of *Syracuſe* reported, that he preferr'd his own Country-woman to the Stranger; but the latter had the good Fortune to bring her Husband the firſt Son, which ſupported him not a little againſt the Cabals and Intrigues of *Syracuſians*. *Ariſtomache* was a long Time without any Symptoms of Child-bearing; though *Dionyſius* deſired ſo earneſtly to have Iſſue by her, that he put his *Locrian*'s Mother to Death; accuſing her, of hindering *Ariſtomache* from conceiving, by Witchcraft.

Ariſtomache's Brother was the celebrated *Dion*, who was in great Eſteem with *Dionyſius*. He was, at firſt, obliged for his Credit to his Siſter's Favour; but after, diſtinguiſhing his great Capacity in many Inſtances, his own Merit made him much beloved and regarded by the Tyrant. Amongſt the other Marks, *Dionyſius* gave him of his Confidence, he order'd his Treaſurers to ſupply him, without farther Orders, with whatever Money he ſhould demand, provided they inform'd him the ſame Day they paid it.

Dion had, naturally, a great, and moſt noble Soul. An happy Accident had conduced to inſpire, and confirm in him, the moſt elevated Sentiments: It was a Kind of Chance, or rather, as *Plutarch* ſays, a peculiar Providence, which laid, at a Diſtance, the Foundation of the *Syracuſian* Liberty, that brought *Plato*, the moſt celebrated of Philoſophers, thither. *Dion* became his Friend and Diſciple, and made great Improvements from his Leſſons: For, though brought up in a luxurious, and voluptuous Court, where the ſupreme Good was made to conſiſt in Pleaſure and Magnificence, he had no ſooner heard the Precepts of this new Maſter, and imbib'd a Taſte of the Philoſophy that inculcates Virtue, than his Soul was inflam'd with the Love of it. *Plato*, in one of his Letters, gives this glorious Teſtimony of him; that he had never met with a young Man, upon whom his Diſcourſes made ſo great Impreſſion, or who had conceiv'd his Principles with ſo much Ardor and Vivacity.

As *Dion* was young, and unexperienc'd, obſerving the Facility with which *Plato* had changed his Taſte and Inclinations, he imagin'd, innocently enough, that the ſame Reaſons would have the ſame Effects upon the Mind of *Dionyſius*; and, with that Opinion, could not reſt, till he had prevail'd upon the Tyrant to hear, and converſe with him. *Dionyſius* conſented: But the Luſt of tyrannick Power had taken too deep a Root in his Heart, to be ever eradicated from it. It was like an indelible Dye, that had penetrated his inmoſt Soul; from whence it was impoſſible ever to ſeparate it.

Though the Stay of *Plato* at the Court, made no Alteration in *Dionyſius*, he perſevered in giving *Dion* the ſame Inſtances of his Eſteem and Confidence; and even to ſupport, without taking Offence, the Freedom with which he ſpoke to him. *Dionyſius* ridiculing, one Day, the Government of *Gelon*, who, many Years before, had been King of *Syracuſe*; and ſaying, in Alluſion to his Name, that he had been the *Laughing-ſtock* of *Sicily*; the whole Court fell into great Admiration, and took no ſmall Pains, to ſet off the Quaintneſs and Delicacy of the Conceit; inſipid and flat as it was, and indeed, as Puns and Quibbles generally are. *Dion* took it in a ſerious Senſe, and was ſo bold to repreſent to him, that he was in the Wrong, to talk in that Manner of a Prince, whoſe wiſe, and equitable Conduct, had exhibited an excellent Model of Government; and given the *Syracuſans* a favourable Opinion of Monarchical Power. *You reign* (ſaid he) *and have been truſted for* Gelon's *Sake*; *but, for your Sake, no Man will ever be truſted after you.* It was very much, that a Tyrant ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be talk'd to, in ſuch a Manner, with Impunity.

Dionyſius ſeeing his great Preparations were compleat, and that he was in a Condition to take the Field, publickly open'd his Deſign to the *Syracuſans*, in order to intereſt them the more in the Enterprize, and told them, that it was againſt the *Carthaginians*. He repreſented that People, as the perpetual, and inveterate Enemies of the *Greeks*; and eſpecially, of thoſe who inhabited *Sicily*; that the Plague, which had lately waſted *Carthage*, had made the Opportunity favourable; which ought not to be neglected; that the People in Subjection to ſo cruel a Power, waited only the Signal to declare againſt it; that it would be much for the Glory of *Syracuſe*, to reinſtate the *Grecian* Cities in their Liberty, after their having ſo long groan'd under the Yoke of the *Barbarians*; that, in declaring War, at preſent, againſt the *Carthaginians*, they only preceded them in it

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for ſome Time; ſince, aſſoon as they had retriev'd their Loſſes, they would not fail to attack *Syracuſe* with all their Forces.

The Aſſembly were unanimous in theſe Sentiments: Their ancient, and natural Hatred of the *Barbarians*; their Anger againſt them, for having given *Syracuſe* a Maſter; and the Hope, that, with Arms in their Hands, they might find ſome Occaſion of recovering their Liberty, united them in their Suffrages: The War was reſolv'd with unanimous Conſent, and began that very Inſtant. A great Number of *Carthaginians*, were then both in the City, and Port; who, relying upon the Faith of Treaties, and under the Peace, drove a Trade with the Natives, and thought themſelves in Security. The Populace, by the Authority of *Dionyſius*, upon the breaking up of the *Aſſembly*, ran to their Houſes, and Ships, plunder'd their Goods, and carry'd off their Effects: They met with the ſame Treatment throughout *Sicily*; to which Murders and Maſſacres were added, by Way of Reprizal, for the many Cruelties committed by the *Barbarians* upon thoſe they conquer'd; and to ſhew them what they had to expect, if they continued to make War with the ſame Inhumanity.

After this bloody Execution, *Dionyſius* ſent a Letter, by an Herald, to *Carthage*; in which he ſignify'd, that the *Syracuſans* declar'd War upon the *Carthaginians*, if they did not withdraw their Garriſons, from all the *Grecian* Cities held by them in *Sicily*: The Reading of this Letter, at firſt, in the Senate, and afterwards, in the Aſſembly of the People, occaſion'd an uncommon Alarm, as the Peſtilence had reduc'd the City to a deplorable Condition: However, they were not diſmay'd, and prepar'd for a vigorous Defence. They raiſed Troops with the utmoſt Diligence; and *Imilcar* ſet out immediately, to put himſelf at the Head of the *Carthaginian* Army in *Sicily*.

Dionyſius, on his Side, loſt no Time; but took the Field with his Army, which daily increaſed, by the Arrival of new Troops, who came to join him from all Parts. It amounted to eighty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe. The Fleet conſiſted of two hundred Gallies, and five hundred Barks laden with Proviſions, and Engines of War. He open'd the Campaign, with the Siege of *Motya*, a fortify'd Town, under the *Carthaginians*; lying near Mount *Eryx*, in a little Iſland, ſomething more than a Quarter of a League from the Continent; to which it was join'd by a ſmall Neck of Land; which the Beſieged immediately cut off, to prevent the Approaches of the Enemy on that Side.

Dionyſius having left the Care of the Siege to *Leptinus*, who commanded the Fleet, went with his Land Forces to attack the Places in Alliance with the *Carthaginians*. Terrify'd, by the Approach of ſo numerous an Army, they all ſurrender'd, except five; which were, *Ancyra*, *Solos*, *Panormus*, now *Palermo*; *Segeſta*, and *Entella*: The two laſt Places he beſieged.

Imilcar, however, to make a Diverſion, detach'd ten Gallies of his Fleet, with Orders to attack in the Night, and ſurprize, all the Veſſels, which remain'd in the Port of *Syracuſe*. The Commander of this Expedition enter'd the Port, according to his Orders, without Reſiſtance; and, after having ſunk a great Part of the Veſſels, which he found there, retir'd well ſatisfy'd with the Succeſs of his Enterprize.

Dionyſius, after having waſted the Enemy's Country, return'd, and ſat down with his whole Army before *Motya*; and, having employ'd a great Number of Hands, in making Dams and Moles, he reinſtated the Neck of Land, and brought his Engines to work on that Side: The Place was attack'd, and defended, with the greateſt Bravery. After the Beſiegers had paſſed the Breach, and enter'd the City, the Beſieged perſiſted a conſiderable Time in defending themſelves with incredible Valour; ſo that it was neceſſary to purſue, and drive them, from Houſe to Houſe. The Soldiers, enraged at ſo obſtinate a Reſiſtance, put all before them to the Sword; Age, Youth, Women, Children, nothing was ſpared, except thoſe, who had taken Refuge in the Temples. The Town was abandon'd to the Diſcretion of the Soldiers, *Dionyſius* being pleaſed with an Occaſion, of attaching the Troops to his Service, by the Allurement, and Hope of Gain.

The *Carthaginians* made an extraordinary Effort, the next Year, and raiſed an Army of three hundred thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. The Fleet, under *Mago*'s Command, conſiſted of four hundred Gallies, and upwards of ſix hundred Veſſels, laden with Proviſions, and Engines of War. *Imilcar* had given the Captains of the Fleet his Orders ſeal'd up, which were not to be open'd till they were out at Sea. He had taken this Precaution, that his Deſigns might be kept ſecret; and to prevent Spies from ſending Advices of them to *Sicily*. The Rendezvous was at *Palermo*; where the Fleet arriv'd, without Loſs in their Paſſage; *Imilcar* took *Eryx* by Treachery; and, ſoon after, reduced *Motya* to ſurrender: *Meſſina*, next, ſeem'd to him a Place of Importance; becauſe it might favour the landing of Troops from *Italy*, and cut off the Paſſage of thoſe, who ſhould come from *Peloponneſus*: After a long, and vigorous Defence, it fell into his Hands; and ſome Time after, he entirely demoliſh'd it.

Dionyſius, ſeeing his Forces extreamly inferior to the Enemy, retired to *Syracuſe*: Almoſt all the People of *Sicily*, who hated him from the Beginning, and were only reconcil'd to him in Appearance; and, out of Fear, took this Occaſion to quit his Party, and to join the *Carthaginians*.

The Tyrant levy'd new Troops, and gave the Slaves their Liberty, that they might ſerve on board the Fleet. His Army amounted to thirty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe; and his Fleet to a hundred and eighty Gallies. With theſe Forces he took the Field, and remov'd about eighteen Leagues from *Syracuſe*. *Imilcar* advanc'd perpetually with his Land-Army follow'd by his Fleet, that kept near the Coaſt: But, when he arriv'd at *Naxos*, he could not continue his March upon the Sea-ſide, and was obliged to take a long Compaſs round Mount *Ætna*, which, by a new Eruption, had ſet the Country about it on Fire, and cover'd it with Aſhes: He therefore, order'd his Fleet to wait his coming up at *Catana*. *Dionyſius* appriz'd of this, thought the Opportunity favourable for attacking it, whilſt ſeparated from the Land-Forces; and whilſt his own, drawn up in Battle upon the Shore, might be of Service to animate and ſupport his Fleet. The Scheme

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was wiſely concerted, but the Succeſs not anſwerable to it. *Leptinus*, his Admiral, having advanc'd inconſiderately with thirty Gallies, contrary to the Opinion of *Dionyſius*, who had particularly recommended to him, the not dividing of his Forces, at firſt, ſunk ſeveral of the Enemy's Ships; but, upon being ſurrounded by the greater Number, was forced to fly. His whole Fleet follow'd his Example, and was warmly purſued by the *Carthaginians*. *Mago* detach'd Boats full of Soldiers, with Orders to kill all who endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by ſwimming to Shore. The Land-Army drawn up there, ſaw them periſh miſerably, without being able to give them any Aſſiſtance. The Loſs, on the Side of the *Sicilians*, was very great; more than a hundred Gallies being either taken, or ſunk; and twenty thouſand Men periſhing, either in the Battle, or the Purſuit.

Hereupon, the *Sicilians*, who were afraid to ſhut themſelves up in *Syracuſe*, where they could not fail of being beſieged very ſoon, ſollicited *Dionyſius* to lead them againſt *Imilcar*, whom ſo bold an Enterprize might daunt; beſides which, they ſhould find his Troops fatigued with their long and haſty March. The Propoſal pleaſed him, at firſt; but, upon reflecting, that *Mago*, with the victorious Fleet, might advance, and take *Syracuſe*, he thought it more adviſable to return thither; which was the Occaſion of his loſing Abundance of his Troops; who deſerted in Numbers, on all Sides. *Imilcar*, after a March of two Days, arriv'd at *Catana*; where he halted ſome Days to refreſh his Army, and refit his Fleet, which had ſuffer'd exceedingly by a violent Storm.

He then march'd to *Syracuſe*, and made his Fleet enter the Port in Triumph: More than two hundred Gallies, adorn'd with the Spoils of their Victory, made a noble Appearance, as they advanc'd; the Crews forming a Kind of Concert, by the uniform and regular Order they obſerv'd, in the Motion of their Oars: They were follow'd by an infinite Number of ſmaller Barks; ſo that the Port, vaſt as it was, was ſcarce capable of containing them; the whole Sea being, in a Manner, cover'd with Sails. At the ſame Time, on the other Side, appear'd the Land-Army, compoſed, as has been ſaid, of three hundred thouſand Foot, and four thouſand Horſe. *Imilcar* pitch'd his Tent in the Temple of *Jupiter*; and the Army encamp'd around, at ſomewhat more than half a League's Diſtance from the City. It is eaſy to judge, the Conſternation and Alarm, which ſuch a Proſpect muſt give the *Syracuſans*. The *Carthaginian* General advanc'd with his Troops to the Walls, to offer the City Battle; and, at the ſame Time, ſeiz'd upon the two remaining Ports, with a Detachment of a hundred Gallies. As he ſaw no Motion on the Side of the *Syracuſans*, he retir'd, contented, for that Time, with the Enemies confeſſing their Inequality. For thirty Days together, he laid waſte the Country, cutting down all the Trees, and deſtroying all before him: He then made himſelf Maſter of the Suburb, call'd *Acradina*, and plunder'd the Temples of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. This done, foreſeeing that the Siege would be of long Duration, he entrench'd his Camp, and incloſed it with ſtrong Walls; after having demoliſh'd, for that Purpoſe, all the Tombs; and, amongſt others, that of *Gelon*, and his Wife *Demarete*, which was a Monument of great Magnificence. He built three Forts, at ſome Diſtance from each other; the firſt at *Plemmyrium*; the ſecond towards the Middle of the Port; the third near the Temple of *Jupiter*, for the Security of his Magazines of Corn and Wine: He ſent alſo a great Number of ſmall Veſſels to *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, to fetch Proviſions.

At the ſame Time arriv'd *Polyxenus*, whom the Brother-in-Law of *Dionyſius*, had diſpatch'd before into *Italy*, and *Greece*, for all the Aid he could obtain; and brought with him a Fleet of thirty Ships, commanded by *Pharacides* the *Lacedæmonian*. This Reinforcement came in very good Time, and gave the *Syracuſans* new Spirit: Upon ſeeing a Bark laden with Proviſions for the Enemy, they detach'd five Gallies, and took it. The *Carthaginians* gave them Chace with forty Sail, to which they advanc'd with their whole Fleet; and, in the Battle, diſabled the Admiral-Galley, damaged many others, took twenty four, and purſued the Reſt to the Place where their whole Fleet rode, and offer'd them Battle a ſecond Time; which the *Carthaginians*, diſcourag'd by the Check they had receiv'd, were afraid to accept.

The *Syracuſans*, emboldened by ſo unexpected a Victory, return'd to the City with the Gallies they had taken, and enter'd it in a Kind of Triumph. Animated by this Succeſs, which could be only aſcrib'd to their own Valour; for, *Dionyſius* was then abſent, with a ſmall Detachment of the Fleet, to procure Proviſions, attended by *Leptinus*, they encouraged each other, and ſeeing they did not want Arms, they reproach'd themſelves with Cowardice; ardently exclaiming, that the Time was come to throw off the ſhameful Yoke of Servitude, and to reſume their ancient Liberty.

Whilſt they were in the Midſt of theſe Diſcourſes, diſperſed in ſmall Parties, the Tyrant arriv'd; and having ſummon'd an Aſſembly, he congratulated the *Syracuſans*, upon their late Victory, and promiſed, in a ſhort Time, to put an End to the War, and deliver them from the Enemy. He was going to diſmiſs the Aſſembly, when *Theodorus*, one of the moſt illuſtrious of the Citizens, a Perſon of Senſe, and Courage, took upon him to ſpeak, and declare boldly for Liberty. "We are told (ſaid he) of reſtoring Peace, ter- "minating the War, and of being deliver'd from "the Enemy. What ſignifies ſuch Language "from *Dionyſius*? Can we have Peace in the "wretched State of Slavery impoſed upon us? "Have we an Enemy more to be dreaded, than "the Tyrant who ſubverts our Liberty? Or, a "War more cruel, than that he has waged upon "us for ſo many Years? Let *Imilcar* conquer, ſo "he contents himſelf with laying a Tribute upon "us, and leaves us to the Exerciſe of our Laws: "The Tyrant, who enſlaves us, knows no other "but his Avarice, Cruelty, and Ambition! The "Temples of the Gods robb'd by his ſacrilegious "Hands; our Goods made a Prey, and our Lands "abandon'd to his Inſtruments; our Perſons daily "expoſed to the moſt ſhameful, and cruel Treat- "ment; the Blood of ſo many Citizens ſhed in "the Midſt of us, and before our Eyes; theſe "are the Fruits of his Reign, and the Peace he "obtains for us! Was it for the Support of our "Liber-

" Liberties he built your Citadel, that he has " enclosed it with such strong Walls, and high " Towers, that he has call'd in for his Guard " that Tribe of Strangers and *Barbarians*, who " insult us with Impunity? How long, ye *Syra-* " *cusans*, shall we suffer such Indignities, more " insupportable to the brave and generous than " Death itself? Bold and intrepid abroad against " the Enemy, shall we always tremble like Cow- " ards, in the Presence of a Tyrant? Providence, " which has put Arms into our Hands, directs us " in the Use of them! *Sparta*, and the other Ci- " ties in our Alliance, who hold it their Glory " to be free and independent, would deem us un- " worthy of the *Grecian* Name, if we had any " other Sentiments. Let us shew that we do not " degenerate from our Ancestors. If *Dionysius* " consents to retire from amongst us, let us open " him our Gates, and let him take along with " him whatever he pleases: But, if he persists in " the Tyranny, let him experience what Effects " the Love of Liberty has upon the brave and " determinate! "

After this Speech, the *Syracusans*, in Suspence betwixt Hope and Fear, look'd earnestly upon their *Allies*; and particularly, upon the *Spartans*. *Pharacides*, who commanded their Fleet, rose up to speak. It was expected that a Citizen of *Sparta* would declare in Favour of Liberty; but he did quite the Reverse, and told them, that his Republick had sent him to the Aid of the *Syracusans* and *Dionysius*; and not to make War upon *Dionysius*, or to subvert his Authority. This Answer confounded the *Syracusans*, and the Tyrant's Guard arriving at the same Time, the Assembly broke up: However, *Dionysius* perceiving more than ever what he had to fear, apply'd from that Time to ingratiate himself with the People, and to attach the Citizens to his Interests; making Presents to some, inviting others to eat with him, and affecting, upon all Occasions, to treat them with Kindness and Familiarity.

It must have been about this Time, that *Polyxenus*, Brother-in-Law to *Dionysius* (having marry'd his Sister *Thesta*, without Doubt, declar'd against him in this Conspiracy) fled from *Sicily*, for the Preservation of his Life, and to avoid falling into the Tyrant's Hands. Hereupon, *Dionysius* sent for his Sister, and reproach'd her very much, for not apprizing him of her Husband's intended Flight, as she could not be ignorant of it. She reply'd, without expressing the least Surprize, or Fear; " Have I appear'd so bad a Wife " to you, and of so mean a Soul, as to have " abandon'd my Husband in his Flight, and not " have desired to share in his Dangers and Mis- " fortunes? No! I knew nothing of it; or I " should have been much happier, in being cal- " led the Wife of *Polyxenus* the *Exile*, in all " Places, than, in *Syracuse*, the Sister of the Ty- " rant." *Dionysius* could not but admire an Answer so full of Spirit and Generosity; and the *Syracusans* in general were so charm'd with her Virtue, that, after the Tyranny was suppressed, the same Honours, Equipage, and Train of a Queen, which she had before, were continued to her during her Life; and after her Death, the whole People attended her Body to her Tomb, and honour'd her Funeral with an extraordinary Appearance.

In the mean While, Affairs began to take a new Face on a sudden, on the Side of the *Carthaginians*: They had committed an irretrievable Error, in not attacking *Syracuse*, upon their Arrival; and in not taking Advantage of the Consternation, which the Sight of a Fleet, and Army equally formidable, had occasion'd. The Plague, which was look'd upon as a Punishment sent from Heaven, for plundering the Temples, and demolishing Tombs, destroy'd great Numbers of their Army in a short Time. To add to this Misfortune, the *Syracusans*, being inform'd of their unhappy Condition, attack'd them in the Night, by Sea and Land. The Surprize, Terror, and even Haste, they were in, to put themselves into a Posture of Defence, threw them into new Difficulties and Confusion. They knew not on which Side to send Relief; all being equally in Danger. Many of their Vessels were sunk, and others almost entirely disabled, and a much greater Number destroy'd by Fire. The old Men, Women, and Children, crowded upon the Walls, to be Witnesses of that Scene of Horror; and lifted up their Hands towards Heavens, returning Thanks to the Gods, for so signal a Protection of their City. The Slaughter within, and without the Camp, and on board the Vessels, was great and dreadful, and ended only with the Day.

Hereupon, *Imilcar*, reduced to Despair, offer'd *Dionysius* secretly three hundred thousand Crowns, for Permission to retire in the Night, with the Remains of his Army and Fleet. The Tyrant, who was not displeased with leaving the *Carthaginians* some Resource, to keep his Subjects in continual Awe, gave his Consent; but only for the Citizens of *Carthage*. Upon which, *Imilcar* set out with the *Carthaginians*, and only forty Ships; leaving the rest of his Troops behind. The *Corinthians*, discovering from the Noise, and Motion of the Gallies, that *Imilcar* was making off, sent to inform *Dionysius* of his Flight, who affected Ignorance, and gave immediate Orders to pursue him; but, as those Orders were but slowly executed, they follow'd the Enemy themselves, and sunk several Vessels of their Rear-Guard.

Dionysius then march'd out with his Troops; but, before their Arrival, the *Sicilians* in the *Carthaginian* Service had retired to their several Countries. Having first posted Troops in the Passes, he advanc'd directly to the Enemy's Camp, though it was not quite Day. The *Barbarians*, who saw themselves cruelly abandon'd, and betray'd by *Imilcar*, and the *Sicilians*, lost Courage, and fled. Some of them were taken by the Troops in the Passes; others laid down their Arms, and ask'd Quarter. Only the *Iberians* drew up, and sent an Herald to capitulate with *Dionysius*, who incorporated them into his Guards: The Rest were all made Prisoners.

Such was the Fate of the *Carthaginians*; which shews, says the Historian, that Humiliation tread upon the Heels of Pride; and that those, who are too much puffed up with Power and Success, are soon forced to confess their Weakness and Vanity. Those haughty Victors; Masters of almost all *Sicily*, who look'd upon *Syracuse* as already their own, and enter'd, at first, triumphant into the great Port, insulting the Citizens; were now reduc'd to fly shamefully under the Covert of the Night; dragging away with them the sad Ruins,

and miſerable Remains of their Fleet and Army, and trembling for the Fate of their native Country. *Imilcar*, who had neither regarded the ſacred Refuge of Temples, nor the inviolable Sanctity of Tombs, after having left one hundred and fifty thouſand Men unburied, in the Enemy's Country, return'd to periſh miſerably at *Carthage*, revenging upon himſelf, by dying by his own Hands, the Contempt he had expreſſed for Gods and Men.

About this Time, *Dionyſius*, beginning to be ſuſpicious of the Strangers in his Service, removed ten thouſand of them; and under the Pretence of rewarding their Merit, gave them the City of *Leontium*; which was, in Reality, very commodiouſly ſituated, and an advantagious Settlement. He then confided the Guard of his Perſon to other Foreigners, and the Slaves he had infranchiſed. He made ſeveral Attempts upon certain Places in *Italy*, and in the neighbouring Country, eſpecially *Rhegio*: Whereupon, the People of *Italy*, ſeeing themſelves in Danger, enter'd into a powerful Alliance to put a Stop to his Conqueſts: The Succeſs was tolerably equal on both Sides.

About the ſame Time, the *Gauls*, who ſome Months before had burnt *Rome*, ſent Deputies to *Dionyſius*, to make an Alliance with him; he being, at that Time, in *Italy*. The Advices he had received of the great Preparations making by the *Carthaginians* for War, obliged him to return to *Sicily*. For that People having ſet on Foot a numerous Army, under the Conduct of *Mago*, made new Efforts againſt *Syracuſe*; but with no better Succeſs than the former: They terminated in an Accommodation with *Dionyſius*.

This Danger being over, he attack'd *Rhegio* again, and at firſt received a conſiderable Check: But having gain'd a great Victory over the *Greeks* of *Italy*, in which he took more than ten thouſand Priſoners, he diſmiſſed them all without Ranſom, contrary to their Expectation; with a View of dividing the *Italians* from the Intereſts of *Rhegio*, and diſſolving a powerful League, which might have defeated his Deſigns. Having by this Action of Favour and Generoſity, acquired the good Opinion of all the Inhabitants of the Country, and from Enemies made them his Friends and *Allies*, he turn'd his Arms a third Time, upon *Rhegio*. He was extremely incenſed againſt that City, upon Account of their refuſing to give him one of their Citizens in Marriage; and for the inſolent Anſwer, with which that Refuſal was attended. The Beſieged, finding themſelves incapable of reſiſting ſo numerous an Army as that of *Dionyſius*, and expecting no Quarter, if the City were taken by Aſſault, began to talk of capitulating; to which he hearken'd not unwillingly. He He made them pay three hundred thouſand Crowns, deliver up all their Veſſels, to the Number of Seventy, and put an hundred Hoſtages into his Hands; after which he raiſed the Siege. It was not out of Favour or Clemency that he acted in this Manner, but to make their Deſtruction ſure, after having firſt reduced their Power.

Accordingly the next Year, under the falſe Pretext, and with the Reproach, of having violated the Treaty, he beſieged them again with all his Forces; firſt ſending back their Hoſtages. Both Parties Acted with the utmoſt Vigour: The Deſire of Revenge on one Side, and the Fear of the utmoſt Cruelties on the other, animated the Troops. Thoſe of the City were under the Command of *Phyto*, a brave and intrepid Man, whom the Danger of his Country render'd more courageous. He made frequent and fierce Sallies: In one of them *Dionyſius* received a Wound, of which it was with great Difficulty he recovered. The Siege went on ſlowly, and had already continued eleven Months, when a cruel Famine reduced the City to the laſt Extremities. A Meaſure of Wheat, (of about ſix Buſhels) was ſold for two hundred and fifty Livres. After having conſumed all their Horſes, and Beaſts of Carriage, they were obliged to ſupport themſelves with Leather and Hides, which they boiled; and at laſt, to feed upon the Graſs of the Fields, like Beaſts; a Reſource, of which *Dionyſius* ſoon deprived them, by making his Horſe eat up all the Herbage around the City. Neceſſity at length reduced them to ſurrender at Diſcretion, and *Dionyſius* entered the Place, which he found covered with dead Bodies. Thoſe who ſurvived were rather Skeletons than Men. He took above ſix thouſand Priſoners, whom he ſent to *Syracuſe*: Such as could pay fifty Livres he diſmiſſed, and ſold the reſt for Slaves.

Dionyſius laid all the Weight of his Reſentment and Revenge upon *Phyto*: He began with ordering his Son to be thrown into the Sea: The next Day he order'd the Father to be faſten'd to the Extremity of the higheſt of his Engines, for a Spectacle to the whole Army; and in that Condition, he ſent to tell him, that his Son had been thrown into the Sea. *Then is he happier than me by a Day*, reply'd that unfortunate Parent. He afterwards cauſed him to be led through the whole City, to be ſcourged with Rods, and to ſuffer a thouſand other Indignities, whilſt an Herald proclaim'd: *That the perfidious Traitor was treated in that Manner, for having inſpired the People of* Rhegio *with Rebellion. Say rather*, anſwer'd that generous Defender of his Country's Liberty, *that a faithful Citizen is ſo uſed, for having refuſed to ſacrifice his Country to a Tyrant.* Such an Object, and ſuch Diſcourſe, drew Tears from all Eyes, and even from the Soldiers of *Dionyſius*: He was afraid his Priſoner would be taken from him, before he had ſatiated his Revenge, and ordered him to be flung into the Sea directly.

At an Interval, which the Succeſs againſt *Rhegio* had left *Dionyſius*, the Tyrant, who was greedy of all Kinds of Glory, and piqued himſelf upon the Excellence of his Genius, ſent his Brother *Thearides* to *Olympia*, to diſpute, in his Name, the Prizes of the Chariot-Race, and Poetry.

The Circumſtances we are going to relate, *viz.* the Taſte, or rather Paſſion of *Dionyſius*, for Poetry and polite Learning, being one of his peculiar Characteriſticks, and having beſides a Mixture of Good and Bad in itſelf, makes it requiſite, for a right Underſtanding of it, to diſtinguiſh, wherein this Taſte of his, is either laudable, or worthy of Blame.

We ſhall ſay as much upon the Tyrant's total Character, with whoſe Vices of Ambition and Tyranny many great Qualities were united, which ought not to be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented; the Veracity of Hiſtory requiring, that Juſtice ſhould be done to the moſt Wicked, as they are not ſo in every Reſpect. We have ſeen ſeveral Things in his Character that certainly deſerve Praiſe; we

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mean, in Regard to his Manners and Behaviour: The Mildneſs with which he ſuffer'd the Freedom of young *Dion*; the Admiration he expreſſed of the bold and generous Anſwer of his Siſter *Theſta*, upon Account of her Husband's Flight; his gracious and inſinuating Deportment, upon ſeveral other Occaſions, to the *Syracuſans*; the Familiarity of his Diſcourſe with the meaneſt Citizens, and even Workmen; the Equality he obſerved between his two Wives, and his Kindneſs and Reſpect for them; all which imply, that *Dionyſius* had more Equity, Moderation, Affability, and Generoſity, than is commonly aſcrib'd to him: He was not ſuch a Tyrant, as *Alexander* of *Pheræ*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, or *Caracalla*.

But to return to *Dionyſius*'s Taſte for Poetry. In his Intervals of Leiſure, he loved to unbend his Mind in the Converſation of Perſons of Wit, and in the Study of Arts and Sciences. He was particularly fond of verſifying, and employ'd himſelf in the Compoſition of Poems, eſpecially Tragedies. Thus far this Paſſion of his may be excuſed, by its having ſomething undoubtedly laudable in it; we mean, in his Taſte for polite Learning; the Eſteem he expreſſed for learned Men; his Inclination to do them good Offices; and the Application of his Leiſure Hours. Was it not better to employ them in the Exerciſe of his Wit, and the Cultivation of Learning, than in Feaſting, Dancing, theatrical Amuſements, Gaming, frivolous Company, and other Pleaſures, ſtill more pernicious? Which wiſe Reflection *Dionyſius* the *Younger* made when at *Corinth*. *Philip* of *Macedon*, being at Table with him, ſpoke of the Odes and Tragedies his Father had left behind him, with an Air of Raillery and Contempt, and ſeem'd to be in ſome Difficulty to comprehend, at what Time of his Life he had Leiſure for ſuch Compoſitions: *Dionyſius* ſmartly reparteed; *The Difficulty is very great indeed! Why, he compoſed them at thoſe Hours, which you and I, and infinite Numbers of others, as we have Reaſon to believe, paſs in Drinking, and other Diverſions.*

Julius Cæſar, and the Emperor *Auguſtus*, apply'd themſelves to Poetry, and compoſed Tragedies: *Lucullus* intended to have written the Memoirs of his military Actions in Verſe: The Comedies of *Terence* were attributed to *Lælius* and *Scipio*, both great Captains, eſpecially the latter; and that Report was ſo far from leſſening their Reputation at *Rome*, that it added to the general Eſteem of them.

Theſe Unbendings, therefore, were not blameable in their own Nature; this Taſte for Poetry was rather laudable, if kept within due Bounds; but *Dionyſius* was ridiculous for pretending to excel all others in it: He could not endure either a Superior or Competitor in any Thing. From being in the ſole Poſſeſſion of ſupreme Authority, he had accuſtom'd himſelf to imagine his Wit of the ſame Rank with his Power: In ſhort, he was in every Thing a Tyrant. His immoderate Eſtimation of his own Merit, flow'd, in ſome Meaſure, from the over bearing Turn of Mind, which Empire and Command had given him: The continual Applauſes of a Court, and the Flatteries of thoſe, who knew how to recommend themſelves by his darling Foible, were another Source of this vain Conceit. And of what will not a Great Man, a Miniſter, a Prince, think himſelf capable, who has ſuch Incenſe and Adoration continually paid to him? It is well known, that Cardinal *Richelieu*, in the midſt of the greateſt Affairs, not only dompoſed dramatick Poems, but piqued himſelf on his Excellency that Way; and what is more, his Jealouſy, on that Account, carry'd him ſo far, as to induce him to make Uſe of his Authority, by Way of Criticiſm upon the Compoſitions of thoſe, to whom the Publick, (a juſt and incorruptible Judge in that Point) had given the Preference.

Dionyſius did not reflect, that there are Things, which though eſtimable in themſelves, and which do Honour to private Perſons, it does not become a Prince to deſire to excel in: Witneſs, *Philip* of *Macedon*'s Expreſſion to his Son, upon his having ſhewn too much Skill in Muſick at a publick Entertainment: *Are not you aſhamed*, ſaid he, *to ſing ſo well?* It was acting inconſiſtently with the Dignity of his Character. If *Cæſar*, and *Auguſtus*, when they wrote Tragedies, had taken it into their Heads, to equal, or excel *Sophocles*, it had not only beed ridiculous, but a Reproach to them. And the Reaſon is, becauſe a Prince being obliged, by an eſſential and indiſpenſible Duty, to apply himſelf inceſſantly to the Affairs of Government, and having Abundance of various Buſineſs always recurring to him, he can make no other Uſe of the Sciences, than to divert him at ſhort Intervals, as will not admit any great Progreſs in them, or the excelling of thoſe, who employ themſelves in no other Study. Hence when the Publick ſees a Prince affect the firſt Rank in this kind of Merit, they may juſtly conclude, that he neglects his more important Duties, and what he owes to his People's Happineſs, to give himſelf up to an Employment, which waſtes his Time, and Application of Mind, ineffectually.

We muſt, however, do *Dionyſius* the Juſtice to own, that he never was reproachable for letting Poetry interfere to the Prejudice of his great Affairs; or that it made him leſs active, and diligent, on any important Occaſion. We have already ſaid, that this Prince, in an Interval of Peace, had ſent his Brother *Thearides* to *Olympia*, to dispute the Prizes of Poetry, and the Chariot-race, in his Name. When he arrived at the Aſſembly, the Beauty, as well as Number of his Chariots, and the Magnificence of his Pavilion, embroider'd with Gold and Silver, attracted the Eyes and Admiration of all the Spectators. The Ear was no leſs charm'd, when the Poems of *Dionyſius* began to be read. He had therefore choſen, for that Purpoſe, Readers with ſonorous, muſical Voices, who might be heard far and diſtinctly, and who knew how to give a juſt Emphaſis and Numerosity to the Verſes they repeated. At firſt this had a very happy Effect, and the whole Audience were deceived by the Art and Sweetneſs of the Pronunciation. But this Charm was ſoon at an End, and the Mind not long amuſed by the Ears: The Verſes then appear'd in all their Ridicule: The Audience were aſham'd of having applauded them, and their Praiſe was turn'd into Laughter, Scorn, and Inſult. To expreſs their Contempt and Indignation, they tore the rich Pavilion in Pieces. *Lyſias*, the celebrated Orator, who was come to the *Olympick* Games, to diſpute the Prize of Eloquence, which he had carry'd ſeveral Times before, undertook to prove; that it was inconſiſtent with the Honour

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of *Greece*, the Friend and Aſſertor of Liberty, to admit an impious Tyrant to ſhare in the Celebration of the ſacred Games; who had no other Thoughts than the ſubjecting of all *Greece* to his Power. That Affront was not then expreſsly levell'd at *Dionyſius*; but the Event was leſs favourable to him. His Chariots having enter'd the Liſts, were, all of them, either carried out of the Courſe by an headlong Impetuoſity, or daſh'd in Pieces againſt one another. And to compleat the Misfortune, the Galley, which carried the Perſons *Dionyſius* had ſent to the Games, met with a violent Storm, and did not return to *Syracuſe*, without great Difficulty. When the Pilots arrived there, out of Hatred and Contempt of the Tyrant, they reported throughout the City, that it was his vile Poems, which had occaſion'd ſo many Miſcarriages to the Readers, Racers, and even the Ship itſelf. This bad Succeſs did not at all diſcourage *Dionyſius*, nor make him abate any Thing of his high Opinion of his poetick Vein. The Flatterers, who abounded in his Court, did not fail to inſinuate, that ſuch injurious Treatment of his Poems, could proceed only from Envy, which always faſtens upon what is moſt excellent; and that ſooner or later, the Invidious themſelves would be convinced by Demonſtration, do Juſtice to his Merit, and acknowledge his Superiority to all other Poets.

The Extravagance of *Dionyſius* in that Reſpect was inconceivable: He was undoubtedly a great Warriour, and an excellent Captain; but he fancied himſelf a much better Poet, and believed that his Verſes were a far greater Honour to him, than all his Victories. To undertake to undeceive him in an Opinion ſo favourable to himſelf, had been an ill Way of making one's Court to him; ſo that all the learned Men, and Poets, who eat at his Table in great Numbers, ſeem'd to be in Extaſies of Admiration, whenever he read them his Poems. Never, according to them, was there any Compariſon; all was great, all noble, in his Poetry; all was majeſtick, or, to ſpeak more properly, all divine.

Philoxenus was the only one of all the Tribe, who did not run with the Stream, into exceſſive Praiſes and Flattery: He was a Man of great Reputation, and excell'd in *Dithyrambeck* Poetry. There is a Story told of him, which *Fontaine* has known how to apply admirably. Being at Table with *Dionyſius*, and ſeeing a very ſmall Fiſh ſet before him, and an huge one before the King, the Whim took him to lay his Ear cloſe to the little Fiſh. He was ask'd his Meaning by that Pleaſantry; *I was enquiring*, ſaid he, *into ſome Affairs that happen'd in the Reign of* Nereus, *but this young Native of the Floods can give me no Information; yours is elder, and without Doubt knows ſomething of the Matter.*

Dionyſius having read one Day ſome of his Verſes to *Philoxenus*, and having preſt him to give him his Opinion of them, he anſwer'd with an entire Freedom, and told him plainly his real Sentiments. *Dionyſius*, who was not accuſtom'd to ſuch Language, was extremely offended, and attributing his Boldneſs to his Envy, gave Orders to carry him to the *Mines*; the common Jail being ſo called. The whole Court were afflicted upon this Account, and ſollicited for the generous Priſoner, whoſe Releaſe they obtain'd: He was enlarged the next Day, and reſtor'd to Favour.

At the Entertainment made that Day, by *Dionyſius*, for the ſame Gueſts, which was a kind of Ratification of the Pardon, and at which they were, for that Reaſon, more than commonly gay and chearful, after they had plentifully regaled a great while, that Prince did not fail to introduce his Poems into the Converſation, which were the moſt frequent Subject of it. He choſe ſome Paſſages, which he had taken extraordinary Pains in compoſing, and conceived to be Maſter-pieces; as was very diſcernible, from the Self-ſatisfaction, and Complacency he expreſſed, whilſt they were read. But his Delight could not be perfect, without the Approbation of *Philoxenus*; upon which he ſet the greater Value, as it was not his Cuſtom to be ſo profuſe of it as the reſt. What had paſs'd the Evening before, was a ſufficient Leſſon for the Poet: When *Dionyſius* ask'd his Thoughts of the Verſes, *Philoxenus* made no Anſwer, but turning towards the Guards, who always ſtood round the Table, he ſaid in a ſerious, though humorous Tone, without any Emotion; *Carry me back to the* Mines. The Prince took all the Humour and Spirit of that ingenious Pleaſantry, without being offended. The Sprightlineſs of the Conceit atton'd for its Freedom, which, at another Time, would have touch'd him to the Quick, and made him exceſſively angry. He only laugh'd at it now, and did not make a Quarrel of it with the Poet.

He was not in the ſame Temper upon a groſs Jeſt of *Antiphon*'s, which was indeed of a different Kind, and ſeem'd to argue a violent and brutal Genius: The Tyrant, in a Converſation, ask'd, which was the beſt kind of Braſs? After the Company had given their Opinions, *Antiphon* ſaid, that was the beſt, of which the Statues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton* were made. This witty Expreſſion, if it may be call'd ſo, coſt him his Life.

The Friends of *Philoxenus* apprehending, that his too great Liberty might be alſo attended with bad Conſequences, repreſented to him in the moſt ſerious Manner; that thoſe who live with Princes, muſt ſpeak their Language; that they hate to hear any Thing not agreeable to themſelves; that whoever does not know how to diſſemble, is not qualify'd for a Court; that the Favours, and Liberalities, which *Dionyſius* continually beſtow'd upon them, well deſerved the Return of Complaiſance; that, in ſhort, with his blunt Freedom, and plain Truth, he was in Danger of loſing not only his Fortune, but his Life. *Philoxenus* told them, that he would take their good Advice, and for the Future give ſuch a Turn to his Anſwers, as ſhould ſatisfy *Dionyſius*, without injuring Truth.

Accordingly, ſome Time after, *Dionyſius* having read a Piece of his compoſing, upon a very mournful Subject, wherein he was to move Compaſſion, and draw Tears from the Eyes of the Audience, addreſs'd himſelf again to *Philoxenus*, and ask'd him his Sentiments upon it. *Philoxenus* gave him for Anſwer, *Oeſtra*; one Word, which in the *Greek* Language has two different Significations: In one of them it implies, mournful, moving Things, ſuch as inſpire Sentiments of Pity and Compaſſion; in the other, it expreſſes ſomething very mean, defective, pitiful, or miſerable. *Dionyſius*, who was fond of his Verſes, and believed No-body could differ from his good Opinion of them, took that Word in the favour-

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able Conſtruction, and was extreamly ſatisfy'd with *Philoxenus*. The Reſt of the Company were not miſtaken, but underſtood it in the right Senſe, though without explaining themſelves.

Nothing could cure his Folly for Verſification: It appears from *Diodorus Siculus*, that, having ſent his Poems a ſecond Time to *Olympia*, they were treated with the ſame Ridicule and Contempt as before. That News, which could not be kept from him, threw him into an Exceſs of Melancholy, which he could never get over; and turn'd ſoon after into a Kind of Madneſs and Phrenzy. He complain'd, that Envy and Jealouſy, the certain Enemies of true Merit, were always at Variance with him; and, that all the World conſpired to the Ruin of his Reputation: He accuſed his beſt Friends of the ſame Deſign; ſome of whom he put to Death, and others he baniſh'd; amongſt whom were *Leptinus* his Brother, and *Philiſtus*, who had done him ſuch great Services, and to whom he was obliged for his Power: They retired to *Thurium* in *Italy*, from whence they were recall'd ſome Time after, and reinſtated in all their Fortunes, and his Favour: *Leptinus*, in particular, marry'd the Tyrant's Daughter.

To remove his Melancholy for the ill Succeſs of his Verſes, it was neceſſary to find ſome Employment, with which his Wars and Buildings ſupply'd him: He had form'd a Deſign of eſtabliſhing powerful Colonies in the Part of *Italy*, ſituate upon the *Adriatick* Sea, facing *Epirus*; in order his Fleet ſhould not want a ſecure Retreat, when he ſhould employ his Forces on that Side; and, with this View, he made an Alliance with the *Illyrians*, and reſtored *Alcetes*, King of the *Moloſſians*, to his Throne: His principal Deſign was to attack *Epirus*, and make himſelf Maſter of the immenſe Treaſures, which had been, for many Ages, amaſſing in the Temple of *Delphos*. Before he could ſet this Project on Foot, which required great Preparations, he ſeem'd to make an Eſſay of his Genius for it, by another of the ſame Kind, though of much eaſier Execution: Having made a ſudden Irruption into *Tuſcany*, under the Pretence of purſuing Pyrates, he plunder'd a very rich Temple in the Suburbs of *Agyllum*, a City of that Country, and carry'd away fifteen hundred Talents. He had Occaſion for Money to ſupport his great Expences at *Syracuſe*; as well in fortifying the Port, and to make it capable of receiving two hundred Gallies, as to encloſe the whole City with good Walls, erect magnificent Temples, and build a Place of Exerciſe upon the Banks of the River *Anapus*.

At the ſame Time, he form'd the Deſign of driving the *Carthaginians* entirely out of *Sicily*: The firſt Victory which he gain'd, put him almoſt into a Condition to accompliſh his Deſign; but the Loſs of a ſecond Battle, in which his Brother *Leptinus* was kill'd, put an End to his Hopes, and obliged him to enter into a Treaty, by which he gave up ſeveral Towns to the *Carthaginians*, and likewiſe paid them great Sums of Money to reimburſe them their Expences in the War. An Attempt which he made upon them ſome Years after, taking the Advantage of the Deſolation occaſion'd by the Plague at *Carthage*, had no better Succeſs.

Another Victory of a very different Kind, though not leſs at his Heart, made him Amends; or, at leaſt, comforted him, for the ill Succeſs of his Arms. He had cauſed a Tragedy of his to be repreſented at *Athens*, for the Prize in the celebrated Feaſt of *Bacchus*; and was declar'd Victor. Such a Victory amongſt the *Athenians*, who were the beſt Judges of this Kind of Literature; ſeems to argue, the Poetry of *Dionyſius* not ſo *mean* and *pitiful*; and that it is very poſſible, the Averſion of the *Greeks* for every Thing, which came from a Tyrant, had a great Share in the contemptuous Sentence, paſſed upon his Poems in the *Olympick* Games. However it was, *Dionyſius* receiv'd the News with inexpreſſible Tranſports of Joy. Publick Thankſgivings were made to the Gods; and the Temples were ſcarce capable of containing the Concourſe of People. Nothing was ſeen throughout the City, but feaſting and rejoicing; and *Dionyſius* regaled all his Friends with the *moſt* extraordinary Magnificence. Self-ſatisfy'd to a Degree, that cannot be deſcrib'd, he believ'd himſelf at the Summit of Glory; and did the Honours of his Table with Gaiety and Eaſe; and, at the ſame Time, with a Grace and Dignity, that charm'd all the World. He invited his Gueſts to eat and drink, more by his Example than Expreſſions; and carry'd his Civilities of that Kind to ſuch an Exceſs, that, at the Cloſe of the Banquet, he was ſeiz'd with violent Pains, occaſion'd by an Indigeſtion, of which it was not difficult to foreſee the Conſequences.

Dionyſius had three Children by his Wife *Doris*, and four by *Ariſtomache*, of which two were Daughters; the one nam'd *Sophroſyne*, the other *Arete*. *Sophroſyne* was marry'd to his eldeſt Son, *Dionyſius* the *Younger*, whom he had by his *Locrian* Wife; and *Arete* eſpouſed her Brother *Thearides*: But, *Thearides* dying ſoon, *Dion* marry'd his Widow *Arete*; who was his own Niece.

As the Diſtemper of *Dionyſius* left no Hopes of his Life, *Dion* took upon him to diſcourſe him about his Children by *Ariſtomache*, who were, at the ſame Time, his Brothers-in-Law, and Nephews; and to inſinuate to him, that it was juſt to give the Preference to the Iſſue of his *Syracuſan* Wife to thoſe of a Stranger: But the Phyſicians, deſirous of making their Court to young *Dionyſius*, the *Locrian*'s Son, for whom the Throne was intended, did not give him Time to alter his Purpoſe: For, *Dionyſius* having demanded a Medicine to make him ſleep, they gave him ſo ſtrong a Doſe, as quite ſtupify'd his Senſes; and laid him in a Sleep, that laſted him for the Reſt of his Life. He had reigned Thirty-eight Years.

He was, certainly, a Prince of very great, political, and military Abilities; and had Occaſion for them all, in raiſing himſelf as he did, from a mean Condition to ſo high a Rank. After having the Sovereignty thirty-eight Years, he tranſmitted it peaceably to a Succeſſor of his own Iſſue and Election; and had eſtabliſh'd his Power upon ſuch ſolid Foundations, that his Son, notwithſtanding the Slenderneſs of his Capacity for governing, retain'd it twelve Years after his Death. All which could not have been effected without a great Fund of Merit, as to his Capacity: But, what Qualities could cover the Vices, which render'd him the Object of his Subjects Abhorrence? His Ambition

knew neither Law, nor Limitation; his Avarice ſpared nothing, not even the moſt ſacred Places; his Cruelty had often no Regard to the Affinity of Blood; and his open, and profeſſed Impiety, only acknowledg'd the Divinity, to inſult him. In his Return to *Syracuſe*, with a favourable Wind, from plundering the Temple of *Proſerpine* at *Locris*; *See* (ſaid he to his Friends, with a Smile of Contempt) *how the immortal Gods favour the Navigation of the ſacrilegious.*

Having Occaſion for Money to carry on the War againſt the *Carthaginians*, he rifled the Temple of *Jupiter*, and took from that God a Robe of ſolid Gold, which Ornament *Hiero* the Tyrant had given him out of the Spoils of the *Carthaginians*. He added Ridicule upon that Occaſion, ſaying, that a Robe of Gold was much too heavy in Summer, and too cold in Winter; and, at the ſame Time, order'd one of Wool to be thrown over the God's Shoulders: Adding, that ſuch a Habit would be commodious in all Seaſons.

Another Time, he order'd the golden Beard of *Æſculapius* to be taken off; giving for his Reaſon, that it was very inconſiſtent for the Son to have a Beard, when the Father had none.

He cauſed all the Tables of Silver to be taken out of the Temples; and, as there was generally inſcrib'd upon them, according to the Cuſtom of the *Greeks*; TO THE GOOD GODS; (he ſaid) *he would take the Benefit of their* GOODNESS.

As for leſs Prizes, ſuch as Cups, and Crowns of Gold, which the Statues held in their Hands, thoſe he carry'd off without any Ceremony, ſaying, it was not taking, but receiving, them; and that it was idle and ridiculous, to ask the Gods perpetually for good Things, and refuſe them, when they held out their Hands themſelves to preſent them to you. Theſe Spoils were carry'd, by his Order, to the Market, and ſold at the publick Sale; and then, having got the Money for them, he order'd Proclamation to be made, that whoever had in their Cuſtody any Things, taken out of ſacred Places, ſhould reſtore them entire within a limited Time, to the Temples from whence they were brought; adding, thus, to his Impiety to the Gods, Injuſtice to Man.

The amazing Precautions, *Dionyſius* thought neceſſary for the Security of his Life, ſhew to what Inquietude and Apprehenſion he was abandon'd: He wore under his Robe a Cuiraſs of Braſs: He never harangued the People, but from the Top of an high Tower; and thought proper to make himſelf invulnerable, by being inacceſſible: Not daring to confide in any of his Friends or Relations, his Guard was compoſed of Slaves and Strangers: He went abroad as little as poſſible, Fear obliging him to condemn himſelf to a Kind of Impriſonment. Theſe extraordinary Precautions regard, without Doubt, certain Intervals of his Reign, when frequent Conſpiracies againſt him render'd him more timid and ſuſpicious than uſual; for, at other Times, we have ſeen that he converſed freely enough with the People, and was acceſſible even to Familiarity. In thoſe dark Days of Diſtruſt and Fear, he fancy'd, that he ſaw all Mankind in Arms againſt him: An unadviſed Word, which eſcap'd his Barber, who boaſted, by Way of Jeſt, that he held a Razor, at the Tyrant's Throat every Week, coſt him his Life. From thenceforth, not to truſt his Head and Life to the Hands of a Barber, he made his Daughters, though very young, do him that deſpicable Office; and, when they were more advanc'd in Years, he took the Sciſſors and Razors from them, and taught them to ſinge off his Beard with Nut-ſhells: He was reduced, at laſt, to do that Office himſelf; not daring, it ſeems, to truſt his own Daughters any longer: He never went into the Chamber of his Wives at Night, till they had been firſt ſearch'd with the utmoſt Care and Circumſpection: His Bed was ſurrounded with a very broad, and deep Trench, and a ſmall Draw-Bridge over it for the Entrance: After having well lock'd, and bolted, the Doors of his Apartment, he drew up the Bridge, that he might ſleep in Security: Neither his Brother, nor even his Son, could be admitted into his Chamber, without firſt changing their Cloaths, and being viſited by the Guards. Is this to reign, or live; to paſs one's Days in a continual Circle of Diſtruſt, and Terror!

In the Midſt of all his Greatneſs, poſſeſſed of Riches, and ſurrounded with Pleaſures of every Kind, during a Reign of almoſt forty Years, notwithſtanding all his Preſents and Profuſions, he never was capable of making a ſingle Friend. He paſſed his Life with none but trembling Slaves, and ſordid Flatterers; and never taſted the Joy of loving, or of being belov'd; nor the Charms of ſocial Truth, and reciprocal Confidence: This he own'd himſelf, upon an Occaſion not unworthy of Repetition.

Damon and *Pythias* had both been educated in the Principles of the *Pythagorean* Philoſophy, and were united to each other in the ſtricteſt Ties of Friendſhip, which they had mutually ſworn to obſerve with inviolable Fidelity. Their Faith was put to a ſevere Trial. One of them, being condemn'd to die by the Tyrant, petition'd for Permiſſion to make a Journey into his own Country, to ſettle his Affairs, promiſing to return at a fixed Time; the other generouſly offering to be his Security: The Courtiers, and *Dionyſius*, in particular, expected with Impatience the Event of an Adventure ſo delicate and extraordinary. The Day appointed for his Return drawing nigh, and he not appearing, every-body began to blame the raſh and imprudent Zeal of him, who had bound himſelf in ſuch a Manner: But he, far from expreſſing any Fear or Concern, reply'd, with Tranquility in his Looks, and Confidence in his Speech, that he was aſſured his Friend would return; as he did accordingly, upon the Day and Hour agreed. The Tyrant, ſtruck with Admiration at a Fidelity ſo extraordinary, and ſoften'd, with the View of ſo amiable an Union, granted him his Life, and deſired to be admitted as a third Perſon into their Friendſhip.

He expreſſed, with equal Sincerity, on another Occaſion, what he thought of his own Condition. One of his Courtiers, nam'd *Damocles*, was perpetually extolling in Raptures his Treaſures, Grandeur, the Number of his Troops, the Extent of his Dominions, the Magnificence of his Palaces, and the univerſal Abundance of all good Things and Enjoyments in his Poſſeſſion; always repeating, that, never was Man happier than *Dionyſius*. "Becauſe you are of that Opinion (ſaid the Ty-
"rant to him one Day) will you have a Taſte
"yourſelf, and make Proof, in Perſon, of my
"Feli-

"Felicity?" The Offer was accepted with Joy. *Damocles* was placed upon a Bed of Gold, cover'd with Carpets of ineſtimable Value; the Side-Boards were loaded with Veſſels of Gold and Silver; the moſt beautiful Slaves in the moſt ſplendid Habits ſtood around, watching the leaſt Signal to ſerve him; the moſt exquiſite Eſſences and Perfumes had not been ſpared; and the Table was ſpread with proportionable Magnificence. *Damocles* was all Joy, and look'd upon himſelf as the happieſt Man in the World; when, unfortunately lifting up his Eyes, he beheld, over his Head, the Point of a Sword, which hung from the Roof, only by a ſingle Horſe-hair: He was immediately ſeized with a cold Sweat; every Thing diſappear'd in an Inſtant; he could ſee nothing but the Sword, nor think of any Thing but his Danger. In the Height of his Fear, he deſired Permiſſion to retire, and declared, he would be happy no longer. A very natural Image of the Life of a Tyrant: Ours reign'd, as has been obſerv'd before, thirty-eight Years.

CHAP. VI.

The Hiſtory of Dionyſius *the* Younger, *Tyrant of* Syracuſe; *He ſucceeds his Father;* Dion *perſuades him to invite* Plato *to his Court; The ſurprizing Change occaſioned there by his Arrival; The Courtiers join together to incenſe the Tyrant againſt that Philoſopher;* Dion *baniſh'd; Upon which* Plato *quits the Court, and returns to* Greece; Dion *admired by all the Learned;* Plato *returns to* Dionyſius; *but is again forced to leave him, and glad to depart in Safety;* Dion *returns to* Syracuſe, *and delivers it from the Tyrant; Horrid Ingratitude of the* Syracuſans; Dion's *unparallel'd Goodneſs, and tragical Death; His Character.*

DIONYSIUS the *Elder* was ſucceeded by one of his Sons of his own Name, commonly call'd *Dionyſius* the *Younger*: After his Father's Funeral had been ſolemniz'd with the utmoſt Magnificence, he aſſembled the People, and deſired they would have the ſame good Inclinations for him, as they had profeſſed for his Father. They were very different from each other in their Character: For, the latter was as peaceable, and calm in his Diſpoſition, as the former was active and enterprizing; which would have been no Diſadvantage to his People, had that Mildneſs and Moderation been the Effect of a wiſe and judicious Underſtanding, and not of a natural Sloth, and Indolence of Temper.

It was ſurprizing, to ſee *Dionyſius* the *Younger* take quiet Poſſeſſion of the Tyranny, after the Death of his Father, as of a Right of Inheritance; notwithſtanding the Paſſion of the *Syracuſans* for their Liberty, which could not but revive upon ſo favourable an Occaſion, and the Weakneſs of a young Prince, undiſtinguiſh'd by his Merit, and without Experience. It ſeem'd as if the laſt Years of *Dionyſius* the *Elder*, who had apply'd himſelf, in the Cloſe of his Life, to make his Subjects taſte the Advantages of his Government, had, in ſome Meaſure, reconciled them to the Tyranny; eſpecially, after his Exploits by Sea and Land had acquir'd him a great Reputation, and infinitely exalted the Glory of the *Syracuſan* Nation, which he had found Means to render formidable to *Carthage* itſelf, as well as to the moſt powerful People of *Greece* and *Italy*: Beſides which, it was to be fear'd, that, ſhould they attempt a Change in the Government, the ſad Conſequences of a Civil War might deprive them of all thoſe Advantages: And at the ſame Time, the gentle and human Diſpoſition of *Young Dionyſius* gave them Reaſon to entertain the moſt favourable Hopes of the future: He, therefore, peaceably aſcended his Father's Throne.

England has ſeen ſomething of this Kind in the famous *Cromwell*, who dy'd in his Bed, as peaceably as the beſt of Princes; and was interr'd with the ſame Honours and Pomp, as the moſt lawful Sovereign. *Richard*, his Son, ſucceeded him; and was, for ſome Time, in equal Authority with his Father, though he had not any of his great Qualities.

Dion, Brother-in-Law to *Dionyſius*, the braveſt, and, at the ſame Time, the wiſeſt of the *Syracuſans*, might have been of great Support to him, had he known how to make Uſe of his Counſels: In the firſt Aſſembly held by *Dionyſius*, and all his Friends, *Dion* ſpoke in ſo wiſe a Manner, upon what was neceſſary and expedient in the preſent Juncture, as ſhew'd, that the Reſt were like Infants, in Compariſon with him; and, in Regard to a juſt Boldneſs, and Freedom of Speech, they were no more than deſpicable Slaves of the Tyranny, ſolely employ'd in the abject Endeavour to pleaſe the Prince: But, what ſurpriz'd, and amaz'd them moſt, was, that *Dion*, at a Time, when the whole Court were ſtruck with Terror, at the Sight of the Storm, forming on the Side of *Carthage*, and juſt ready to break upon *Sicily*, ſhould inſiſt, that, if *Dionyſius* deſired Peace, he would embark immediately for *Africa*; and diſpel this Tempeſt to his Satisfaction; or, if he preferr'd War, that he would furniſh and maintain him fifty Gallies of three Benches each, compleatly equipp'd for Service.

Dio-

Dionyſius, admiring, and extolling his generous Magnanimity to the Skies, profeſſed the higheſt Gratitude to him for his Zeal and Affection; but, the Courtiers, who look'd upon *Dion*'s Magnificence as a Reproach to themſelves, and his great Power as a leſſening of their own, took immediate Occaſion from thence, to calumniate him; and ſpared no Invectives, which might incenſe the young Prince againſt him. They inſinuated, that, in making himſelf ſtrong at Sea, he would open his Way to the Tyranny; and that he deſign'd to tranſport the Sovereignty on board his Veſſels to his Nephews, the Sons of *Ariſtomache*.

But, what put them moſt out of Humour with *Dion*, was his Manner of Life; which was a continual Reproach to theirs: For, theſe Courtiers, who had inſinuated themſelves into the Favour of the young Tyrant, and gain'd an Aſcendant over him, who had been wretchedly educated, thought of nothing, but ſupplying him perpetually with new Amuſements; keeping him always employ'd in feaſting, abandon'd to Women, and all Manner of ſhameful Pleaſures. In the Beginning of his Reign he made a Debauch, which continued for three Months; during all which Time, his Palace, ſhut againſt all Perſons of Senſe and Reaſon, was crouded with Drunkards; and reſounded with nothing but low Buffoonry; obſcene Jeſts; lewd Songs, Dances, Maſquerades; and every Kind of groſs and diſſolute Extravagance. It is, therefore, natural to believe, that nothing could be more offenſive, and diſguſting to them, than the Preſence of *Dion*, who gave into none of theſe Pleaſures: For which Reaſon, painting his Virtues in ſuch of the Colours of Vice as were moſt likely to diſguiſe them, they found Means to calumniate him with the Prince; and to make his Gravity paſs for Arrogance, and his Freedom of Speech for Inſolence and Sedition. If he gave any good Counſel, they treated him as a ſour Pedagogue, who took upon him to obtrude his Lectures, and ſchool his Prince, without being aſk'd; and, if he refuſed to ſhare in the Debauch with the Reſt, they call'd him a Man-Hater, a ſplenetick, melancholy Wretch, who, from the fantaſtick Height of Virtue, look'd down with Contempt on the Reſt of the World, of whom he ſet himſelf up for the Cenſor.

And indeed, it muſt be confeſſed, that he had, naturally, ſomething auſtere and rigid in his Manners and Behaviour; which ſeem'd to argue a Haughtineſs of Nature, very capable not only of diſguſting a young Prince, nouriſh'd, from his Infancy, amidſt Flatteries and Submiſſions, but the beſt of his Friends, and thoſe who were moſt nearly attach'd to him. Full of Admiration for his Integrity, Fortitude, and Nobleneſs of Sentiments, they repreſented to him, that, for a Statesman, who ought to know how to adapt himſelf to the different Tempers of Men, and to apply them to his Purpoſes, his Humour was much too rough and forbidding. *Plato*, afterwards, took Pains to correct that Defect in him; by making him intimate with a Philoſopher of a gay, and polite Turn of Mind; whoſe Converſation was very proper to inſpire him with a more eaſy and inſinuating Conduct: He obſerves alſo upon that Failing, in a Letter to him, wherein he ſpeaks to this Effect; "Conſider, I beg you, that you are "cenſured, for being deficient in Point of Good-"Nature and Affability; and be entirely aſſured, "that the moſt certain Means to the Succeſs of "of Affairs, is to be agreeable to the Perſons "with whom we have to tranſact. An haughty "Carriage keeps People at a Diſtance, and re-"duces a Man to paſs his Life in Solitude." Notwithſtanding this Defect, he continued to be highly eſteem'd at Court; where his ſuperior Abilities, and tranſcendent Merit, made him abſolutely neceſſary; eſpecially at a Time, when the State was threatned with great Danger, and Extremity.

As he believ'd, that all the Vices of *Young Dionyſius* were the Effect of his bad Education, and entire Ignorance of his Duty, he conceiv'd juſtly, that the beſt Remedy would be to aſſociate him, if poſſible, with Perſons of Wit and Senſe; whoſe ſolid, but agreeable Converſation, might, at once, inſtruct, and divert him: For, the Prince did not, naturally, want Parts and Genius.

The Sequel will ſhew, that *Dionyſius* the *Younger* had a natural Propenſity, to what was good and virtuous; and a Taſte and Capacity for Arts and Sciences: He knew how to ſet a Value upon the Merit and Talents, by which Men are diſtinguiſh'd: He delighted in converſing with Perſons of Ability; and, from his Correſpondence with them, made himſelf capable of the higheſt Improvements: He went ſo far, as to familiarize the Throne with the Sciences, which, of themſelves, have little, or no Acceſs to it; and, by rendering them, in a Manner, his Favourites, he gave them Courage to make their Appearance in Courts: His Protection was the Patent of Nobility, by which he raiſed them to Honour and Diſtinction: Nor was he inſenſible of the Pleaſure of true Friendſhip. In private, he was a good Parent, Relation, and Maſter; and acquired the Affection of all who approach'd him: He was not, naturally, inclined to Violence or Cruelty; and it may be ſaid, that he was rather a Tyrant by Succeſſion and Inheritance, than by Temper and Inclination.

All which demonſtrates, that he might have made a very tolerable Prince (if not a very good one) had an early, and proper Care been taken, to cultivate the happy Diſpoſition, which he brought into the World with him: But his Father, to whom all Merit, even in his own Children, gave Umbrage, induſtriouſly ſuppreſſed in him all Tendency to Goodneſs, and every noble and elevated Sentiment by a baſe and obſcure Education; from the View of preventing his attempting any Thing againſt himſelf. It was neceſſary, therefore, to find a Perſon of the Character before mention'd; or rather, to inſpire himſelf with the Deſire of having ſuch an one found.

This was what *Dion* labour'd with wonderful Addreſs; he often talk'd to him of *Plato*, as the moſt profound and illuſtrious of Philoſophers; whoſe Merit he had experienced, and to whom he was obliged for all he knew: He enlarged upon the Elevation of his Genius, the Extent of his Knowledge, the Amiableneſs of his Character, and the Charms of his Converſation: He repreſented him, particularly, as the moſt capable in the World, of forming him in the Art of governing, upon which his own, and the Happineſs of the People depended: He told him, that his Subjects, govern'd, for the future, with Lenity and Indul-

Indulgence, as a good Father governs his Family, voluntarily render that Obedience to his Moderation and Juſtice, which Force and Violence extorted from them againſt their Will; and that, by ſuch a Conduct, he would, from a Tyrant, become a juſt King; to whom all Submiſſion would be paid, out of Affection and Gratitude.

It is incredible how much theſe Diſcourſes, introduced in Converſation, from Time to Time, as if by Accident, without Affectation, or the Appearance of any premeditated Deſign, enflam'd the young Prince, with the Deſire of knowing, and converſing with *Plato*. He wrote to him, in the moſt importunate, and obliging Manner, for that Purpoſe; he diſpatch'd Couriers after Couriers to haſten his Voyage; whilſt *Plato*, who apprehended the Conſequences, and had ſmall Hopes of any good Effect of it, had Recourſe to Evaſions; and, without abſolutely refuſing, ſufficiently intimated, that he could not reſolve upon it, without the greateſt Reluctance. The Obſtacles and Difficulties, the young Prince's Requeſt met with, were ſo far from diſguſting him, that they only ſerv'd, as it commonly happens, to enflame his Deſire. The *Pythagorean* Philoſophers of *Græcia Major* in *Italy*, join'd their Intreaties with his and *Dion*'s; who, on his Part, redoubled his Inſtances, and uſed the ſtrongeſt Arguments, to conquer *Plato*'s Repugnance. "This is not (ſaid he) "the Concern of a private Perſon, but of a pow-"erful Prince; whoſe Change of Manners will "have the ſame Effect throughout his whole "Dominions; with the Extent of which you are "not unacquainted. It is himſelf, who makes "all theſe Advances; who importunes and ſolli-"cits you to come to his Aſſiſtance; and employs "the Intereſt of all your Friends for that Purpoſe. "What more favourable Juncture could we ex-"pect, from the divine Providence, than that "which now offers itſelf? Are you not afraid "that your Delays will give the Fatterers, who "ſurround the young Prince, the Opportunity of "drawing him over to themſelves, and of ſedu-"cing him to change his Reſolution? What "Reproaches would you make yourſelf, and "what Diſhonour would it be to Philoſophy, "ſhould it ever be ſaid, that *Plato*, whoſe Coun-"ſels to *Dionyſius*, might have eſtabliſh'd a wiſe, "and equitable Goverment in *Sicily*, abandon'd "it to all the Evils of Tyranny, rather than un-"dergo the Fatigues of a Voyage; or from I "know not what other imaginary Difficulties."

Plato could not reſiſt Sollicitations of ſo much Force; vanquiſh'd, by the Conſideration of his own Character, and to obviate the Reproach of his being a Philoſopher in Words only, without having ever ſhewn himſelf ſuch in his Actions; conſcious beſides, of the great Advantages, which *Sicily* might acquire from his Voyoge, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be perſuaded.

The Flatterers at the Court of *Dionyſius*, terrify'd at the Reſolution he had taken, contrary to their Remonſtrances, and fearing the Preſence of *Plato*, of which they foreſaw the Conſequences, united together againſt him, as their common Enemy: They rightly judg'd, that if, according to the new Maxims of Government, all Things were to be meaſured by the Standard of true Merit, and no Favour to be expected from the Prince, but for the Services done the State, they had nothing farther to expect, and might wait their whole Lives at Court to no Manner of Purpoſe: They raiſed, therefore, a ſtrong Battery, to render *Plato*'s Voyage ineffectual, though they were not able to prevent it: They prevail'd upon *Dionyſius* to recal *Philiſtus* from Baniſhment; who was not only an able Soldier, but a great Hiſtorian; very eloquent and learned; and a zealous Aſſertor of the Tyranny: They hoped to find a Counterpoiſe in him, againſt *Plato*, and all his Philoſophy. Upon his being baniſh'd by *Dionyſius* the *Elder*, on ſome perſonal Diſcontent, he retired into the City of *Adria*, where, it was believ'd, he compoſed the greateſt Part of his Writings: He wrote the Hiſtory of *Egypt* in twelve Books; that of *Sicily* in eleven; and of *Dionyſius* the Tyrant in ſix; all which Works are entirely loſt. *Cicero* praiſes him greatly, and calls him *Thucydides* the *Leſs*; *pene puſillus Thucydides*; thereby intimating, that he copy'd that Author very well. The Courtiers, at the ſame Time, made Complaints againſt *Dion* to *Dionyſius*; accuſing him of having held Conferences with *Theodotus* and *Heraclides*, the ſecret Enemies of that Prince, upon the Means of ſubverting the Tyranny.

This was the State of Affairs, when *Plato* arriv'd in *Sicily*; where he was receiv'd with infinite Careſſes, and the higheſt Marks of Honour and Reſpect: Upon his landing, he found one of the Prince's Chariots, equally magnificent in its Horſes and Ornaments, attending upon him. The Tyrant offer'd a Sacrifice, as if ſome ſingular Inſtance of good Fortune had befallen him; for, a wiſe Man, who is capable of giving a Prince good Counſel, is a Treaſure of ineſtimable Value to a whole Nation: But the Worth of ſuch a Perſon is rarely known; and more rarely apply'd to the Uſes which might be made of it.

Plato found *Young Dionyſius* in the moſt happy Diſpoſition imaginable; he applying himſelf entirely to his Leſſons and Counſels: But, as the Philoſopher had improv'd infinitely from the Precepts and Example of *Socrates*, his Maſter, the moſt exquiſite of all the *Pagan* World, in forming the Mind for a right Taſte of Truth, he took Care to adapt himſelf with wonderful Addreſs to the young Tyrant's Humour; avoiding all direct Attacks upon his Paſſions; taking Pains to acquire his Confidence, by kind and inſinuating Behaviour; and particularly, endeavouring to render Virtue amiable, and, at the ſame Time, triumphant over Vice; which keeps Mankind in its Chains, by the ſole Force of ſordid Allurements; groſs Pleaſures; and low Voluptouſneſs.

The Change was ſudden and ſurprizing: The young Prince, who had abandon'd himſelf, till then, to Idleneſs, Pleaſure, and Luxury, and was ignorant of all the Duties of his Character, the inevitable Conſequence of a diſſolute Life, awaking, as from a lethargick Sleep, began to open his Eyes, to have ſome Idea of the Beauty of Virtue, and to reliſh the refined Pleaſure of a Converſation equally ſolid and agreeable: He was now as paſſionately fond of Learning, and being inſtructed, as he had once been averſe and repugnant. The Court, which always apes the Prince, and falls in with his Inclinations in every Thing, enter'd into the ſame Way of thinking. The Apartments of

the Palace, like ſo many Schools of Geometry, were full of the Duſt, made Uſe of by the Profeſſors of that Science, in tracing their Figures; and, in a very ſhort Time, the Study of Philoſophy, and every Kind of Literature, became the reigning and univerſal Taſte.

The great Benefit of theſe Studies, to a Prince, does not only conſiſt in ſtoring his Mind with an infinite Number of the moſt curious, uſeful, and often neceſſary Notions of Things; but has the farther Advantage of abſtracting him from Idleneſs, Indolence, and the frivolous Amuſements of a Court; in habituating him to a Life of Application and Reflection; in inſpiring him with a Paſſion to inform himſelf in the Duties of the Sovereignty, and to know the Characters of ſuch as have excell'd in the Art of reigning: In a Word, to make himſelf capable of governing the State in his own Perſon, and ſeeing every Thing with his own Eyes; that is, to be indeed a King; but this the Courtiers and Flatterers are almoſt always unanimous in oppoſing.

They were conſiderably alarmed by a Word that eſcaped *Dionyſius*; and ſhew'd how much he was affected, with the Diſcourſes which had been inculcated into him, upon the Happineſs of a King, regarded with tender Affection by his People, as their common Father, and the wretched Condition of a Tyrant, whom they abhor and deteſt. Some Days after *Plato*'s Arrival, was the Anniverſary, on which a ſolemn Sacrifice was offer'd in the Palace, for the Prince's Proſperity: The Herald having pronounc'd this Prayer, according to Cuſtom; *That it would pleaſe the Gods to maintain the Tyranny, and preſerve the Tyrant: Dionyſius*, who was not far from him, and to whom thoſe Terms began to grow odious, call'd out to him aloud, *Will you not give over curſing me? Philiſtus*, and his Party, were infinitely alarm'd at that Expreſſion; and judg'd from thence, that Time and Habit muſt give *Plato* an invincible Aſcendant over *Dionyſius*, if the Correſpondence of a few Days could ſo entirely alter his Diſpoſition: They ſet themſelves, therefore, at Work upon new, and more effectual Stratagems againſt him.

They began, by turning the retired Life, which *Dionyſius* led with *Plato*, and the Studies in which he employ'd himſelf, into Ridicule; as if they were deſign'd to make a Philoſopher of him: But that was not all; they labour'd, in Concert, to render the Zeal of *Dion* and *Plato* ſuſpected, and even odious to him: They repreſented them as impertinent Cenſors and imperious Pedagogues, who aſſumed an Authority over them, which neither conſiſted with his Age, nor his Rank. It is no Wonder, that a young Prince, like *Dionyſius*, who (with the moſt excellent natural Parts, and amidſt the beſt Examples) would have found it difficult to have ſupported himſelf, ſhould, at length, give Way to ſuch refined Inſinuations, in a Court, which had long been infected; where there was no Emulation, but to excel in Vice; and where he was continually beſieged by a Crowd of Flatterers; who were continually praiſing and admiring him in every Thing.

But the principal Application of the Courtiers, was to decry the Character, and Conduct of *Dion* himſelf; not ſeparately, nor in the Method of Whiſper, but all together, and in publick: They ſaid openly, and to any One, who would give them the Hearing, that it was very viſible, *Dion* made Uſe of *Plato*'s Eloquence, to inſinuate into, and enchant *Dionyſius*, with Deſign, to draw him into a voluntary Reſignation of the Throne; that he might take Poſſeſſion of it for his Nephews, the Children of *Ariſtomache*; and eſtabliſh them in the Sovereignty. They added, that it was very extraordinary, and afflicting, that the *Athenians*, who had, in former Times, invaded *Sicily* with numerous Forces, both by Sea and Land, which had all periſh'd there, without being able to take *Syracuſe*, ſhould now, with a ſingle *Sophiſt*, obtain their Point, and ſubvert the Tyranny of *Dionyſius*; by perſuading him to diſmiſs the Ten Thouſand Strangers of his Guard; to lay aſide his Fleet of four hundred Gallies, which he always kept in Readineſs for Service; and to disband his Ten Thouſand Horſe, and the greateſt Part of his Foot; for the Sake of going to find, in the Academy (the Place where *Plato* taught) a pretended Supreme Good, not explicable; and to make himſelf happy, in Imagination, by the Study of Geometry; whilſt he abandon'd to *Dion*, and his Nephews, a real and ſubſtantial Felicity; conſiſting in Empire, Riches, Luxury, and Pleaſure.

With ſuch Diſcourſes, the Courtiers, intent upon making the beſt Uſe of every favourable Moment, perpetually beſieged the young Prince; and covering their ſecret Motives, under the Appearance of Zeal for his Service, were ever adviſing him, to take proper Meaſures, for the Security of his Life, and Throne. Such repeated Suggeſtions ſoon raiſed, in the Mind of *Dionyſius*, the moſt violent Suſpicions of *Dion*; which preſently grew into a furious Reſentment, and broke out in an open Rupture. Letters were privately brought to *Dionyſius*, written by *Dion* to the *Carthaginian* Embaſſadors, wherein he told them, "That, when they ſhould treat of Peace with "*Dionyſius*, he would adviſe them, not to open "the Conferences but in his Preſence; becauſe "he would aſſiſt them, in making the Treaty "mor firm and laſting." *Dionyſius* read theſe Letters to *Philiſtus*; and having concerted, with him, what Meaſures to take, amuſed *Dion* with the Appearance of a Reconciliation; and led him alone to the Sea-ſide, below the Citadel; where he ſhew'd him his Letters, and accuſed him, of having enter'd into a League againſt him, with the *Carthaginians*. *Dion* would have juſtify'd himſelf, but he refuſed to hear him; and made him immediately go on Board a Brigantine; which had Orders to carry him to the Coaſt of *Italy*, and leave him there; from whence, *Dion*, ſoon after, ſet Sail for *Peloponneſus*.

So hard and unjuſt a Treatment could not fail of making Abundance of Noiſe; and the whole City declared againſt it; eſpecially, as it was reported, though without Foundation, that *Plato* had been put to Death. *Dionyſius*, who apprehended the Conſequences, took Pains to appeaſe the publick Diſcontent, and obviate Complaints: To this End, he gave *Dion*'s Relations two Veſſels, to tranſport to him, in *Peloponneſus*, his Riches, and numerous Family; for, he had the Equipage of a King.

Aſſoon as *Dion* was gone, *Dionyſius* made *Plato* change his Lodging, and brought him into the Cita-

Citadel: in Appearance to do him Honour, but, in Reality, to aſſure himſelf of his Perſon, and prevent him from going to *Dion*. He might alſo have in View, from the bringing *Plato* nearer to him, the Opportunity of hearing him more frequently, and more commodiouſly: For, charm'd with the Delights of his Converſation, and ſtudious of pleaſing him in every Thing, and to merit his Affection, he had conceived an Eſteem, or rather Paſſion for him, which roſe even to Jealouſy; but a Jealouſy of that Violence, that could ſuffer neither Companion nor Rival. He was for engroſſing him entirely to himſelf; for reigning ſolely in his Thoughts and Affections; and for being the only Object of his Love and Eſteem. He ſeem'd content to give him all his Treaſures and Authority, provided he would but love him better than *Dion*, and not prefer the latter's Friendſhip to his. *Plutarch* has Reaſon to call this Paſſion, *a tyrannick Affection: Plato* had Abundance to ſuffer from it; for it had all the Symptoms of the moſt ardent Love. Sometimes it was all Friendſhip, Careſſes, and fond Reſpect; with an unbounded Effuſion of Heart, and an endleſs Swell of tender Sentiments: Sometimes it was all Reproaches, Menaces, fierce Paſſion, and wild Emotion; and ſoon after it ſunk into Repentance, Excuſes, Tears, and humble Entreaties of Pardon and Forgiveneſs.

About this Time a War broke out very conveniently for *Plato*, which obliged *Dionyſius* to reſtore him his Liberty, and ſend him home: At his Departure, he would have loaded him with Preſents; which *Plato* refuſed; contenting himſelf with his Promiſe, to recal *Dion* the following Spring; but he did not keep his Word; only ſending him his Revenues, and deſiring *Plato*, in his Letters, to excuſe his Breach of Promiſe, at the Time perfix'd, and to impute it only to the War. He aſſured him, nevertheleſs, aſſoon as a Peace ſhould be concluded, that *Dion* ſhould return; upon Condition however, that he ſhould continue quiet, and not intermeddle in Affairs; and that he ſhould not endeavour to leſſen him in the Opinion of the *Greeks*.

In his Return to *Greece*, *Plato* went to ſee the Games at *Olympia*; where he happen'd to lodge amongſt Strangers of Diſtinction: He eat, and paſſed whole Days with them; behaving himſelf in a plain and ſimple Manner, without ever mentioning *Socrates*, or the Academy; or making himſelf known in any Thing, except that his Name was *Plato*. The Strangers were overjoy'd with having met ſo kind and amiable a Companion; but as he never talk'd of any Thing out of common Converſation, they had not the leaſt Notion, that he was the Philoſopher, whoſe Reputation was ſo univeral. When the Games were over, they went with him to *Athens*, where he provided them with Lodgings: They were ſcarce arrived there, when they deſir'd him to carry them to ſee the famous Philoſopher of his Name, who had been Diſciple to *Socrates*; at which, *Plato*, ſmiling, told them, that he was the Man; upon which, the Strangers, ſurprized at their having poſſeſs'd ſo ineſtimable a Treaſure without knowing it, were much diſpleaſed; and ſecretly reproached themthemſelves, for not having diſcerned the great Merit of the Man, through the Veil of Simplicity and Modeſty he had thrown over it, whilſt they admired him the more, upon that Account.

The Time *Dion* paſſed at *Athens* was not loſt, He employ'd it chiefly in the Study of Philoſophy: for which he had a great Taſte, and which was become his darling Paſſion: He had the Art, however, which is not very eaſy, to confine it within its juſt Bounds; and never gave himſelf up to it at the Expence of any Duty. It was at the ſame Time, *Plato* made him contract a particular Friendſhip, with his Nephew *Speuſippus*, who, uniting the eaſy and inſinuating Manners of a Courtier, with the Gravity of a Philoſopher, knew how to intermingle Mirth and innocent Pleaſure with the moſt ſerious Affairs; and by that Character, very rarely found amongſt Men of Learning, was the fitteſt Perſon, that could be, to ſoften what was too rough and auſtere in the Humour of *Dion*.

Whilſt *Dion* was at *Athens*, it fell to *Plato*'s Turn to give the publick Games; and to have Tragedies perform'd at the Feaſt of *Bacchus*; which was uſually attended with great Magnificence and Expence, from an extraordinary Emulation, which had grown into Faſhion. *Dion* defray'd the whole Charge: And *Plato*, who was ſtudious of all Occaſions, of introducing him to the Publick, was well pleaſed to reſign that Honour to him, as his Magnificence might make him ſtill better beloved, and eſteem'd by the *Athenians*.

Dion viſited all the other Cities of *Greece*; where he was preſent and all their Feaſts and Aſſemblies; and converſed with the moſt excellent Wits, and the moſt profound Stateſmen: He was not diſtinguiſh'd in Company, by the Loftineſs and Pride, too common in Perſons of his Rank; but, on the contrary, by an unaffected, ſimple, and modeſt Air; and eſpecially by the Elevation of his Genius; the Extent of his Knowledge, and the Wiſdom of his Reflections. All Cities paid him the higheſt Honours; and the *Lacedæmonians* declared him a Citizen of *Sparta*, without Regard to the Reſentment of *Dionyſius*; though he actually aſſiſted them, at that Time, with a powerful Supply, in their War againſt the *Thebans*. So many Marks of Eſteem and Diſtinction alarm'd the Tyrant's Jealouſy: He put a Stop to the Remittance of *Dion*'s Revenues, and order'd them to be received by his own Officers.

After *Dionyſius* had put an End to the War he was engaged in, in *Sicily*, of which Hiſtory does not relate any Circumſtance, he was afraid that his Treatment of *Plato* would prejudice the Philoſophers againſt him; and make him paſs for their Enemy. For this Reaſon he invited the moſt learned Men of *Italy* to his Court; where he held frequent Aſſemblies, in which, out of a fooliſh Ambition, he endeavour'd to excel them all in Eloquence and profound Knowledge; venting, without Application, ſuch of *Plato*'s Diſcourſes as he retain'd: But as he had thoſe Diſcourſes only by Rote, and his Heart had never been rightly affected with them, the Source of his Eloquence was ſoon exhauſted. He then perceived what he had loſt, by not having made a better Uſe, of that Treaſure of Wiſdom once in his own Poſſeſſion, and under his Roof; and by not having heard, in all their Extent, the admirable Lectures of the greateſt Philoſopher in the World.

As in Tyrants every Thing is violent and irregular, *Dionyſius* was ſuddenly ſeized with an exceſſive Deſire of ſeeing *Plato* again, and uſed all Means for that Purpoſe. He prevailed upon *Architas*, and the other *Pythagorean* Philoſophers, to write

write to him, that he might return with all Manner of Security; and to be bound for the Performance of all the Promiſes, which had been made to him. Accordingly, they deputed *Archidemus* to *Plato*, and *Dionyſius* ſent, at the ſame Time, two Galleys of three Benches of Rowers, with ſeveral of his Friends on Board, to intreat his Compliance. He alſo wrote Letters to him with his own Hand, in which he frankly declared, that if he would not be perſuaded to come to *Sicily*, *Dion* was to expect nothing from him; but if he came, that he might entirely diſpoſe of every Thing in his Power.

Dion alſo received ſeveral Letters, at the ſame Time, from his Wife and Siſter, who preſs'd him to prevail upon *Plato* to make the Voyage; and to ſatisfy the Impatience of *Dionyſius*; that he might have no new Pretences againſt him on that Account. Whatever Repugnance, therefore, *Plato* had to it, he could not reſiſt the warm Sollicitations made to him, and determin'd to go to *Sicily*, for the third Time, at ſeventy Years of Age.

His Arrival gave the whole People new Hopes, who flatter'd themſelves, that his Wiſdom would at length overthrow the Tyranny; and the Joy of *Dionyſius* was inexpreſſible. He appointed the Apartments in the Garden for his Lodging, the moſt honourable in the Palace; and had ſo much Confidence in him, that he ſuffer'd his Acceſs to him at all Hours, without his being ſearch'd; a Favour not granted to any of his beſt Friends.

After the firſt Careſſes were over, *Plato* was entering upon *Dion*'s Affair; which he had much at Heart, and which was the principal Motive of his Voyage: But *Dionyſius* put it off at firſt with Evaſions; to which ſucceeded Complaints and Murmurings, though not outwardly expreſſed for ſome Time. The Tyrant took great Care, to conceal his Sentiments upon that Heead, endeavouring, by all Manner of Honours, and by all poſſible Regard and Complaiſance, to abate his Friendſhip for *Dion*: On the other Hand, *Plato* diſſembled on his Side, and though extremely ſhock'd at ſo notorious a Breach of Faith, kept his Thoughts to himſelf.

Whilſt they were upon theſe Terms, and believed that No body penetrated their Secret; *Helicon* of *Cyzicum*, one of *Plato*'s particular Friends, foretold, that on a certain Day there would be an Eclipſe of the *Sun*; which happening according to his Prediction, exactly at the Hour, *Dionyſius* was ſo much ſurprized and aſtoniſh'd at it, (a Proof that he was no great Philoſopher) that he made him a Preſent of a Talent. *Ariſtippus* jeſting upon that Occaſion, ſaid, that he had alſo ſomething very incredible and extraordinary to foretel. Upon being preſs'd to explain himſelf, *I propheſy*, ſaid he, *that it will not be long, before* Dionyſius *and* Plato, *who ſeem now to agree together well, will be Enemies.*

Accordingly *Dionyſius* ſoon verify'd this Prediction; for being weary of the Conſtraint he laid upon himſelf, he order'd all *Dion*'s Lands and Effects to be ſold, and apply'd the Money to his own Uſe. At the ſame Time he made *Plato* quit the Apartments in the Garden, and gave him another Lodging, without the Caſtle, in the midſt of his Guard; who had long hated him, and would have been glad of an Opportunity to kill him; becauſe he had adviſed *Dionyſius* to renounce the Tyranny, to break them, and to live without any other Guard, but the Love of his People: In Effect, *Plato* was ſenſible, that he owed his Life to ſome ſmall Remains of the Tyrant's Favour, in reſtraining the Fury of his Guard.

Architas, the celebrated *Pythagorean* Philoſopher, who was the principal Perſon, and ſupreme Magiſtrate of *Tarentum*, had no ſooner heard of *Plato*'s great Danger, than he ſent Embaſſadors, with a Galley of thirty Oars, to demand him from *Dionyſius*; and to remind him, that he came to *Syracuſe*, only upon his Promiſe, and that of all the *Pythagorean* Philoſophers, who had engaged for his Safety; that therefore he could not retain him againſt his Will, nor ſuffer any Inſult to be done to his Perſon, without a manifeſt Breach of Faith, and forfeiting the good Opinion of all honeſt Men: Theſe juſt Remonſtrances at laſt, awaken'd a Senſe of Shame in the Tyrant, and he permitted *Plato* to return to *Greece*.

Philoſophy and Wiſdom abandon'd the Palace, at the ſame Time: To theſe Converſations, as agreeable as uſeful, to that Taſte and Paſſion for the Arts and Sciences, to the grave and judicious Reflections, of a profoundly wiſe Politician, ſucceeded idle Tattle, frivolous Amuſements, and a ſtupid Indolence; entirely averſe to every Thing reaſonable: Gluttony, Drunkenneſs, and Debauchery, reſumed their Empire at the Court, and transform'd it from the School of Virtue, which it had been under *Plato*, into the real Stable of *Circe*.

When *Plato* had quitted *Sicily*, *Dionyſius* threw off all Reſerve, and married his Siſter *Arete*, *Dion*'s Wife, to *Timocrates*, one of his Friends. So unworthy a Treatment was, in a Manner, the Signal of the War. From that Moment, *Dion* reſolved to attack the Tyrant with open Force; and to revenge himſelf for all the Wrongs he had done him: *Plato* did all in his Power to make him change this Reſolution; but finding his Endeavours ineffectual, he foretold the Misfortunes he was about to occaſion; and declared, that he muſt expect neither Aſſiſtance nor Relief from him; that as he had been the Gueſt and Companion of *Dionyſius*, had lodged in his Palace, and join'd in the ſame Sacrifices with him, he would never forget the Duties of Hoſpitality; and, at the ſame Time, not to be wanting in his Friendſhip to *Dion*, that he would continue neuter; always ready to diſcharge the Offices of a Mediator between them, though he ſhould oppoſe their Deſigns, when they tended to the Deſtruction of each other.

It is uncertain, whether theſe Sentiments of *Plato* were owing to Prudence, or Gratitude, or the Conviction that *Dion* could not juſtifiably undertake to dethrone *Dionyſius*: However that be, *Speuſippus*, and all the reſt of *Dion*'s Friends, perpetually exhorted him to go and give Freedom to *Sicily*, which open'd its Arms to him, and was ready to receive him with the utmoſt Joy: This was indeed the Diſpoſition of *Syracuſe*, which *Speuſippus*, during his Reſidence there with *Plato*, had ſufficiently experienced; this was their univerſal Cry; whilſt they importuned and conjured *Dion* to come thither, deſiring him not to be in Pain for the Want of Ships or Troops, but only to embark in the firſt Merchant Veſſel he met with, and lend his Perſon and Name to the *Syracuſans* againſt *Dionyſius*.

Dion therefore did not heſitate any longer, upon taking

taking that Reſolution, which, in one Reſpect, coſt him not a little: For from the Time that *Dionyſius* had obliged him to quit *Syracuſe*, and *Sicily*, he had led the moſt agreeable Life, that it is poſſible to imagine, for a Perſon, who had a Taſte like him, for the Delights of Study. He enjoy'd in Peace the Converſation of the Philoſophers; and was preſent at their Diſputations; ſhining in a Manner entirely peculiar to himſelf, by the Greatneſs of his Genius, and the Solidity of his Judgment; going to all the Cities of the learned *Greece*, to ſee and converſe with the moſt eminent for Knowledge and Capacity; and to correſpond with the ableſt Politicians; leaving every-where, the Marks of his Liberality and Magnificence, equally beloved and reſpected by all that knew him; and receiving wherever he came, the higheſt Honours, which were render'd more to his Merit than his Birth. It was from ſo happy a Life, that he tore himſelf, to go to the Relief of his Country, which implored his Protection, and to deliver it from the Yoke of a Tyranny, under which it had long groan'd.

Never, perhaps, was Enterprize form'd with ſo much Boldneſs, or conducted with ſo much Prudence. *Dion* began to raiſe foreign Troops privately, by proper Agents, for the better Concealment of his Deſign: A great Number of conſiderable Perſons, and who were at the Head of Affairs, join'd with him. But what is very ſurprizing, of all thoſe the Tyrant had baniſh'd, and who were not leſs than a Thouſand, only twenty-five accompany'd him in this Expedition; ſo much had Fear got the Poſſeſſion of them. The Iſle of *Zacynthus* (now *Zant*) was the Place of Rendezvous, where the Troops aſſembled, to the Number of ſcarce eight hundred; but all of them tried on great Occaſions, excellently diſciplin'd and robuſt, of an Audacity and Experience, rarely to be found amongſt the moſt brave and the moſt warlike; and in ſhort, highly capable of animating the Troops which *Dion* was in Hopes of finding in *Sicily*; and of ſetting them the Example of fighting with all the Valour ſo noble an Enterprize required.

But when they were about to ſet forwards, and it was known that this Armament was intended againſt *Sicily*, and *Dionyſius*, (for till then it had not been declared) they were all in a Conſternation; and repented their having engaged in an Enterprize which they could not but look upon as the Effects of an extreme Raſhneſs and Folly, which in the laſt Deſpair was for putting every Thing to the Hazard: *Dion* therefore had Occaſion, at this Time, for all his Reſolution and Eloquence, to re-animate the Troops, and remove their Fears. But after he had ſpoke to them, and with an aſſured, though modeſt Tone, had made them underſtand, that he did not lead them in this Expedition as Soldiers, but as Officers; to put them at the Head of the *Syracuſians*, and all the People of *Sicily*, who had been long prepared for a Revolt; their Dread and Sadneſs were changed into Shouts of Joy; and they deſired nothing ſo much as to proceed on their Voyage.

This done, *Dion* having prepared a magnificent Sacrifice, to be offer'd up to the God *Apollo*, put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, compleatly arm'd, and, in that Equipage, march'd in Proceſſion to the Temple. He afterwards gave a great Feaſt to the whole Company; at the End of which, after the Libations and ſolemn Prayers had been made, there happen'd a ſudden Eclipſe of the Moon. This cauſed, at firſt, ſome Terror in the Soldiers, but *Dion*, who was well verſed in the Cauſes of ſuch Appearances, re-aſſured them upon that Account: The next Day they embark'd on Board two trading Veſſels, which were follow'd by a third not ſo large, and by two Barks of thirty Oars.

Who could have imagin'd, ſays an Hiſtorian, that a Man with two Merchant-Veſſels, ſhould ever dare to attack a Prince, who had four hundred Ships of War; an hundred thouſand Foot, and ten thouſand Horſe; and Treaſures ſufficient to pay and maintain them; who, beſides all this, was in Poſſeſſion of one of the greateſt, and ſtrongeſt Cities then in the World; with Ports, Arſenals, and impregnable Citadels; and with the additional Strength and Support of a great Number of potent *Allies?* The Event will ſhew, whether Force and Power are adamantine Chains, to hold an Empire, as *Dionyſius* the *Elder* had flatter'd himſelf; or if the Goodneſs, Humanity, and Juſtice of Princes, and the Love of Subjects, are not infinitely ſtronger, and more indiſſoluble Ties.

Dion having put to Sea with his ſmall Body of Troops, they were twelve Days under Sail, with little Wind, and the thirteenth arrived at *Pachynus*, a Cape of *Sicily*, about twelve or fifteen Leagues from *Syracuſe*. When they came up with that Place, the Pilot gave Notice, that they muſt land, becauſe there was Reaſon to expect a Hurricane, and therefore it was not proper to put to put to Sea: But *Dion*, who apprehended landing ſo near the Enemy, and choſe to go on Shore further off, doubled the Cape of *Pachynus*; which he had no ſooner paſſed, than a furious Storm aroſe, attended with Rain, Thunder, and Lightning, which drove them to the *Eaſtern* Coaſt of *Africa*, where they were in great Danger of being daſh'd in Pieces, againſt the Rocks. Happily for them, a *South* Wind riſing ſuddenly, contrary to Expectation, they unfurled all their Sails, and after having made Vows to the Gods, they ſtood out to Sea for *Sicily*. They ran in this Manner four Days; and on the fifth enter'd the Port of *Minoa*, a ſmall Town of *Sicily* under the *Carthaginians*; whoſe Commander, *Synalus*, was *Dion*'s particular Friend, and had been his Gueſt. They were perfectly well received there; and would have ſtaid ſome Time, to refreſh themſelves, after the great Fatigues they had ſuffer'd during the Storm, if they had not been inform'd, that *Dionyſius* was abſent; having embark'd ſome Days before, for the Coaſt of *Italy*, attended by fourſcore Veſſels. The Soldiers therefore, demanded earneſtly to be led on againſt the Enemy, and *Dion*, having deſir'd *Synalus* to ſend his Baggage after him, when it ſhould be proper, march'd directly to *Syracuſe*.

His Troops encreaſed conſiderably upon his March; by the great Number of thoſe, who came to join him from all Parts. The News of his Arrival being ſoon known at *Syracuſe*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion*'s Wife, the Siſter of *Dionyſius*, and to whom he had left the Command of the City, in his Abſence, diſpatch'd a Courier to him into *Italy*, with Advice of *Dion*'s Progreſs. But that Courier, being almoſt at his Journey's End, was ſo fatigued with having run the beſt Part of the Night, that he found himſelf under the Neceſſity of ſtopping to take a little Sleep. In the

mean Time, a Wolf, attracted by the Smell of a Peace of Meat, which he had in his Wallet, came to the Place, and ran away with both the Flesh, and Bag, in which he had also put his Dispatches. *Dionysius* was, by this Means, prevented, for some Time, from knowing that *Dion* was arrived, and then received the News from other Hands.

When *Dion* was near the *Anapus*, which runs about half a League from the City, he order'd his Troops to halt, and offer'd a Sacrifice upon the River-side, addressing his Prayers to the Rising-Sun. All who were present, seeing him with a Wreath of Flowers upon his Head, which he wore upon Account of the Sacrifice, crown'd themselves also in the same Manner, as animated with one and the same Spirit. He had been join'd on his March, by at least five thousand Men, and advanced with them towards the City. The most considerable of the Inhabitants came out, in white Habits, to receive him at the Gates: At the same Time, the People fell upon the Tyrant's Friends, and upon the *Spies* and *Informers*, an *accursed Race* of Wretches, THE ENEMIES OF THE GODS AND MEN, says *Plutarch*, who made it the Business of their Lives, to disperse themselves into all Parts, to mingle with the Citizens, to pry into all their Affairs, and to report to the Tyrant whatever they said or thought, and often, what they neither said or thought. These were the first Victims to the Fury of the People, and were knock'd on the Head with Staves immediately: *Timocrates* also, not being able to throw himself into the Citadel, rode off on Horse-back.

At that Instant *Dion* appeared within Sight of the Walls: He march'd at the Head of his Troops, magnificently arm'd, with his Brother *Megacles*, on one Side, and *Callippus* the *Athenian* on the other, both crown'd with Chaplets of Flowers. After him came an hundred of the foreign Soldiers, fine Troops, whom he had chosen for his Guard: The rest followed in Order of Battle, with their Officers at the Head of them. The *Syracusans* beheld them with inexpressible Satisfaction; and received them as a sacred Procession, whom the Gods themselves regarded with Pleasure; and who restored them their Liberty with the Democracy, forty-eight Years after they had been banish'd from their City.

After *Dion* had made his Entry, he ordered the Trumpets to sound, to appease the Noise and Tumult; and Silence being made, an Herald proclaim'd, *That* Dion *and* Megacles *were come to abolish the Tyranny, and to free the* Syracusans, *and all the People of* Sicily, *from the Yoke of the Tyrant*. And being desirous to harangue the People in Person, he went to the upper Part of the City, through the Quarter call'd *Achradina*. Wherever he passed, the *Syracusans* had set out, on both Sides of the Streets, Tables and Bowls, and had prepared Victims; and as he came before their Houses, they threw all Sorts of Flowers upon him, addressing Vows and Prayers to him as a God. Such was the Origin of Idolatry, which paid divine Honours to those, who had done the People any great and signal Services. And can there be any Service, any Gift, so grateful, so valuable, as that of Liberty? Not far from the Citadel, and below the Place call'd *Pentapyla*, stood a Sun-dial, upon a high Pedestal, erected by *Dionysius*. *Dion* placed himself upon it, and in a Speech to the People, exhorted them to make Use of their utmost Efforts, for the Recovery and Preservation of their Liberty. The *Syracusans*, transported with what he said, and to express their Gratitude and Affection, elected him, and his Brother, Captain-Generals, with supreme Authority; and by their Consent, and at their Entreaty, join'd with them twenty of the most considerable Citizens, Half of whom were of the Number of those, who had been banish'd by *Dionysius*, and return'd with *Dion*.

Having afterwards taken the Castle of *Epipolis*, he set the Citizens, who were Prisoners in it, at Liberty, and fortify'd it with strong Works: *Dionysius* arrived from *Italy*, seven Days after, and enter'd the Citadel by Sea. The same Day a great Number of Carriages brought *Dion* the Arms which he had left with *Synalus*; which he distributed among the Citizens, who were unprovided: All the rest arm'd and equipped themselves as well as they could, expressing the greatest Ardor and Satisfaction.

The first Thing the Tyrant did, was to send Embassadors to *Dion*, and the *Syracusans*, with Proposals, which seem'd very advantagious; but the Answer was, that, by Way of Preliminary, he must abdicate the Tyranny; to which he pretended not to be averse. From thence he came to Interviews and Conferences; which were only Feints to gain Time, and abate the Ardor of the *Syracusans*, by the Hope of an Accommodation. Accordingly, having made the Deputies, who were sent to treat with him, Prisoners, he suddenly attack'd, with a great Part of his Troops, the Wall, with which the *Syracusans* had surrounded the Citadel, and made several Breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an Assault, put *Dion*'s Soldiers into great Confusion, and they immediately fled; *Dion* endeavouring in vain to stop them: Wherefore, believing Example more prevalent than Words, he threw himself fiercely into the Midst of the Enemy, where he stood their Charge with intrepid Courage, and kill'd great Numbers of them. He received a Wound in the Hand from a Spear; his Arms were scarce Proof against the great Number of Darts, which were thrown at him, and his Shield, being pierced through in many Places, with Spears and Javelins, he was at length born to the Earth; but his Soldiers immediately brought him off from the Enemy; Things being in this Posture, he left *Timonides* to command them, and getting on Horseback, he rode through the whole City, stopt the Flight of the *Syracusans*, and taking the foreign Soldiers, whom he had left to guard the Quarter call'd *Achradina*, he led them on fresh against the Troops of *Dionysius*, who were already fatigued, and entirely discouraged, by so vigorous and unexpected a Resistance. It was now no longer a Battle, but a Pursuit: A great Number of the Tyrant's Troops were left upon the Place, and the rest escaped, with Difficulty, into the Citadel. This Victory was Signal and glorious. The *Syracusans*, to reward the Valour of the foreign Troops, gave each of them a considerable Sum of Money; and those Soldiers, to honour *Dion*, presented him with a Crown of Gold.

Soon after came Heralds from *Dionysius*, with several Letters for *Dion*, from the Women of his Family, and with one from *Dionysius* himself:

Dion

Dion order'd them all to be read in a full Aſſembly. That of *Dionyſius* was couch'd in the Form of a Requeſt, and Juſtification; intermix'd, however, with the moſt terrible Menaces againſt the Perſons, who were deareſt to *Dion*; his Siſter, Wife, and Son. It was written with an Art and Addreſs, exceedingly proper to render *Dion* ſuſpected; *Dionyſius* therein putting him in Mind of the Ardor and Zeal, he had formerly expreſſed, for the Support of the Tyranny; exhorting him, at a Diſtance, and with ſome Obſcurity, though eaſy enough to be underſtood, not to aboliſh it entirely; but preſerve it for himſelf; and adviſing him, not to give the People their Liberty, who were far from affecting him at Heart; nor to abandon his own Safety, and that of his Friends and Relations, to the capricious Humour of a violent, and inconſtant Multitude.

The Reading of this Letter had the Effect *Dionyſius* propoſed from it: The *Syracuſans*, without Regard to *Dion*'s Goodneſs to them, and the Greatneſs of his Soul, in forgetting his deareſt Intereſts, and the Ties of Nature, to reſtore them their Liberty, took Umbrage at his too great Authority, and conceiv'd injurious Suſpicions of him: The Arrival of *Heraclides* confirm'd them in their Sentiments, and determin'd them to act accordingly. He was one of the baniſh'd Perſons, a good Soldier, and well known amongſt the Troops, from having had a conſiderable Command under the Tyrant: Beſides this, a very bold, ambitious, and ſecret Enemy to *Dion*; between whom and himſelf, there had been ſome Difference in *Peloponneſus*. He came to *Syracuſe* with ſeven Gallies, of three Benches of Oars, and three other Veſſels; not to join *Dion*, but with Reſolution to march with his own Forces, againſt the Tyrant, whom he found reduced to ſhut himſelf up in the Citadel: His firſt Endeavour was to ingratiate himſelf with the People; for which he was well qualify'd, by an open and inſinuating Behaviour, whilſt the auſtere Gravity of *Dion* was offenſive to the Multitude; eſpecially, as they were become more haughty and untractable ſince the laſt Victory, and expected to be treated like a popular State, even before they could call themſelves a free People; that is to ſay, in the full Senſe of the *Greek* Terms, they were for being uſed with Complaiſance, Flattery, Regard, and a Deference, to all their capricious Humours.

What Gratitude could ever be expected from ſuch a People, who never conſulted any Thing but only their Paſſions and blind Prejudices? The *Syracuſans* form'd an Aſſembly immediately, of their own Accord, and choſe *Heraclides*, Admiral: *Dion* came unexpectedly thither, and complain'd highly of ſuch a Proceeding; as the Charge conferr'd upon *Heraclides*, was a Branch of his Office; and he was no longer Generaliſſimo, if another commanded at Sea. Theſe Remonſtrances obliged the *Syracuſans*, againſt their Will, to deprive *Heraclides* of the Office they had ſo lately conferr'd upon him: Whereupon, when the Aſſembly broke up, *Dion* ſent for him; and, after ſome gentle Reprimands, for his indiſcreet, and diſobliging Conduct to him, at ſo critical a Juncture, wherein the leaſt Diviſion amongſt them might ruin every Thing, he ſummon'd a new Aſſembly himſelf; and, in the Preſence of the whole People, appointed *Heraclides*, Admiral, and gave him a Guard likewiſe, as he had himſelf.

Thus he thought to get the better of his Rival's Ill-Will, by the Force of kind Offices: Accordingly, in his Expreſſions, and outward Behaviour, he made his Court to *Dion*; confeſſed his Obligations to him; and obey'd his Orders readily, and exactly; expreſſing an entire Devotion to his Service, and a Deſire of any Occaſion to do him Pleaſure: But underhand, by his Intrigues and Cabals, he influenced the People againſt him, and oppoſed his Deſigns in every Thing. If *Dion* gave his Conſent, that *Dionyſius* ſhould quit the Citadel by Treaty, he was accuſed of favouring, and intending to ſave, him: If, to ſatisfy them, he continued the Siege, without hearkening to any Propoſals of Accommodation, they did not fail to reproach him with the Deſire of protracting the War, for the Sake of continuing in Command, and to keep the Citizens in Awe and Reſpect.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Philiſtus*, who came to the Tyrant's Relief with ſeveral Gallies, having been defeated, and put to Death, *Dionyſius* ſent to offer *Dion* the Citadel, with the Arms, and Troops in it, and Money to pay them for five Months, if he might be permitted, by a Treaty, to retire into *Italy*, for the Reſt of his Life, and be allow'd the Revenue of certain Lands, which he mention'd, in the Neighbourhood of *Syracuſe*, : But, the *Syracuſans*, who were in Hopes of taking the Tyrant alive, rejected thoſe Propoſals: Whereupon, *Dionyſius*, deſpairing of reconciling them to his Terms, left the Citadel in the Hands of his eldeſt Son, *Apollocrates*; and taking the Advantage of a favourable Wind, embark'd for *Italy*, with his Treaſures, and Effects of the greateſt Value; and ſuch of his Friends, as were deareſt to him.

Heraclides, who commanded the Gallies, was very much blam'd, for having ſuffer'd him to eſcape, by his Negligence: To regain the Favour of the People, he propoſed a new Diſtribution of Lands; inſinuating, that, as Liberty was founded in Equality, ſo Poverty was the Principle of Servitude. Upon *Dion*'s oppoſing this Motion, *Heraclides* perſuaded the People to reduce the Pay of the foreign Troops, who amounted to three thouſand Men; to declare a new Diviſion of Land; to appoint new Generals; and deliver themſelves, in good Time, from the inſupportable Severity of *Dion*: The *Syracuſans* agreed, and nominated twenty-five new Officers, *Heraclides* being one of the Number.

At the ſame Time, they ſent privately to ſollicit the foreign Soldiers to abandon *Dion*, and join with them; promiſing to give them a Share in the Government, as Natives and Citizens. Thoſe generous Troops receiv'd the Offer with Diſdain; and placing *Dion* in the Centre of them, with a Fidelity and Affection, of which there are few Examples, they made their Bodies, and their Arms a Rampart for him; and carry'd him out of the City, without doing the leaſt Violence to any Body; but warmly reproaching all they met with Ingratitude and Perfidy: Hereupon, the *Syracuſans*, who contemn'd their ſmall Number, and attributed their Moderation to Fear, and Want of Courage, began to attack them; not doubting but they ſhould defeat, and put them

all

all to the Sword, before they coul get out of the City.

In this Extremity; *Dion*, reduced to the Neceſſity, either of fighting the Citizens, or periſhing with his Troops, held out his Hands to the *Syracuſans*; imploring them, in the moſt tender and affectionate Manner, to deſiſt; pointing to the Citadel full of Enemies, who ſaw all that paſſed with the utmoſt Joy: But, finding them deaf, and inſenſible to all his Remonſtrances, he commanded his Soldiers to march in cloſe Order, without attacking them, which they obey'd; contenting themſelves with making a great Noiſe with their Arms, and raiſing loud Cries, as if they were going to fall upon the *Syracuſans*. The latter, however, were diſmay'd with thoſe Appearances, and ran away in every Street, without being purſued; upon which, *Dion* haſten'd the March of his Troops towards the Country of the *Leontines*.

In the mean While, the Officers of the *Syracuſans* being laugh'd at, and ridiculed by the Women of the City, for their Cowardice, were deſirous to retrieve their Honour; and made their Troops take Arms, and return to the Purſuit of *Dion*: Being come up with him, as he was about to paſs a River, they made their Horſe advance to skirmiſh: But, when they ſaw, that *Dion* was reſolv'd, in Earneſt, to repel their Inſults, and had made his Troops face about with great Indignation, they were again ſeiz'd with Terror; and taking to their Heels, in a more ſhameful Manner than before, made all the Haſte they could to regain the City.

The *Leontines* receiv'd *Dion* with great Marks of Honour and Eſteem: They alſo made Preſents to his Soldiers, and declared them free Citizens. Some Days after which, they ſent Embaſſadors to the *Syracuſans*, to demand Juſtice for their ill Treatment of thoſe Troops; who, on their Side, ſent Deputies to complain of *Dion*: *Syracuſe* was intoxicated with an inconſiderate Joy, and inſolent Proſperity, which had entirely baniſh'd Reflexion and Judgment.

Every Thing conſpired to ſwell their Pride: The Citadel was ſo much reduced by Famine, that the Soldiers of *Dionyſius*, after having ſuffer'd very much, reſolv'd, at laſt, to ſurrender it: They ſent in the Night to make that Propoſal, and were to perform Conditions the next Morning: But, at Day-break, whilſt they were preparing to execute the Treaty, *Nyſſius*, an able and valiant General, whom *Dionyſius* had ſent from *Italy*, with Corn and Money to the Beſieged, appear'd with his Gallies, and anchor'd near *Arethuſa*: Plenty ſucceeding, on a ſudden, to Want, *Nyſſius* landed with his Troops, and ſummon'd an Aſſembly, wherein he made a Speech to the Soldiers, ſuitable to the preſent Juncture, which determin'd them to hazard all Dangers: The Citadel, that was upon the Point of ſurrendering, was reliev'd in this Manner, contrary to all Expectation.

The *Syracuſans*, at the ſame Time, haſten'd on board their Gallies, and attack'd the Enemy's Fleet: They ſunk ſome of their Ships, took others, and purſued the Reſt to the Shore: But this very Victory was the Occaſion of their Ruin. Abandon'd to their own Diſcretion, without either Leader of Authority to command them, or Counſel; the Officers, as well as Soldiers, gave themſelves up to Rejoicing, Feaſting, Drinking, Debauchery, and every Kind of looſe Exceſs. *Nyſſius* knew well how to take Advantage of this general Infatuation: He attack'd the Wall that incloſed the Citadel, of which, having made himſelf Maſter, he demoliſh'd it in ſeveral Places; and permitted his Soldiers to enter, and plunder the City. All Things were in the utmoſt Confuſion: Here, the Citizens half aſleep, had their Throats cut; there, Houſes were plunder'd, whilſt the Women and Children were driven off into the Citadel, without Regard to their Tears, Cries, and Lamentations.

There was but one Man, who could remedy this Misfortune, and preſerve the City: This was in every Body's Thoughts, but none had Courage enough to propoſe it; ſo much were they aſham'd of the ungenerous Manner in which they had driven him out. As the Danger encreaſed every Moment, and already approach'd the Quarter *Achradina*, in the Height of their Extremity and Deſpair, a Voice was heard, from the *Horſe* and *Allies*, which ſaid, "It was abſolutely neceſſary to "recal *Dion*, and the *Peloponneſian* Troops from "the Country of the *Leontines*." Aſſoon as any Body had Courage enough to ſay thoſe Words, they were the general Cry of the *Syracuſans*, who, with Tears of Joy and Grief, made Prayers to the Gods, that they would bring him back to them. The Hope alone of ſeeing him again, gave them new Courage, and enabled them to make Head againſt the Enemy. The Deputies ſet out immediately with full Speed, and arriv'd at the City of *Leontium*, late in the Evening.

Aſſoon as they alighted, they threw themſelves at *Dion*'s Feet, bathed in Tears, and related the deplorable Extremity, to which the *Syracuſans* were reduced. Some of the *Leontines*, and ſeveral of the *Peloponneſian* Soldiers, who had ſeen them arrive, were already got round *Dion*; and conceiv'd rightly, from their Emotion, and proſtrate Behaviour, that ſomething very extraordinary had happen'd. As for *Dion*, he had no ſooner heard what they had to ſay, than he carry'd them with him to the Aſſembly, which form'd itſelf immediately; for, the People ran thither with Abundance of Eagerneſs. The two principal Deputies explain'd, in a few Words, the Greatneſs of their Diſtreſs, and implored the foreign Troops to haſten to the Relief of the *Syracuſans*, and to forget the ill Treatment they had receiv'd; and the rather, becauſe that unfortunate People had already ſuffer'd a ſeverer Puniſhment for it, than the moſt injured amongſt them would have deſired to impoſe.

The Deputies having finiſh'd their Diſcourſe, the whole Theatre, where the Aſſembly was held, continued ſad and ſilent: *Dion* roſe; but, aſſoon as he began to ſpeak, a Torrent of Tears prevented his Utterance; whereupon, the foreign Soldiers call'd out to him, to take Courage, and expreſſed a generous Compaſſion for his Grief. At length, having recover'd himſelf a little, he ſpoke to them in theſe Terms: "Men of *Peloponneſus*, and "and You, our *Allies*, I have aſſembled you "here, that you might deliberate upon what re"gards yourſelves; as for my Part, I muſt not "deliberate upon any Thing, when *Syracuſe* is "in Danger. If I cannot preſerve it, I go to "periſh with it, and bury myſelf in its Ruins."

But

"But, for you, if you are reſolv'd to aſſiſt us "once more; us, who are the moſt imprudent, "and moſt unfortunate of Mankind, come, and "relieve the City of *Syracuſe*, from henceforth "the Work of your Hands: If not, and the juſt "Subjects of Complaint, which you have againſt "the *Syracuſans*, determine you to abandon them "in their preſent Condition, and to ſuffer them "to periſh; may you receive from the immortal "Gods, the Reward you merit, for the Affection "and Fidelity, which you have hitherto expreſſed "for me. For the Reſt, all I have to deſire, is, "that you will keep *Dion* in your Remembrance, "who did not abandon you, when you were un-"worthily treated by his Country; nor his "Country, when fallen into Misfortunes."

He had no ſooner ceaſed ſpeaking, than the foreign Soldiers roſe up with loud Cries, and entreated him to lead them on, that Moment, to the Relief of *Syracuſe*. The Deputies, tranſported with Joy, ſaluted and embraced them, praying the Gods to beſtow upon *Dion*, and them, all Kinds of Happineſs and Proſperity. When the Tumult was appeaſed, *Dion* order'd them to prepare for the March; and, aſſoon as they had ſupped, to return with their Arms to the ſame Place; being determin'd to ſet out the ſame Night, and fly to the Relief of his Country.

In the mean Time, at *Syracuſe*, the Officers of *Dionyſius*, after having done all the Miſchief they could to the City, retired, at Night, into the Citadel, with the Loſs of ſome of their Soldiers. This ſhort Reſpite gave the ſeditious Orators new Courage; who flattering themſelves, that the Enemy would lie ſtill after what they had done, exhorted the *Syracuſans* to think no farther of *Dion*; nor to receive him, if he came to their Relief with his foreign Troops, nor to yield to them in Courage, but to defend their City and Liberty with their own Arms and Valour. New Deputies were inſtantly diſpatch'd from the General Officers to prevent his Coming; and from the principal Citizens, and his Friends, to deſire him to haſten his March: which Difference of Sentiments, and Contrariety of Advices, occaſion'd his marching ſlowly, and by ſmall Journies.

When the Night was far ſpent, *Dion*'s Enemies ſeiz'd the Gates of the City, to prevent his Entrance: At the ſame Inſtant, *Nypſius*, well appriz'd of all that paſs'd in *Syracuſe*, made a Sally from the Citadel with a greater Body of Troops, and more reſolute than before. They demoliſh'd the Wall that encloſed them entirely, and enter'd the City, which they plunder'd: Nothing but Murder and Bloodſhed was ſeen every where: Nor were they ſatisfy'd with plundering, but ſeem'd to have no other View, than to ruin and deſtroy all before them: One would have thought, the Son of *Dionyſius*, whom his Father had left in the Citadel, being reduced to Deſpair; and prompted by an Exceſs of Hatred for the *Syracuſans*, was determin'd to bury the Tyranny in the Ruins of the City. To prevent *Dion*'s Relief of it, they had Recourſe to Fire, the ſwifteſt of Deſtruction, burning with Torches and lighted Straw, all Places within their Reach; and darting Combuſtibles againſt the Reſt: Whilſt the *Syracuſans*, who fled to avoid the Flames, were butcher'd in the Streets; and thoſe, who, to ſhun the all-murdering Sword, retired into the Houſes, were driven out of them again, by the encroaching Fire: For, there were Abundance of Houſes burning, and many that fell upon the People in the Streets.

Theſe very Flames open'd the City for *Dion*; by obliging the Citizens to agree in not keeping the Gates ſhut againſt him: Couriers after Couriers were diſpatch'd to haſten his March. *Heraclides* himſelf, his moſt declared, and mortal Enemy, deputed his Brother, and afterwards his Uncle *Theodetus*, to conjure him to advance with the utmoſt Speed; there being no-body beſides himſelf to make Head againſt the Enemy, he being wounded, and the City almoſt ruin'd, and reduced to Aſhes.

Dion receiv'd this News, when he was about ſixty *Stadia* from the Gates: His Soldiers, upon that Occaſion, march'd with the utmoſt Diligence, and ſo good a Will, that it was not long before he arriv'd at the Walls of the City: He there detach'd his light-arm'd Troops againſt the Enemy, to reanimate the *Syracuſans* by the Sight of them: He then drew up his heavy-arm'd Infantry, and the Citizens, who came running to join him on all Sides: He divided them into ſmall Parties, of greater Depth than Front, and put different Officers at the Head of them, that they might be capable of attacking in ſeveral Places at once, and appear ſtronger, and more formidable to the Enemy.

After having made theſe Diſpoſitions, and pray'd to the Gods, he march'd a-croſs the City againſt the Enemy: In every Street, as he paſſed, he was welcom'd with Acclamations, Cries of Joy, and Songs of Victory, mingled with the Prayers and Bleſſings of all the *Syracuſans*; who call'd *Dion*, their Preſerver, and their God; and his Soldiers, their Brothers and Fellow-Citizens. At that Inſtant, there was not a ſingle Man in the City, ſo fond of Life, as not to be much more in Pain for *Dion*'s Safety than his own; and did not fear much more for him, than for all the Reſt together; ſeeing him march foremoſt to ſo great a Danger, over Blood, Fire, and dead Bodies, with which the Streets, and publick Places were entirely cover'd.

On the other Hand, the View of the Enemy was no leſs terrible: For, they were animated by Rage and Deſpair, and were poſted in Line of Battle, behind the Ruins of the Wall they had thrown down, which made the Approach very difficult and dangerous. They were under a Neceſſity of defending the Citadel, which was their Safety and Retreat, and durſt not remove from it, leſt their Communication ſhould be cut off: But, what was moſt capable of diſordering and diſcouraging *Dion*'s Soldiers, and made their March very painful and difficult, was the Fire. For, wherever they turn'd themſelves, they march'd by the Light of the Flames which deſtroy'd the Houſes, and were obliged to go over the Ruins in the Midſt of Fires; expoſing themſelves to being cruſh'd in Pieces by the Fall of Walls, Beams, and Roofs of Houſes, which totter'd, half conſum'd by the Flames; and to keep their Ranks, whilſt they open'd their Way, through frightful Clouds of Smoke, mingled with Duſt.

When they had join'd the Enemy, only a very ſmall Number on each Side were capable of coming to Blows, from the Want of Room, and the Unevenneſs of the Ground: But, at length, *Di-*

on's Soldiers, encouraged, and ſupported by the Cries and Ardour of the *Syracuſans*, made ſuch vigorous Efforts againſt the Enemy, that the Troops of *Nyſſius* gave Way. The greateſt Part of them eſcaped into the Citadel, which was very near; and thoſe who remain'd without, being broken, were cut in Pieces by the foreign Troops, who purſued them.

The Time would not admit of their making immediate Rejoicings for their Victory, in the Manner ſo great an Exploit deſerv'd; the *Syracuſans* being obliged to apply to the Preſervation of their Houſes, and paſs the whole Night in extinguiſhing the Fire; which, however, they did not effect without great Difficulty.

At the Return of Day, none of the ſeditious Orators durſt ſtay in the City, but all fled ſelf-condemn'd, to avoid the Puniſhment due to their Crimes: Only *Heraclides* and *Theodotus* came to *Dion*, and put themſelves into his Hands, confeſſing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him not to imitate their ill Conduct; repreſenting to him, that it became *Dion*, ſuperior as he was, in all other Reſpects, to the Reſt of Mankind, to ſhew he was as much ſo in that Greatneſs of Soul, which could conquer Reſentment and Revenge, and forgive the Ungrateful, who own'd themſelves unworthy his Pardon.

Heraclides and *Theodotus* having made theſe Supplications, *Dion*'s Friends adviſed him, not to ſpare Men of their vile and malignant Diſpoſition; but to abandon *Heraclides* to the Soldiers; and, in ſo doing, exterminate from the State that Spirit of Sedition and Intrigue; a Diſtemper, that has really ſomething of Madneſs in it, and is no leſs to be fear'd, from its pernicious Conſequences, that Tyranny itſelf: But *Dion*, to appeaſe them, ſaid, "That other Captains made the Means of conquering their Enemies, their ſole Application; that, for his Part, he had paſſed much Time in the Academy, in learning to ſubdue Anger, Envy, and all the jarring Paſſions of the Mind: That the Sign of having conquer'd them, is not in being obliging and affable to Friends, and Perſons of Merit, but of treating thoſe with Humanity, who have injured us, and in being always ready to forgive them: That he did not deſire ſo much to appear ſuperior to *Heraclides* in Power and Ability, as in Wiſdom and Juſtice; for, in that, a true and eſſential Superiority conſiſts. That, granting *Heraclides* wicked, invidious, and perfidious, muſt *Dion* contaminate, and diſhonour himſelf with low Reſentment? It is true, according to human Laws, there ſeems to be leſs Injuſtice in revenging an Injury, than committing it; but, if we conſult Nature, we ſhall find both the one and the other to have their Riſe from the ſame Frailty of the Heart: Beſides, there is no Diſpoſition ſo obdurate and ſavage, that may not be vanquiſh'd by the Force of kind Uſage and Obligations." *Dion*, upon theſe Maxims, pardon'd *Heraclides*.

His next Application was, to encloſe the Citadel with a new Work; and he order'd each of the *Syracuſans* to go out, and cut a large Stake: In the Night, he ſet his Soldiers to Work, whilſt the *Syracuſans* took their Reſt: He ſurrounded the Citadel, in this Manner, with a ſtrong Paliſade, before it was perceiv'd; ſo that, in the Morning, the Greatneſs of the Work, and the Suddenneſs of the Execution, were Matter of Admiration for all the World, as well the Enemy, as the Citizens.

Having finiſh'd this Paliſade, he bury'd the Dead; and diſmiſſing the Priſoners taken from the Enemy, he ſummon'd an Aſſembly: *Heraclides* propoſed in it, that *Dion* ſhould be elected Generaliſſimo, with ſupreme Authority by Sea and Land. All the People of Worth, and the moſt conſiderable of the Citizens, were pleaſed with the Propoſal, and deſired it might have the Authority of the Aſſembly: But the Mariners and Artiſans, who were ſorry to have *Heraclides* loſe the Office of Admiral; and convinc'd, that, although he was little eſtimable in all other Reſpects, he, at leaſt, would be more for the People than *Dion*, oppoſed it with all their Power. *Dion*, to avoid Diſturbance and Confuſion, did not inſiſt upon that Point; and acquieſced, that *Heraclides* ſhould continue to command in chief at Sea: But his oppoſing the Diſtribution of Lands and Houſes, which they were earneſt for having taken Place, and his cancelling and annulling whatever had been decreed upon that Head, embroil'd him with them irretrievably.

Heraclides, taking Advantage of a Diſpoſition ſo favourable to his Views, did not fail to revive his Cabals and Intrigues; as appear'd openly, by an Attempt of his to make himſelf Maſter of *Syracuſe*, and ſhut the Gates upon his Rival: But it proved unſucceſsful. A *Spartan*, who had been ſent to the Aid of *Syracuſe*, negotiated a new Accommodation between *Heraclides* and *Dion*, under the ſtricteſt Oaths, and the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances of Obedience, on the Side of the former; weak Ties upon a Man void of both Faith and Probity.

In the mean While, the *Syracuſans*, having diſmiſſed their Sea-Forces, who were become unneceſſary, apply'd ſolely to the Siege of the Citadel, and rebuilt the Wall, which had been thrown down; whereupon, as no Relief came to the Beſieged, and Bread began to fall ſhort with them, the Soldiers grew mutinous, and would obſerve no Diſcipline; and the Son of *Dionyſius*, finding himſelf without Hope or Refuge, capitulated with *Dion*, to ſurrender the Citadel, with all the Arms, and Munitions of War. He carry'd his Mother, and Siſters away with him, fill'd five Gallies with his People and Effects, and went to his Father; for, *Dion* gave him entire Liberty to retire unmoleſted. It is eaſy to conceive the Joy of the City, upon his Departure: Women, Children, old People, all were paſſionately fond of gratifying their Eyes from the Port with ſo agreeable an Object, and to ſolemnize the joyful Day, on which, after ſo many Years Servitude, the Sun roſe, for the firſt Time, upon the *Syracuſan* Liberty.

Apollocrates having ſet Sail, and *Dion* begun his March to enter the Citadel, the Princeſſes, who were there, did not ſtay till he arriv'd, but went out to meet him at the Gates. *Ariſtomache* led the Son of *Dion*; after whom *Arete*, his Wife, with her Eyes fix'd upon the Ground, and full of Tears. *Dion* embraced his Siſter firſt, and afterwards, his Son. *Ariſtomache*, then preſenting *Arete* to him, ſpoke thus; "The Tears you ſee her ſhed, the Shame expreſſed in her Looks, at the Time your Preſence reſtores us Life and Joy, her Silence itſelf, and her Confuſion, ſufficiently de-

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" note the Grief ſhe ſuffers at the Sight of an " Husband, to whom another has been ſubſtitu- " ted, contrary to her Will; but who alone has " always poſſeſſed her Heart. Shall ſhe ſalute " you as her Uncle? Or, embrace you as herHus- " band?" *Ariſtomache* having ſpoke in this Manner, *Dion*, with his Face bathed in Tears, tenderly embraced his Wife; to whom he gave his Son, and ſent them home to his Houſe; becauſe he thought proper to leave the Citadel to the Diſcretion of the *Syracuſans*, as an Evidence of their Liberty.

For himſelf, after having rewarded with a Magnificence truly royal, all thoſe, who had contributed to his Succeſs, according to their Rank and Merit; at the Height of Glory and Happineſs, and the Object of the Admiration, not only of *Sicily*, but of *Carthage*, and all *Greece*, who eſteem'd him the wiſeſt, and moſt fortunate Captain, that ever liv'd; he always retain'd his original Simplicity; as modeſt and plain in his Garb, Equipage, and Table, as if he had liv'd in the Academy with *Plato*, and not with People bred in Armies, with Officers and Soldiers, who often breathe nothing but Pleaſures and Magnificence. At the Time *Plato* wrote him Word, *That the Eyes of all Mankind were upon him alone*; little affected with that general Admiration, his Thoughts were always intent upon the Academy, that School of Wiſdom and Virtue, where Exploits and Succeſſes were not judg'd from the external Splendor and Noiſe, with which they were attended, but from the wiſe and moderate Uſe of them.

Dion deſign'd to eſtabliſh a Form of Government in *Syracuſe*, compoſed of the *Spartan* and *Cretan*; but wherein the Ariſtocratical was always to prevail; and to decide important Affairs by the Authority, which, according to his Plan, was to be veſted in a Council of Elders: *Heraclides* again oppoſed him in this Scheme, ſtill turbulent and ſeditious, according to Cuſtom; and ſolely intent upon gaining the People, by Flattery, Careſſes, and other popular Arts. One Day, when *Dion* ſent for him to the Council, he anſwer'd, he could not come; and that, being only a private Perſon, he ſhould be in the Aſſembly with the Reſt of the Citizens, whenever it was ſummon'd: His View, in ſuch Behaviour, was to make his Court to the People, and render *Dion* odious; who, weary of his repeated Inſults, permitted thoſe to kill him, which he had formerly prevented. They, accordingly, went to his Houſe, and diſpatch'd him: We ſhall ſee preſently *Dion*'s own Senſe of this Action.

The *Syracuſans* were highly afflicted for his Death; but, as *Dion* ſolemniz'd his Funeral with vaſt Magnificence, follow'd his Body in Perſon, at the Head of his whole Army, and afterwards harangued the People upon the Occaſion, they were appeaſed, and forgave him; being convinc'd, that it was impoſſible for the City ever to be free from Commotions and Sedition, whilſt *Heraclides* and *Dion* govern'd together.

After his Death, however, *Dion* never knew Peace of Mind; an hideous Spectre, which he fancy'd he ſaw in the Night, fill'd him with Trouble, Terror, and Melancholy: The Phantom ſeem'd a Woman of enormous Stature, who, in her Attire, Air, and haggard-Looks, reſembled a Fury ſweeping the Houſe with Violence. The Death of his Son, who, for ſome unknown Cauſe, had thrown himſelf from the Roof of a Houſe, paſſed for the Conſequence of that ominous Apparition, and was the Prelude to his Misfortunes: *Callippus* put the laſt Hand to them. He was an *Athenian*, with whom *Dion* had contracted an intimate Friendſhip, whilſt he lodg'd in his Houſe at *Athens*; and with whom, he liv'd ever after with entire Freedom, and an unbounded Confidence. This *Callippus*, having given himſelf up to his ambitious Views, and entertain'd Thoughts of making himſelf Maſter of *Syracuſe*, threw off all Regard for the ſacred Ties of Friendſhip and Hoſpitality, and contriv'd to get rid of *Dion*, who was the ſole Obſtacle to his Deſigns: Notwithſtanding his Care to conceal them, they got Air, and came to the Ears of *Dion*'s Siſter, and Wife; who loſt no Time, but took Pains to diſcover the Truth, by a very ſtrict Enquiry: To prevent its Effects, he went to them with Tears in his Eyes, and the Appearance of being inconſolable, that any Body ſhould ſuſpect him of ſuch a Crime, or think him capable of ſo black a Deſign: To clear himſelf, they inſiſted upon his taking the *great Oath*, as it is call'd: The Perſon, who did this, was wrapp'd in the Purple Mantle of the Goddeſs *Proſerpine*, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, pronounc'd in her Temple, the moſt dreadful Execrations againſt himſelf, it is poſſible to imagine.

The Oath coſt him nothing; but did not convince the Princeſſes: They daily receiv'd new Intimations of his Guilt, from ſeveral Hands, as did *Dion* alſo himſelf; and his Friends, in general, perſuaded him to prevent his Villany, by a juſt, and ſudden Puniſhment: But he could never reſolve upon it: The Death of *Heraclides*, which he look'd upon as an horrible Stain on his Reputation and Virtue, was perpetually preſent to his troubled Imagination; and renew'd, by continual Terrors, his Grief and Repentance: Tormented Night and Day, by that cruel Remembrance, he profeſſed, that he had rather die a Thouſand Deaths, and preſent his Throat himſelf to whoever would kill him, than live under the Neceſſity of continual Precautions, not only againſt his Enemies, but the beſt of his Friends.

Callippus ill-deſerv'd that Name: He haſten'd the Execution of his Crime; and cauſed *Dion* to be aſſaſſinated in his Houſe, by the *Zacynthian* Soldiers, who were entirely devoted to his Intereſt; and the Siſter, and Wife, of that Prince, were put into Priſon; where the latter was deliver'd of a Son, which ſhe reſolv'd to nurſe there herſelf. After this Murder, *Callippus* was, for ſome Time, in a ſplendid Condition; having made himſelf Maſter of *Syracuſe*, by Means of the Troops; who were entirely devoted to his Service, on Account of the Gifts he beſtow'd on them. The *Pagans* believ'd, that the Divinity ought to puniſh great Crimes, in a ſudden, and extraordinary Manner, even in this Life: And *Plutarch* obſerves, that the Succeſs of *Callippus* occaſion'd very great Complaints againſt the Gods, as ſuffering calmly, and without Indignation, the vileſt of Men to raiſe himſelf to ſo exalted a Fortune, by ſo deteſtable, and impious a Method: But Providence was not long without juſtifying itſelf; for, *Callippus* ſoon ſuffer'd the Puniſhment of his Guilt: Having march'd with his Troops to take *Catana*, *Syracuſe* revolted againſt him, and threw off ſo ſhameful a

Subjection: He afterwards attack'd *Meſſina*, where he loſt Abundance of his Troops; and particularly, the *Zacynthian* Soldiers, who had murder'd *Dion*. No City of *Sicily* would receive him; but all deteſting him, as the moſt execrable of Wretches, he retired to *Rhegio*; where, after having led a miſerable Life, he was kill'd by *Leptinus*, and *Polyſperchon*; and it was ſaid, with the ſame Dagger with which *Dion* had been aſſaſſinated.

Hiſtory has few Examples of ſo diſtinct an Attention of Providence, to puniſh great Crimes, ſuch as, Murder, Perfidy, Treaſon, both the Authors of thoſe Crimes themſelves, who commanded, or executed them, and in the Accomplices any Way concern'd in them. The Divine Juſtice evidences itſelf, from Time to Time, in this Manner, to prove, that it is not unconcern'd and inattentive; and, to prevent the Inundation of Villany, which an entire Impunity would occaſion; but it does not always diſtinguiſh itſelf by remarkable Chaſtiſements in this World, to make Mankind ſenſible, that greater Puniſhments are reſerv'd for Guilt in the next.

As for *Ariſtomache*, and *Arete*, aſſoon as they came out of Priſon, *Icetes* of *Syracuſe*, one of *Dion*'s Friends, receiv'd them into his Houſe; and treated them, at firſt, with an Attention, Fidelity, and Generoſity, of the moſt exemplary Kind, had he perſevered: But complying, at laſt, with *Dion*'s Enemies, he provided a Bark for them; and having put them on board, under Pretence of ſending them to *Peloponneſus*, he gave Orders to thoſe who were to carry them, to kill them in the Paſſage, and to throw them into the Sea. He was not long without receiving the Chaſtiſement due to his black Treachery; for, being taken by *Timoleon*, he was put to Death; and the *Syracuſans*, fully to avenge *Dion*, kill'd alſo the two Sons of that Traitor.

The Relations and Friends of *Dion*, ſoon after his Death, had written to *Plato*, to conſult him, upon the Manner in which they ſhould behave, in the then troubled and fluctuating Condition of *Syracuſe*; and to know what Sort of Government it was proper to eſtabliſh there. Hereupon, *Plato*, who knew the *Syracuſans* were equally incapable of bearing entire Liberty, or of ſuffering abſolute Servitude, exhorted them ſtrenuouſly, to pacify all Things, aſſoon as poſſible; and, for that Purpoſe, to change the Tyranny, of which the very Name was odious, into a lawful Sovereignty, which would make Subjection eaſy and agreeable. To this End, he adviſed them (and, according to him, it had been the Opinion of *Dion*) to create three Kings; one to be *Hipparinus*, Son to *Dion*; another *Hipparinus*, Brother to *Dionyſius* the *Younger*, who ſeem'd to be well inclin'd towards the People; and *Dionyſius* himſelf, if he would comply with ſuch Conditions, as ſhould be preſcrib'd him; their Authority to be not unlike that of the Kings of *Sparta*. By the ſame Scheme, thirty-five Magiſtrates were to be appointed, to take Care that the Laws ſhould be duly obſerv'd; who were to have great Authority, both in Time of War and Peace; and to ſerve as a Ballance to the Power of the Kings, the Senate, and the People.

It does not appear, however, that this Advice was ever follow'd; which, indeed, had its great Inconveniences. It is only known, that *Hipparinus*, Brother to *Dionyſius*, having landed at *Syracuſe*, with a Fleet, and conſiderable Forces, expell'd *Callippus*, and exerciſed the ſovereign Power two Years.

The Hiſtory of *Sicily*, as related thus far, includes about fifty Years, beginning with *Dionyſius* the *Elder*, who reign'd thirty-eight of them, and continuing to the Death of *Dion*: We ſhall return, in the Sequel, to the Affairs of *Sicily*; and relate the End of *Dionyſius* the *Younger*, and the Reeſtabliſhment of the *Syracuſan* Liberty by *Timoleon*.

It is not eaſy to find ſo many excellent Qualities in one and the ſame Perſon, as were united in *Dion*. We do not conſider, in this Place, his wonderful Taſte for the Sciences; his Art of aſſociating them with the greateſt Employments of War and Peace; of extracting from them the Rules of Conduct, and Maxims of Government; and of making them an Entertainment of his Leiſure, equally uſeful, and honourable: We confine ourſelves to the Stateſman and Patriot; and, in this View, how admirable does he appear! Greatneſs of Soul; Elevation of Sentiments; Generoſity, in beſtowing his Wealth; heroick Valour in Battle; attended with a Coolneſs of Temper, and a Prudence ſcarce to be parallell'd; a Mind vaſt, and capable of the higheſt Views; a Conſtancy, not to be ſhaken by the greateſt Dangers, or the moſt unexpected Revolutions of Fortune; a Love for his Country, and the publick Good, carry'd him almoſt to Exceſs: Theſe are but a Part of *Dion*'s Virtues. The Deſign he form'd, of delivering his Country, from the Yoke of Tyranny; and his Boldneſs, and Wiſdom, in the Execution of it, ſhew of what he was capable.

But, what we think the greateſt Beauty in the Character of *Dion*, the moſt worthy of Admiration; and, if we may ſo ſay, the moſt above human Nature, is the Greatneſs of Soul, and unexampled Patience, with which he ſuffer'd the Ingratitude of his Country: He had abandon'd, and ſacrific'd every Thing, to come to their Relief; he had reduc'd the Tyranny to Extremities, and was upon the Point of re-eſtabliſhing them in the full Poſſeſſion of their Liberty: In Return for ſuch great Services, they ſhamefully expell'd him the City, accompany'd with a Handful of foreign Soldiers, whoſe Fidelity they had not been able to corrupt; they loaded him with Injuries, and added to their baſe Perfidy, the moſt cruel Outrage and Indignity: To puniſh thoſe ungrateful Traitors, he had only a Motion to make, and leave the Reſt to the Indignation of his Soldiers: Maſter of their Temper, as well as his own, he ſtops their Impetuoſity; and, without diſarming their Hands, reſtrains their juſt Rage; ſuffering them, in the very Height and Ardor of an Attack, only to terrify, and not kill, his Enemies; becauſe he could not forget that they were his Fellow-Citizens and Brethren: Nor is his Long-Suffering of *Heraclides* leſs to be admired; his Permiſſion for killing him, at laſt, not having been obtain'd without the utmoſt Reluctance; or rather, having been extorted from him, contrary to his natural Diſpoſition, as well as Principles. Accordingly, it coſt him dear, and brought that Trouble upon him, which he did not ſhake off, till his Death: It may, likewiſe, be ſaid, in a great Meaſure, to have been the Occaſion

ſion thereof; ſince it was the only Reaſon of his not puniſhing the Villany of *Callippus*, (though not unknown to him) by whoſe Treachery and Perfidy he fell.

There ſeems to be only one Defect, that can be objected to *Dion*; which is, his having ſomething rigid and auſtere in his Humour, that made him leſs affable and ſociable than he ſhould have been; and kept, even Perſons of Worth, and his beſt Friends, at a Kind of Diſtance. *Plato*, and thoſe who had his Glory ſincerely at Heart, had often animadverted upon this Turn of Mind in him: But, notwithſtanding the Reproaches which were made him, upon his too auſtere Gravity, and the inflexible Severity, with which he treated the People, he ſtill valued him upon abating nothing of it: Whether his Genius was entirely averſe to the *Arts of Inſinuation and Perſuaſion*; or that, from the View of correcting and reforming the *Syracuſans*, vitiated and corrupted by the flattering and complaiſant Diſcourſes of their Orators, he choſe that rough and manly Manner of Behaviour to them.

Dion was miſtaken in the moſt eſſential Point of Governing: From the Throne to the loweſt Office in the State, whoever is charged with the Care of ruling and directing others, ought particularly to ſtudy the Art of managing Men's Tempers, and of giving them that Bent and Turn of Mind, which may beſt ſuit his Meaſures; which cannot be done by aſſuming the ſevere Maſter, by commanding haughtily, and contenting himſelf with laying down the Rule, and the Duty, with inflexible Rigour. There is in Right itſelf, in Virtue, and the Exerciſe of all Functions, an Exactneſs and Steadineſs, or rather Kind of Stiffneſs, which frequently degenerates into a Vice, when carried into Extremes. We know, it is never allowable to break through Rules; but it is always laudable, and often neceſſary, to ſoften, and make them more convertible; which is beſt effected by a Kindneſs of Manners, and an inſinuating Behaviour; not always exacting the Diſcharge of a Duty, in its utmoſt Rigour; over-looking Abundance of ſmall Faults, that do not merit much Notice; and obſerving thoſe, which are more conſiderable, with Favour and Goodneſs; in ſhort, in endeavouring by all poſſible Means, to acquire the People's Affection, and to render Virtue and Duty amiable.

The HISTORY *of the* PERSIANS *and* GRECIANS.

CHAP. VII.

The State of Greece, *from the Time of the Treaty of* Antalcides; *The* Lacedæmonians *declare War againſt* Olynthus; *They ſeize upon the Citadel of* Thebes, *by Fraud, and Violence*; Olynthus *ſurrenders*; *The great Proſperity of* Sparta *at that Time*; *The Character of* Epaminondas, *and* Pelopidas, *two illuſtrious* Thebans; *the latter reſtores his Country to Liberty, and recovers the Citadel*; Sphodrias *forms a Deſign againſt the* Piræum, *but without Succeſs*; *The* Athenians *declare for the* Thebans; *The* Spartans *declare War againſt* Thebes, *and are defeated at the Battle of* Leuctra; Epaminondas *ravages* Laconia, *advances within Sight of* Sparta, *and inſults the* Lacedæmonians; Sparta *implores Aid of the* Athenians; *the* Greeks *ſend Embaſſadors to* Artaxerxes; *The Credit of* Pelopidas *at this Court*; *He goes againſt the Tyrant of* Pheræ, *and reduces him to Reaſon*; *is afterwards treacherouſly ſeized by that Tyrant, and impriſoned*; Epaminondas *delivers him*; *He gains a Victory over that Tyrant, but is killed in the Battle*; *The Tragical End of the Tyrant*; Epaminondas *aſſaults* Sparta; *gains a ſignal Victory over the* Spartans; *but is killed in the Battle.*

THE Peace of *Antalcides*, of which Mention has been already made had cauſed in the *Grecian* States great Diſcontents and Diviſions. Purſuant to that Treaty, the *Thebans* had been obliged to abandon the Cities of *Bœotia*, and to let them enjoy their Liberty; and the *Corinthians* to withdraw their Garriſon from *Argos*, which by that Means became free and independent. The *Lacedæmonians*, who were the Authors and Executors of that Treaty, ſaw their Power ex-

tremely augmented by it, and were induſtrious to make farther Additions to it. They compell'd the *Mantineans*, againſt whom they pretended to have many Cauſes of Complaint in the laſt War, to demoliſh the Walls of their City, and to inhabit four different Places, as they had done before.

The two Kings of *Sparta*, *Ageſipolis* and *Ageſilaus*, were of quite different Characters, and as oppoſite in their Opinions, upon the preſent State of Affairs. The firſt, who was naturally inclin'd to Peace, and a ſtrict Obſerver of Juſtice, was for having *Sparta*, already much exclaim'd againſt for the Treaty of *Antalcides*, ſuffer the *Grecian* Cities to enjoy their Liberty, according to the Tenor of that Treaty, and not diſturb their Tranquillity, through an unjuſt Deſire of extending their Dominions. The other, on the contrary, who was reſtleſs, active, and full of great Views of Ambition and Conqueſt, breath'd nothing but War.

At the ſame Time, Deputies arrived at *Sparta* from *Acanthus* and *Apollonia*, two very conſiderable Cities of *Macedonia*, to complain of *Olynthus*, a City of *Thrace*, inhabited by *Greeks*, originally of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. *Athens*, after the Victories of *Salamis* and *Marathon*, had conquer'd many Places on the Side of *Thrace*, and even in *Thrace* itſelf. Thoſe Cities threw off the Yoke, aſſoon as *Sparta*, at the Concluſion of the *Peleponneſian* War, had ruined the Power of *Athens*. *Olynthus* was of this Number. The Deputies of *Acanthus* and *Apollonia* repreſented, in the General Aſſembly of the *Allies*, that *Olynthus*, ſituate in their Neighbourhood, daily improved in Strength in an extraordinary Manner; that it perpetually extended its Dominions by new Conqueſts; that it obliged all the Cities round about, to ſubmit to it, and to enter into its Meaſures; and was upon the Point of concluding an Alliance with the *Athenians* and *Thebans*. This Affair being taken into Conſideration, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that it was neceſſary to declare War againſt the *Olynthians*. It was agreed, that the ally'd Cities ſhould furniſh ten thouſand Troops, with Liberty, to ſuch as deſired it, to ſubſtitute Money, at the Rate of three *Oboli* a-Day, for each Foot Soldier, and four Times as much for the Horſe. The *Lacedæmonians*, not to loſe Time, made their Troops march directly, under the Command of *Eudamidas*, who prevail'd with the *Ephori*, that *Phœbidas*, his Brother, might have the Leading of thoſe, which were to follow ſoon after, and to join him. When he arrived in that Part of *Macedonia*, which is alſo called *Thrace*, he garriſon'd ſuch Places as apply'd to him for that Purpoſe, ſeized upon *Potidea*, a City in Alliance with the *Olynthians*, which ſurrender'd without making any Defence, and began the War againſt *Olynthus*; though ſlowly, as it was neceſſary for a General to act, before his Troops were all aſſembled.

Phœbidas began his March ſoon after, and being arrived near *Thebes*, he encamp'd without the Walls, near the *Gymnaſium*, or publick Place of Exerciſe. *Iſmenius* and *Leontides*, both *Bœotarchs*, or Governors of *Bœotia*; as alſo, Generals of the Army, and ſupreme Magiſtrates of *Thebes*, were at the Head of two different Factions. The firſt, who had engaged *Pelopidas* in his Party, was no Friend to the *Lacedæmonians*, nor they to him; becauſe he publickly declared for popular Government and Liberty. The other, on the Contrar favour'd an Oligarchy, and was ſupported by the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole Intereſt. We are obliged to enter into this Detail, becauſe the Event we are going to relate, and which was a Conſequence of it, occaſion'd the important War between the *Thebans* and *Spartans*.

This being the State of Affairs at *Thebes*, *Leontides* apply'd to *Phœbidas*, and propoſed to him to ſeize the Citadel, called *Cadmæa*, to expel the Adherents of *Iſmenius*, and to give the *Lacedæmonians* Poſſeſſion of it. He repreſented to him, that nothing could be more glorious for him, than to make himſelf Maſter of *Thebes*, whilſt his Brother was endeavouring to reduce *Olynthus*; that he would thereby facilitate the Succeſs of his Brother's Enterprize; and that the *Thebans*, who had enjoin'd their Citizens, by Decree, not to bear Arms againſt the *Olynthians*, would not fail, upon his making himſelf Maſter of the Citadel, to ſupply him with whatever Number of Horſe and Foot he ſhould think proper, for the Reinforcement of *Eudamidas*.

Phœbidas, who had much Ambition and little Ability, and who had no other View, than to ſignalize himſelf by ſome extraordinary Action, without examining the Conſequences, ſuffer'd himſelf to be eaſily perſuaded. Whilſt the *Thebans*, entirely ſecure, under the Treaty of Peace lately concluded by the *Grecian* States, celebrated the Feaſts of *Ceres*, and expected nothing leſs than ſuch an Act of Hoſtility, *Phœbidas*, conducted by *Leontides*, took Poſſeſſion of the Citadel: The Senate was then ſitting: *Leontides* went to them, and declared, that there was nothing to be feared from the *Lacedæmonians*, who had enter'd the Citadel; that they were only the Enemies of thoſe, who were for diſturbing the publick Tranquillity; that as for himſelf, by the Power his Office of *Bœotarch* gave him, of confining whoever caball'd againſt the State, he ſhould put *Iſmenius* into a Place of Security, who factiouſly endeavour'd to break the Peace: He was ſeized accordingly, and carry'd to the Citadel. The Party of *Iſmenius* ſeeing their Chief a Priſoner, and apprehending the utmoſt Violence for themſelves, quitted the City with Precipitation, and retired to *Athens*, to the Number of four hundred and upwards: They were ſoon after baniſh'd by a publick Decree. *Pelopidas* was of this Number; but *Epaminondas* remain'd at *Thebes* unmoleſted; being diſregarded as a Man entirely devoted to the Study of Philoſophy, who did not intermeddle in the Affairs of State; and alſo from his Poverty, which left no Room to Fear any Thing from him. A new *Bœotarch* was nominated, in the Room of *Iſmenius*, and *Leontides* went to *Lacedæmon*.

The News of this Action of *Phœbidas*, who, at a Time of general Peace, had taken Poſſeſſion of a Citadel by Force, upon which he had no Claim or Right, had given Birth to great Murmurings and Complaints. Such eſpecially as oppoſed *Ageſilaus*, who was ſuſpected of having join'd in the Scheme, demanded, by whoſe Orders *Phœbidas* had committed ſo ſtrange a Breach of publick Faith. *Ageſilaus*, who well knew that thoſe warm Reproaches were aim'd at him, made no Difficulty of juſtifying *Phœbidas*, and declar'd openly, and before all the World, "That the Action ought "to be conſider'd in itſelf, to underſtand whether

"it

" it were useful or not; that whatever was expe-
" dient for *Sparta*, he was not only permitted,
" but commanded to act upon his own Authority,
" without waiting the Orders of any Body."
Strange Principles, to be advanced by a Person, who, upon other Occasions had maintain'd, *that Justice was the Supreme of Virtues, and that without it, Valour itself, and every other great Quality, were useless, and unavailing.* It was the same Man that made an Answer, when somebody in his Presence magnify'd the King of *Persia*'s Grandeur; *He, whom you call the* Great King, *in what is he greater than me, unless he be more just?* A truly noble and admirable Maxim, THAT JUSTICE MUST BE THE RULE OF WHATEVER EXCELS, AND IS GREAT! But a Maxim that he had only in his Mouth, and which all his Actions contradicted; *conformable to the Principle of the Generality of Politicians, who imagine, that a Statesman ought always to cry up Justice, but never to lose an Occasion of violating it for the Advantage of his Country.*

But let us now hear the Sentence, which the august Assembly of *Sparta*, so renown'd for the Wisdom of its Counsels, and the Equity of its Decrees, is about to pronounce. The Affair being maturely consider'd, the whole discussed at large, and the Manner of it set in its full Light, the Assembly resolved, that *Phœbidas* should be deprived of his Command, and fin'd an hundred thousand Drachma's; but that they should continue to hold the Citadel, and keep a good Garrison in it. What a strange Contradiction was this, says *Polybius*, what a Disregard of all Justice and Reason! not only to approve the Crime tacitly, and without having any Share in it, but to ratify it by the publick Authority, and continue it in the Name of the State, for the Advantages arising from it! But this was not all; Commissioners, appointed by all the Cities in Alliance with *Sparta*, were dispatch'd to the Citadel of *Thebes*, to try *Ismenius*, against whom they pronounced Sentence of Death, which was immediately executed upon him. Such flagrant Injustice seldom remains unpunish'd; To act in such a Manner, says *Polybius* again, is neither for the Interest of one's Country, nor one's self.

Teleutias, Brother to *Agesilaus*, had been substituted in the Place of *Phœbidas*, to command the rest of the *Allies* Troops, design'd against *Olynthus*; whither he march'd with all Expedition. The City was strong, and furnish'd with every Thing Necessary for a good Defence. Several Sallies were made with good Success, in one of which, *Teleutias* was kill'd. The next Year King *Agesipolis* had the Command of the Army: The Campaign passed in Skirmishing; without any Thing decisive: *Agesipolis* died, soon after, of Sickness, and was succeeded by his Brother *Cleombrotus*, who reigned nine Years: *Sparta* made fresh Efforts to terminate the War with the *Olynthians*: *Polybidas*, their General, push'd on the Siege with Vigour; and the Place being in Want of Provisions, was at last obliged to surrender; and was received, by the *Spartans*, into the Number of their *Allies*. About this Time began the Hundredth *Olympiad*.

The Fortune of the *Lacedæmonians* never appear'd with greater Splendor, than at this Juncture; nor their Power more strongly establish'd. All *Greece* was subject to them, either by Force or Alliance. They were in Possession of *Thebes*, a most powerful City, and with that, of all *Bœotia*. They had found Means to humble *Argos*, and to hold it in Dependance. *Corinth* was entirely at their Devotion, and obey'd their Orders in every Thing: The *Athenians*, abandon'd by their *Allies*, and reduced almost to rely only on their own Strength, were in no Condition to make Head against them. If any City, or People in their Alliance, attempted to throw off their Subjection, an immediate Punishment reduced them to their former Obedience, and terrify'd all others from following their Example. Thus, Masters by Sea, and Land, all trembled before them; and the most formidable Princes, as the King of *Persia*, and the Tyrant of *Sicily*, seem'd to emulate each other in courting their Friendship and Alliance.

A Prosperity, founded in Injustice, can be of no long Duration: The greatest Strokes the *Spartan* Power received, came from the Quarter, where they had acted the highest Injuries; and from whence they did not seem to have any Thing to fear; that is to say, from *Thebes*. Two illustrious Citizens of that State will make a glorious Appearance upon the Theatre of *Greece*, and for that Reason, deserve our Notice in this Place.

These are *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*; both descended from the noblest Families of *Thebes*. *Pelopidas*, brought up in the greatest Affluence, and whilst young, sole Heir of the Fortunes of a very rich and flourishing Family, employ'd his Wealth, from the first Possession of it, in the Relief of such as had Occasion for it, and merited his Favour; shewing, in that wise Use of his Riches, that he was really their Master, and not their Slave. For, according to *Aristotle*'s Remark, repeated by *Plutarch*, most Men either make no Use at all of their Fortunes, out of Avarice; or, abuse them, by a wicked and foolish Application.

As for *Epaminondas*, Poverty was all his Inheritance, in which consisted his Honour; and one might almost say, his Joy and Delight. He was born of poor Parents, and consequently familiarized from his Infancy with Poverty, which he made more grateful and easy to him by his Taste for Philosophy. *Pelopidas*, who supported a great Number of Citizens, never being able to prevail on him, to accept his Offers, and to make Use of his Purse, resolved to share in the Poverty of his Friend, by making him his Example; and became the Model, as well as Admiration of the whole City, from the Modesty of his Dress, and the Frugality of his Table.

If *Epaminondas* was poor as to the Goods of Fortune, those of the Mind made him a most ample Amends. Modest, prudent, grave, artful in improving Occasions; Master, in a supreme Degree, of the Art of War; equally valiant and wise; easy and complaisant, in the Commerce of the World; suffering, with incredible Patience, the People's, and even his Friends, ill Treatment; joining with the Ardor for military Exercises, a wonderful Take for Study and Sciences; piquing himself especially upon Truth and Sincerity, so that he made a Scruple of telling a Lie, even in Jest, or for Diversion. *Adeo veritatis diligens ut ne joco quidem mentiretur.*

They were both equally inclined to Virtue: But *Pelopidas* was best pleased with the Exercises of

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the Body, and *Epaminondas* with the Cultivation of the Mind. For which Reaſon they employ'd their Leiſure, the one in the *Palæſtra* and the Chaſe, the other in Converſation and the Study of Philoſophy.

But what Perſons of Senſe and Judgment muſt admire principally in them, and which is rarely found in their high Rank, is the perfect Union and Friendſhip that always ſubſiſted between them, during the whole Time they were employ'd together, in the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs, whether in War or Peace. If we examine the Government of *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles*, that of *Cimon* and *Pericles*, of *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, we ſhall find them full of Trouble, Diſſenſion, and Debate. The two Friends we ſpeak of, held the firſt Offices in the State; all great Affairs paſſed through their Hands; every Thing was confided to their Care and Authority: In ſuch delicate Junctures, what Occaſions of Pique and Jealouſy generally ariſe? But neither Difference of Sentiment, Diverſity of Intereſt, nor the leaſt Emotion of Envy, ever alter'd their Union, and good Underſtanding. The Reaſon of which was, their being founded upon an unalterible Principle, that is to ſay, upon Virtue; which, in all their Actions, ſays *Plutarch*, occaſion'd their having neither Glory nor Riches in View, but the publick Good alone, and made them deſire not the Advancement or Honour of their own Families, but to render their Country more powerful and flouriſhing. Such are the two illuſtrious Men, who are to make their Apearance, and to give a new Face to the Affairs of *Greece*, from their Share and Influence in them.

Leontides, being apprized that the Exiles had retired to *Athens*, where they had been well received by the City, and were in great Eſteem with all People of Worth and Honour, ſent thither certain unknown Perſons, to aſſaſſina e the moſt conſiderable of them. Only *Andi ochides* was kill'd, all the reſt eſcaping the Contrivances of *Leontides*.

At the ſame Time, the *Athenians* received Letters from *Sparta*, to prohibit their receiving or aſſiſting the Exiles, and with Orders to expel them their City, as they were declared the common Enemies by all the *Allies*. The Humanity and Virtue, peculiar and natural to the *Athenians*, made them reject ſo infamous a Propoſal with Horror. They were tranſported with the Occaſion of expreſſing their Gratitude to the *Thebans*, for a previous Obligation of the ſame Nature: For the *Thebans* had contributed moſt to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the popular Government at *Athens*; having declared in their Favour, by a publick Decree, contrary to the Prohibition of *Sparta*; and it was from *Thebes*, *Thraſybulus* ſet out to deliver *Athens* from the Tyranny of the *Thirty*.

Pelopidas, though at that Time very young, went to all the Exiles, one after another, of whom *Melon* was the moſt conſiderable. He repreſented to them, "That it was unworthy of honeſt Men, "to content themſelves with having ſaved their "own Lives, and to look with Indifference upon "their Country, enſlaved and miſerable: That "whatever Good will the People of *Athens* might "expreſs for them, it was not fit that their Fate "ſhould depend upon their Decrees; whoſe na-"tural Inconſtancy, and the Malignity of the "Orators, that turn'd them any Way at Will, "might ſoon alter: That it was neceſſary to ha-"zard every Thing, after the Example of *Thra-"ſybulus*, and to ſet before them his intrepid Va-"lour and generous Fortitude as a Model: That, "as he ſet out from *Thebes*, to ſuppreſs and de-"ſtroy the Tyrants of *Athens*, ſo they might go "from *Athens* to reſtore *Thebes* its antient Li-"berty."

This Diſcourſe made all the Impreſſion upon the Exiles, which could be expected from it: They ſent privately to inform their Friends at *Thebes* of their Reſolution, who extremely approved their Deſign. *Charon*, one of the principal Perſons of the City, offer'd to receive the Conſpirators into his Houſe. *Philidas*, another of them, found Means to get himſelf made Secretary to *Archidas* and *Philip, who were then Bœotarchs*, or ſupreme Magiſtrates. As for *Epaminondas*, he had for ſome Time diligently endeavoured to inſpire the younger *Thebans*, by his Diſcourſe, with a paſſionate Deſire to throw off the *Spartan* Yoke. He was not ignorant of all that had been projected; but he believed, that he ought not to have any Share in it, becauſe, as he ſaid, he could not reſolve to imbrue his Hands in the Blood of his Country; foreſeeing, that they would not keep within the due Bounds of the Enterprize, however lawful in itſelf, and that the Tyrants would not periſh alone; and convinced beſides, that a Citizen, who ſhould not appear to have taken either Party, would have it in his Power to influence the People with better Effect.

The Day for the Execution of the Project being fixed, the Exiles thought proper, that *Pherenices*, with all the Conſpirators, ſhould ſtop at *Thriaſium*, a little Town, not far from *Thebes*; and that a ſmall Number, of the youngeſt of them, ſhould venture into the City. Twelve Youths, of the beſt Families of *Thebes*, all join'd in a ſtrict and faithful Friendſhip to each other, though Competitors for Glory and Honour, offer'd themſelves for this bold Enterprize; *Pelopidas* being one of this Number. After having embraced each other, and diſpatched a Meſſenger to *Charon*, to give him Notice of their Coming they ſet out dreſt in plain Habits, that ſuch as they met on the Way might have no Suſpicion of them, and take them only for Hunters, that wander'd after their Game.

Their Meſſenger being arrived at *Thebes*, and having inform'd *Charon*, that they were on their Way, the Approach of Danger did not alter their his Sentiments, as he wanted neither Courage nor Honour, he prepared his Houſe for their Reception.

One of the Conſpirators, who was no bad Man, loved his Country, and would have ſerved the Exiles with all his Power, but had neither the Reſolution nor Conſtancy neceſſary for ſuch an Enterprize, and could think of nothing but Difficulties and Obſtacles attending it, which preſented themſelves in Throngs to his Imagination; much diſorder'd with the Proſpect of Danger, he retir'd into his Houſe, without ſaying any Thing, and diſpatch'd one of his Friends to *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, to deſire them to defer their Enterprize, and return to *Athens*, till a more favourable Opportunity. Happily that Friend, not finding his Horſe's Bridle, and loſing a great deal of Time in quarelling with his Wife, was prevented from going.

Pelopidas,

Pelopidas, and his Companions, disguised like Peasants, and having separated from each other, enter'd the City at different Gates, towards the Close of Day. It was then early in the Winter, the *North* Wind blew, and the Snow fell: This contributed to conceal them, every Body keeping within Doors, upon Account of the cold Weather; besides which, it gave them an Opportunity of covering their Faces. Some, who were in the Secret, received them, and conducted them to *Charon*'s House; where were assembled, of Exiles and others, to the Number of Forty-eight.

Philidas, Secretary to the *Bœotarchs*, who was in the Plot, had, some Time before, invited *Archias*, and his Companions, to Supper; promising them an exquisite Repast, and the Company of some of the finest Women in the City. The Guests being met at the appointed Time, sate down to Table: They had been free with the Glass, and were almost drunk, when it was whisper'd about, but not known where the Report began, that the Exiles were in the City. *Philidas*, without shewing any Concern, did his utmost to change the Discourse: *Archias*, however, sent one of his Officers to *Charon*, with Orders to come to him immediately, It was then late, and *Pelopidas*, and the Conspirators, were preparing to set out, and had put on their Armour, and Swords; when, on a sudden, they heard a Knocking at the Door: Some-body went to it, and being told by the Officer, that he was come from the Magistrates, with Orders for *Charon* to attend them immediately; he ran to him, half out of his Wits, to acquaint him with that terrible Message. They all concluded the Conspiracy was discover'd, and believ'd themselves lost, before it would be possible to put any Thing in Execution, worthy their Cause, and Valour: However, they were all of Opinion, *Charon* should obey the Order, and present himself with an Air of Assurance to the Magistrates, as void of Fear, and unconscious of Offence.

Charon was a Man of intrepid Courage in Dangers, which threaten'd only himself; but, at that Time, fearing for his Friends, and that he should be suspected of some Treachery, if so many brave Citizens, whom he had receiv'd into his House, should be destroy'd; he went to his Wife's Apartment, and fetch'd his only Son, of fifteen Years old, at most, who, in Beauty and Strength, excell'd all the Youths of his Age, and put him into the Hands of *Pelopidas*, saying at the same Time; "If you discover I have betray'd you, and have "been guilty of Treachery upon this Occasion, "revenge yourselves on me, in this my only Son; "whom, as dear as he is to me, I abandon to "you, and let him fall a Victim, without Mercy "to his Father's Perfidy."

These Expressions wounded them to the Heart; but, what gave them the most sensible Pain, was his imagining, there was any one amongst them so mean and ungrateful, to form to himself the least Suspicion, in Regard to him. They conjur'd him unanimously, not to leave his Son with them, but put him into some Place of Safety; that his Friends, and Country, might not want an Avenger, if he should not be so fortunate to escape the Tyrants. "No (reply'd the Father) he shall stay "with you, and share your Fate: If he must "perish, what nobler End can he make, than "with his Father, and best Friends? For you, my "Son, exert yourself beyond your Years, and "shew a Courage, worthy of yourself, and me: "You see here the most excellent of the *Thebans*: "Make under such Masters a noble Essay of Glo-"ry, and learn to fight; or, if it must be so, "to die, like them, for Liberty: For the Rest, "I am not without Hopes; for, I believe, the "Justice of our Cause, will draw down the Fa-"vour and Protection of the Gods upon us." He concluded, with a Prayer to them, and, after embracing the Conspirators, he went out.

He took Pains to recover himself by the Way, and to compose his Looks, and Voice, that he might not appear under any Concern. When he came to the Door of the House where the Feast was kept, *Archias* and *Philidas* came out to him, and ask'd the Meaning of a Report, that disaffected People were arriv'd in the City, and conceal'd in some House. He seem'd astonish'd; and finding, by their Answers to his Questions, they had no precise Information of any Thing, he assum'd a bolder Tone, and said, "It is very like-"ly, the Report you speak of, is only a false "Alarm, intended to interrupt your Mirth: "However, as it ought not to be neglected, I'll "go immediately, and make the strictest En-"quiry possible into it." *Philidas* praised his Prudence and Zeal; and carrying *Archias* back into the Company, he join'd him again in the Debauch; and continued the Entertainment, by keeping the Guests in Expectation of the Women he had promised them.

Charon, on his Return home, found his Friends all prepared, not to conquer, or to save their Lives, but to die gloriously, and sell themselves as dear as they could. The Serenity and Joy of his Looks, explain'd beforehand, that they had nothing to fear. He repeated all that had passed; after which, they had no Thoughts, but of the instant Execution of a Design, to which the least Delay might occasion a Thousand Obstacles.

In Effect, at that very Instant, happen'd a sudden Storm, far more violent than the first; and which seem'd, as if it could not possibly fail of making the Enterprize miscarry. A Courier from *Athens* arriv'd in great Haste with a Packet, which contain'd a circumstantial Account of the whole Conspiracy, as was afterwards discover'd: That Courier was brought first to *Archias*, who was far gone in Wine, and breath'd nothing but Pleasure, and the Bottle. In giving him his Dispatches, he told him, *My Lord, the Person, who writes you these Letters, conjures you to read them immediately, being Affairs of Importance.* Archias reply'd, laughing, *Important affairs to-morrow*; which Words were afterwards used by the *Greeks* as a Proverb; and taking the Letters, he put them under his Pillow (for, the *Greeks*, at Meals, lay upon Beds) and continued the Conversation and Debauch.

The Conspirators were, at that Time, in the Streets, divided into two Parties; the one, with *Pelopidas* at their Head, march'd against *Leontides*, who was not at the Feast; the other against *Archias*, under the Command of *Charon*. These had put on the Habits of Women over their Armour, and crown'd themselves with Pine and Poplar-Wreaths, which entirely cover'd their Faces: When they came to the Door of the Apartment,

where the Feaſt was kept, the Gueſts made a great Noiſe, and ſet up loud Shouts of Joy: But they were told, that the Women would not come in, till the Servants were all diſmiſſed, which was done immediately: They were ſent to neighbouring Houſes, where there was no Want of Wine for their Entertainment. The Conſpirators, by this Stratagem, having made themſelves Maſters of the Field of Battle, enter'd Sword in Hand; and ſhewing themſelves in their true Colours, put all the Gueſts to the Sword, and with them the Magiſtrates, who were full of Wine, and in no Condition to defend themſelves. *Pelopidas* met with more Reſiſtance: *Leontides*, who was aſleep in Bed, awak'd with the Noiſe that was made; and riſing immediately, arm'd himſelf with his Sword; and laid ſome of the Conſpirators at his Feet; but was, at laſt, kill'd himſelf.

This grand Affair being executed in this Manner, with ſo much Diſpatch and Succeſs, Couriers were immediately ſent to *Thriaſium*: The Doors of the Priſon were forced, and five hundred Priſoners let out: The *Thebans* were call'd upon to reſume their Liberty, and Arms were given to all they met: The Spoils affix'd to the Portico's were taken down, and the Shops of the Armourers and Cutlers were broken open for that Purpoſe. *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* came in Arms to join them; and ſome old Perſons of great Reputation, whom they had got together.

The whole City was in great Terror and Confuſion; the Houſes illuminated with Torches, and the Streets throng'd with the Multitude going and coming: The People, in a Conſternation at what had happen'd; and, for Want of ſufficient Information, waited impatiently for the Day to know their Deſtiny. The *Lacedæmonian* Captains, upon that Account, were guilty of a very great Error, in not falling upon them during their Diſorder; for, the Garriſon conſiſted of fifteen hundred Men, beſides Three thouſand, who had taken Refuge in it. Alarmed, by the Cries they heard, the Illuminations they ſaw in the Houſes, and the Tumult of the Multitude running backwards and forwards, they lay ſtill, and contented themſelves with guarding the Citadel, after having ſent Couriers to *Sparta*, with the News of what had happen'd, and to demand an immediate Reinforcement.

The next Day, at Sun-Riſe, the Exiles arriv'd with their Arms, and the People were ſummon'd to aſſemble. *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* conducted *Pelopidas* thither, ſurrounded with Sacrifices; and carrying in their Hands the ſacred Bandages, and Fillets, exhorted the Citizens to aſſiſt their Country, and join with their Gods. At this Sight, the whole Aſſembly roſe up with loud Acclamations, and clapping of Hands; and receiv'd the Conſpirators as their Benefactors and Deliverers. The ſame Day, *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, and *Charon* were elected *Bœotarchs*.

Soon after the Exiles, arriv'd five thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, ſent by the *Athenians* to *Pelopidas*, under the Command of *Demophoon*: Thoſe Troops, with others, which join'd them from all the Cities of *Bœotia*, compoſed an Army of twelve thouſand Foot, and as many Horſe; and, without Loſs of Time, beſieg'd the Citadel, that it might be taken, before Relief could come from *Sparta*.

The Beſieged made a vigorous Defence, in Hopes of ſpeedy Relief; and ſeem'd reſolv'd rather to die than ſurrender the Place: At leaſt, the *Lacedæmonians* would have done ſo; but they were not the greateſt Number of the Garriſon. When Proviſions began to fall ſhort, and Famine preſs'd them, the Reſt of the Troops obliged the *Spartans* to ſurrender. The Garriſon had their Lives granted them, and were permitted to retire where they thought fit: They were ſcarce march'd out, when the Aid arriv'd. The *Lacedæmonians* found *Cleombrotus* at *Megara*, at the Head of a powerful Army, which, with a little more Expedition, might have ſav'd the Citadel: But this was not the firſt Time, the Slowneſs, natural to the *Lacedæmonians*, had occaſion'd the Miſcarriage of their Enterprizes. The Three Commanders, who had capitulated, were try'd: Two of them were puniſh'd with Death; and the Third had ſo great a Fine laid upon him, that, not being able to pay it, he baniſh'd himſelf from *Peloponneſus*.

Pelopidas had all the Honour of this great Exploit; the moſt memorable that ever was executed by Surprize and Stratagem. *Plutarch*, with Reaſon, compares it to that of *Thraſybulus*. Both Exiles, deſtitute in themſelves of all Aſſiſtance, and induced to implore a foreign Support; form'd the bold Deſign of attacking a formidable Power with a Handful of Men; and overcoming all Obſtacles to their Enterprize, by their ſingle Valour, had, each of them, the good Fortune to deliver their Country, and change the Face of its Affairs entirely: For, the *Athenians* were indebted to *Thraſybulus* for that ſudden and happy Change, which freeing them from the Oppreſſion they groan'd under, not only reſtor'd their Liberty, but, with it, their ancient Splendor; and put them into a Condition, to humble, and make *Sparta* tremble, in their Turn. We ſhall ſee, in the like Manner, that the War, which reduc'd the Pride of *Sparta*, and depriv'd it of the Empire by Sea and Land, was the Work of this ſingle Night; in which, *Pelopidas*, without taking either Citadel, or Fortreſs, and entering only one of twelve into a private Houſe, unloos'd, and broke the Chains, impos'd by the *Lacedæmonians* on all the other States of *Greece*; though it ſeem'd impoſſible it ſhould ever produce ſuch an Effect

The *Lacedæmonians*, after the Injury they pretended to have receiv'd, by the Enterprize of *Pelopidas*, did not continue quiet; but apply'd themſelves in Earneſt to their Revenge. *Ageſilaus* rightly judging, an Expedition of that Kind, of which the End was to ſupport Tyrants, would not reflect much Honour upon him, left it to *Cleombrotus*, who had lately ſucceeded King *Ageſipolis*; on Pretence, his great Age diſpens'd with his undertaking it. *Cleombrotus* enter'd *Bœotia* with his Army. The firſt Campaign was not vigorous, and terminated in committing ſome Ravages in the Country; after which, the King retir'd, and detaching Part of his Troops to *Sphodrias*, who commanded at *Theſpiæ*, he return'd to *Sparta*.

The *Athenians*, who did not think themſelves in a Condition to make Head againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and were afraid of the Conſequences, in which their League with the *Thebans* was likely to engage them repented their having enter'd into it; and renounc'd it. Thoſe, who perſiſted to adhere to the *Theban* Party, were, ſome impriſon'd,

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ſome put to Death; others baniſh'd; and the Rich ſeverely fin'd. The *Theban* Affairs ſeem'd almoſt deſperate; not having any Alliances to ſupport them: *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas*, were then at the Head of them; and were ſtudious of finding a Means, to embroil the *Athenians* with the *Lacedæmonians*; and this was the Stratagem they had Recourſe to for that End.

Sphodrias the *Spartan* had been left at *Theſpiæ*, with a Body of Troops, to receive and protect ſuch of the *Bœotians*, as ſhould revolt againſt *Thebes*. He had acquir'd ſome Reputation amongſt the Soldiery, and wanted neither Courage nor Ambition; but he was raſh, ſuperficial, full of himſelf; and conſequently, apt to entertain vain Hopes. *Pelopidas*, and *Gorgidas*, ſent, privately, a Merchant of his own Acquaintance, to him; with an Offer, as from himſelf, of a conſiderable Sum of Money; and with Inſinuations, ſtill more agreeable to him than Money, as they flatter'd his Vanity. After having repreſented to him, That one of his Merit and Reputation ought to form ſome great Undertaking, which might immortalize his Name; he propoſed to him, ſeizing the *Piræum* by Surprize, when the *Athenians* had no Expectation of ſuch an Attempt: He added, That nothing could be more grateful to the *Lacedæmonians*, than to ſee themſelves Maſters of *Athens*; and that the *Thebans*, enraged at the *Athenians*, whom they conſider'd as Traytors and Deſerters, would lend them no Aſſiſtance.

Sphodrias, fond of acquiring a great Name, and envying the Glory of *Phæbidas*, who, in his Senſe, had render'd himſelf renown'd and illuſtrious, by his unjuſt Attempt upon *Thebes*, conceiv'd it would be a much more ſhining and glorious Exploit, to ſeize the *Piræum*, of his own Accord; and deprive the *Athenians* of their great Power at Sea, by an unforeſeen Attack by Land. He undertook the Enterprize, therefore, with great Joy; which was neither leſs unjuſt, nor leſs horrid, than that of the *Cadmea*, but not executed with the ſame Boldneſs, and Succeſs: For, having ſet out in the Night, from *Theſpiæ*, with the View of ſurprizing the *Piræum* before Light, the Day-break overtook him in the Plain of *Thriaſium*, near *Eleuſis*; and finding himſelf diſcover'd, he return'd ſhamefully to *Theſpiæ*, with ſome Booty which he had taken.

The *Athenians* immediately ſent Embaſſadors with their Complaints to *Sparta*: Thoſe Embaſſadors found, that the *Lacedæmonians* had not waited their Arrival to accuſe *Sphodrias*, but had already cited him before the Council, to anſwer for his Conduct. He was afraid to obey that Summons, having juſt Reaſon to apprehend the Iſſue of a Tryal, and the Reſentment of his Country: He had a Son, who had contracted a ſtrict, and tender Friendſhip with the Son of *Ageſilaus*. The latter ſollicited his Father ſo earneſtly, or rather, tormented him with ſuch extream Importunity and Perſeverance, that he could not refuſe *Sphodrias* his Protection, and got him fully abſolv'd. *Ageſilaus* was not very ſcrupulous, as we have ſeen already, in Point of Juſtice, when the Service of his Friends was in Queſtion. He was, beſides, of all Mankind, the moſt tender and indulgent Father to his Children. It is reported of him, that when they were little, he would play with them, and divert himſelf with riding upon a Hobby-Horſe amongſt them; and that, having been ſurpriz'd by a Friend in that Action, he deſir'd him not to tell any-body of it, till he himſelf was a Father.

The unjuſt Sentence, paſſed in Favour of *Sphodrias*, by the *Spartans*, incenſed the *Athenians* extreamly; and determin'd them to renew their Alliance with *Thebes* immediately, and to aſſiſt them with all their Power. They fitted out a Fleet, and gave the Command of it to *Timotheus*, Son of the illuſtrious *Conon*; whoſe Reputation he well ſupported, by his own Valour and Exploits. It was he, whom his Enemies, envying the Glory he had acquir'd, by his great Actions, painted ſleeping, with the Goddeſs *Fortune* at his Feet, taking Towns in Nets for him: But, upon this Occaſion, he prov'd he was not aſleep. After having ravaged the Coaſt of *Laconia*, he attack'd the Iſle of *Corcyra*, now *Corfu*, which he took: He treated the Inhabitants with great Humanity, and made no Alteration in their Liberty, or Laws; which very much inclin'd the neighbouring Cities in Favour of *Athens*. The *Spartans*, on their Side, made powerful Preparations for the War, and were principally intent on retaking *Corcyra*: Its happy Situation between *Sicily* and *Greece* render'd that Iſland very important; they, therefore, engaged *Dionyſius* the Tyrant in the Expedition, and demanded Aid of him: In the mean Time, they diſpatch'd their Fleet under *Mnaſippus*. The *Athenians* ſent ſixty Sail againſt them, to the Relief of *Corcyra*, under *Timotheus*, at firſt; but ſoon after, upon his ſeeming to act too ſlowly, *Iphicrates* was ſubſtituted in his Place. *Mnaſippus* having made himſelf odious to his Troops, by his Haughtineſs, Rigour, and Avarice, was very ill obey'd by them, and loſt his Life in an Engagement: *Iphicrates* did not arrive till after his Death; when he receiv'd Advice, that the *Syracuſan* Squadron of ten Gallies approach'd, and attack'd them ſo ſucceſsfully, that not one of them eſcap'd. He had demanded, that the Orator *Calliſtratus*, and *Chabrias*, one of the moſt renown'd Captains of his Time, ſhould be join'd in Commiſſion with him: *Xenophon* admires his Wiſdom, and Greatneſs of Soul on that Account, in being ſatisfy'd with appearing to have Occaſion for Counſel, and not apprehending to ſhare the Glory of his Victories with others.

Ageſilaus had been prevail'd on to take the Command of the Troops againſt *Thebes*: He enter'd *Bœotia*, where he did Abundance of Miſchief to the *Thebans*; but not without conſiderable Loſs on his own Side. The two Armies came every Day to Blows, and were perpetually engaged, though not in formal Battle, yet in Skirmiſhes; which ſerv'd to inſtruct the *Thebans* in the Art of War, and to inſpire them with Valour, Boldneſs, and Experience. It is reported, that the *Spartan Antalcides* told *Ageſilaus* very juſtly on this Head, when he was brought back from *Bœotia* very much wounded; *My Lord* Ageſilaus, *you have a fine Reward for the Leſſons you have given the* Thebans *in the Art of War; who, before you taught it them, neither would, nor could, know any Thing of the Matter.* It was to prevent this Inconvenience, that *Lycurgus*, in one of the three three Laws, which he calls *Rhetræ*, enjoin'd the *Lacedæmonians*, not often to make War on the ſame Enemy, leſt they ſhould make them too good Soldiers,

diers, by obliging them to the frequent Defence of themſelves.

Several Campaigns paſſed in this Manner, without any Thing deciſive on either Side: It was prudent, in the *Theban* Generals, not to hazard a Battle at firſt, but give their Soldiers Time to inure themſelves to Dangers. When the Occaſion was favourable, they let them looſe, like generous Hounds; and, after having given them a Taſte of Victory, by Way of Reward, they call'd them off, contented with their Courage and Alacrity: The principal Glory of their Succeſs, and this wiſe Conduct, was due to *Pelopidas*.

The Fight of *Tegyra*, which was a Kind of Prelude to the Battle of *Leuctra*, added much to his Reputation. Having fail'd in his Enterprize againſt *Orchomenos*, which had join'd the *Lacedæmonians*, at his Return, he found the Enemy poſted to intercept him, near *Tegyra*. Aſſoon as the *Thebans* perceiv'd them from the Defiles, ſomebody ran in all Haſte to *Pelopidas*, and told him; *We are fallen into the Hands of the Enemies. Ah!* reply'd he, *why ſhould we not rather ſay, that they are fallen into ours?* At the ſame Time, he order'd his Cavalry, which were his Rear-Guard, to advance to the Front, that they might begin the Fight: He was aſſur'd his Foot, which were only Three hundred Men, and call'd *the ſacred Battalion*, would break through the Enemy, wherever they charged, though ſuperior in Number; as they were, by, at leaſt, two Thirds. The Onſet began where the Generals of each Party were poſted, and and was very fierce. The two Captains of the *Lacedæmonians*, who had fallen upon *Pelopidas*, were preſently ſlain; all, who were with them, being, either kill'd, fled, or diſper'd. The Reſt of the *Lacedæmonian* Troops were ſo daunted thereat, that they open'd a Paſſage for the *Thebans*; who might have march'd on to ſave themſelves, if they had thought fit: But *Pelopidas*, diſdaining to make Uſe of that Opening for his Retreat, advanc'd againſt thoſe, who were ſtill drawn up in Battle; and made ſo great a Slaughter of them, that they were all diſmay'd, and fled in Diſorder. The *Thebans* did not purſue them far, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriz'd: They contented themſelves with having broken them, and made a glorious Retreat, not inferior to a Victory; becauſe, through the Enemy, who were diſpers'd, and defeated.

This little Encounter, for, it can be call'd no more; was, in a Manner, the Source of the great Actions and Events we are about to treat of. It had not happen'd, till then, in any War, either againſt the *Barbarians*, or *Greeks*, that the *Lacedæmonians* had been defeated, with the Superiority of Number on their Side; nor even with equal Forces in Battle Array: For which Reaſon, they were inſupportably proud, and their Reputation alone kept their Enemies in Awe; who never durſt ſhew themſelves in the Field before them with equal Forces. They now loſt that Glory; and the *Thebans*, in their Turn, became the Terror and Dread, even of thoſe, who had render'd themſelves ſo univerſally formidable.

Whilſt the *Perſians* were engaged in the *Egyptian* War, great Troubles aroſe in *Greece*. In that Interval, the *Thebans*, having taken *Platæa*, and afterwards *Theſpiæ*, entirely demoliſh'd thoſe Cities, and expell'd the Inhabitants: The *Platæans* retir'd to *Athens*, with their Wives, and Children; where they were receiv'd with the utmoſt Favour, and adopted into the Number of the Citizens.

Artaxerxes, being inform'd of the State of the *Grecian* Affairs, ſent a new Embaſſy thither, to perſuade the ſeveral States, and Cities, at War, to lay down their Arms, and be reconcil'd, on the Plan of the Treaty of *Antalcides*. By that Peace, as has been obſerv'd in its Place, it was concluded, all the Cities of *Greece* ſhould enjoy their Liberty, and be govern'd by their own Laws. In Virtue of this Article, the *Lacedæmonians* preſs'd the *Thebans*, to reſtore their Liberty to all the Cities of *Bœotia*; to rebuild *Platæa*, and *Theſpiæ*, which they had demoliſh'd; and reſtore them, with their Dependences, to their ancient Inhabitants. The *Thebans*, on their Side, inſiſted alſo, the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould give Liberty to all thoſe of *Laconia*; and the City of *Meſſene* ſhould be given to its former Poſſeſſors. This was what Equity requir'd; but the *Lacedæmonians*, believing themſelves much ſuperior to the *Thebans*, were for impoſing a Law upon them, to which they would not ſubmit themſelves.

All *Greece* being weary of a War, which had already laſted ſeveral Campaigns; and had no other Cauſe, but the *Spartan* Ambition, and Injuſtice; nor any other End, than aggrandizing of that State; apply'd, in Earneſt, for a general Peace; and, with that View, had ſent Deputies to *Lacedæmon*, to concert together the Means of attaining ſo deſirable an End. Amongſt thoſe Deputies, *Epaminondas* was of the firſt Rank: He was, at that Time, celebrated for his great Erudition, and profound Knowledge in Philoſophy; but he had not yet given any diſtinguiſh'd Proofs of his great Capacity for the Command of Armies, and the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. Seeing all the Deputies, out of Reſpect for *Ageſilaus*, who declar'd openly for the War, dar'd not contradict him, or differ from his Opinion in any Thing; a very common Effect of a too imperious Power on one Side, and a too ſervile Submiſſion on the other; he was the only One, who ſpoke with a wiſe and noble Boldneſs, as became a Stateſman, who had no View but the publick Good: He made a Speech, not for the *Thebans* alone, but for *Greece* in general; in which he prov'd, the War augmented only the Power of *Sparta*, whilſt the Reſt of *Greece* was reduc'd, and ruin'd by it: He inſiſted, principally, on the Neceſſity of eſtabliſhing the Peace in Equality and Juſtice; becauſe no Peace could be ſolid, and of long Duration, but that, wherein all Parties would find an equal Advantage.

A Diſcourſe, like this, founded evidently on Reaſon and Juſtice; and pronounc'd with a grave, and ſerious Tone, never fails of making Impreſſion. *Ageſilaus* plainly diſtinguiſh'd, from the Attention and Silence with which it was heard, the Deputies were extreamly affected with it, and would not fail to act conformably to his Opinion. To prevent which, he demanded of *Epaminondas*, *Whether he thought it juſt, and reaſonable, that* Bœotia *ſhould be free and independent?* That is to ſay, whether he agreed, that the Cities of *Bœotia* ſhould be ſubject no longer to *Thebes*. *Epaminondas* immediately ask'd, in his Turn, with great Briskneſs, *Whether he thought it juſt, and reaſonable, that* Laconia *ſhould enjoy the ſame Independence?*

dence and Liberty. *Ageſilaus* then riſing from his Seat in great Wrath, inſiſted on his declaring plainly, *whether he would conſent that* Bœotia *ſhould be free?* *Epaminondas* retorted his Queſtion again, and ask'd, *Whether, on his Side, he would conſent that* Laconia *ſhould be free?* Hereupon, *Ageſilaus*, who wanted only a Pretence for breaking with the *Thebans*, ſtruck them directly out of the Treaty of Alliance, which they were about to conclude. The Reſt of the *Allies* ſign'd it, leſs out of Inclination, than not to offend the *Lacedæmonians*, whoſe Power they dreaded.

Purſuant to this Treaty, all Troops in the Field were to be disbanded: *Cleombrotus*, King of *Sparta*, was then at *Phocis*, at the Head of the Army. He wrote to the *Ephori*, to know the Republick's Reſolution. *Prothous*, one of the principal Senators, repreſented, there was no Room for Deliberations; for, *Sparta*, by the late Agreement, had made the Recal of the Troops indiſpenſible. *Ageſilaus* was of a different Opinion: Angry with the *Thebans*, and particularly *Epaminondas*, he was abſolutely bent on the War, for an Opportunity of taking his Revenge; which ſeem'd moſt favourable, at that Time, when all *Greece* was free, and united, and only the *Thebans* excluded the Treaty of Peace. The Advice of *Prothous* was, therefore, rejected by the whole Council; who look'd on him as an honeſt, well-meaning Dotard, who knew nothing of the Matter; the Divinity, from that Time (as *Xenophon* obſerves) promoting their Downfal. The *Ephori* wrote immediately to *Cleombrotus*, to march againſt the *Thebans*, with his Troops; and ſent Orders, at the ſame Time, to all their *Allies*, to aſſemble their Forces; who were very averſe to this War, and did not join in it but with great Reluctance, and out of Fear to contradict the *Lacedæmonians*; whom, nevertheleſs, they did not dare to diſobey. Though no happy Conſequences could be expected from a War, viſibly undertaken, contrary to all Reaſon and Juſtice, and from the ſole Motive of Reſentment and Revenge; the *Lacedæmonians*, from the Superiority of their Numbers, thought themſelves ſure of Succeſs; and imagin'd, that the *Thebans*, abandon'd by their *Allies*, were in no Condition to oppoſe them.

In Effect, the *Thebans* were much alarm'd at firſt: They ſaw themſelves alone, without *Allies*, or Support; whilſt all *Greece* look'd upon them as utterly loſt; not knowing that, in a ſingle Man, they had more than Armies: This was *Epaminondas*. He was appointed General, and had ſeveral Collegues join'd in Commiſſion with him: He immediately rais'd all the Troops he could, and began his March: His Army did not amount to ſix Thouſand Men, and the Enemy had four Times that Number. As ſeveral bad Omens were told him, to prevent his ſetting out, he repeated only a Verſe of *Homer*'s, by Way of Reply; the Senſe of which was, *There is but one good Omen, and that is, to fight for one's Country.* However, to reaſſure the Soldiers, naturally ſuperſtitious, and whom he obſerv'd to be diſcouraged; he inſtructed ſeveral Perſons to come from different Places, and report Auguries and Omens in his Favour, which reviv'd the Spirit and Hopes of the Troops.

Pelopidas was not then in Office, but commanded *the ſacred Battalion*: When he left his Houſe to go to the Army, his Wife, in taking her laſt Adieu, conjur'd him, with a Flood of Tears, to take Care of himſelf: *That* (ſaid he) *ſhould be recommended to young People; but, for Generals, they have no Occaſion for ſuch Advice; the Care of others ſhould be recommended to them.*

Epaminondas had wiſely taken Care to ſecure a Paſs, by which *Cleombrotus* might have ſhorten'd his March conſiderably; the *Spartan*, therefore, was forced to take a large Compaſs to reach *Leuctra*, a ſmall Town of *Bœotia*, between *Platæa* and *Theſpiæ*. Both Parties conſulted whether they ſhould give Battle; which *Cleombrotus* reſolv'd on, by the Advice of all his Officers; they repreſenting to him, if he declin'd fighting, with ſuch a Superiority of Troops, it would confirm the Report which was current, that he ſecretly favour'd the *Thebans*: The latter alſo, had an eſſential Reaſon for haſtening a Battle before the Troops arriv'd, which the Enemy daily expected. However, the ſix Generals, who form'd the Council of War, differ'd in their Sentiments. The ſeventh, who was *Epaminondas*, came in very good Time, to join the Three, who were for fighting; and his Opinion carrying the Queſtion, the Battle was reſolv'd on. This was in the ſecond Year of the 102d *Olympiad*.

The two Armies were very unequal in Number: That of the *Lacedæmonians* (as has been ſaid) conſiſted of Twenty-four thouſand Foot, and Sixteen hundred Horſe. The *Thebans* had only Six thouſand Foot, and Four hundred Horſe; but, all of them choice Troops, animated, by their Experience in War; and determin'd to conquer, or die. The *Lacedæmonian* Cavalry, compoſed of Men pick'd up by Chance, without Valour, and ill-diſciplin'd, was as much inferior to their Enemies in Courage, as ſuperior in Number. The Infantry could not be depended on, except the *Lacedæmonians*; the *Allies* (as has been ſaid) having been engag'd in the War with Reluctance, as they did not approve the Cauſe; and were, beſides, diſſatisfy'd with the *Lacedæmonians*.

The Ability of the Generals ſupply'd the Place of numerous Armies, eſpecially, of the *Thebans*, who was the moſt accompliſh'd Captain of his Time: He was ſupported by *Pelopidas*, at the Head of *the ſacred Battalion*, compos'd of Three hundred *Thebans*, united in a ſtrict Friendſhip and Affection, and engaged under a particular Oath, never to fly, but defend each other, to the laſt Drop of their Blood.

On the Day of Battle, both Armies drew up on a Plain: *Cleombrotus* was on the Right, conſiſting of *Lacedæmonians*, in whom he confided moſt; and whoſe Files were Twelve deep. To take the Advantage, which his Horſe gave him in an open Country, he poſted them in the Front of his *Lacedæmonians*. *Archidamus*, Son to *Ageſilaus*, was at the Head of the *Allies*, who form'd the Left Wing.

Epaminondas, who reſolv'd to charge with his Left, which he commanded in Perſon, ſtrengthen'd it with the Choice of his Troops, and ſuch as were heavily arm'd, whom he drew up Fifty deep. *The ſacred Battalion* was on his Left, and clos'd the Wing. The Reſt of his Infantry were poſted on his Right, in an oblique Line; which, the farther it extended, was the more diſtant from the Enemy. By this uncommon Diſpoſition, his Deſign was to cover his Flank on the Right; to keep

his Right Wing as a Kind of reserv'd Body, that he might not hazard the Event of the Battle on the weakest Part of his Army; to begin the Action with his Left Wing, where his best Troops were posted; and to turn the whole Weight of the Battle on King *Cleombrotus*, and the *Spartans*: He was assur'd, if he could penetrate the *Lacedæmonian Phalanx*, the Rest of the Army would soon be put to the Rout. As for his Cavalry, he dispos'd them, after the Enemy's Example, in the Front of his Left.

The Action began by the Caval. As the *Thebans* were better mounted, and braver Troops, than the *Lacedæmonians*, the latter were not long before they were broke, and driven upon the Infantry, which they put into some Confusion. *Epaminondas* following his Horse close, march'd swiftly to *Cleombrotus*, and fell on his *Phalanx* with the whole Weight of his heavy Battalion. The latter, to make a Diversion, detach'd a Body of Troops, with Orders to take *Epaminondas* in Flank, and to surround him. *Pelopidas*, seeing that Motion, advanc'd with incredible Speed, and Boldness, at the Head of *the facred Battalion*, to prevent the Enemy's Design; and flank'd *Cleombrotus* himself, who, by that sudden, and unexpected Attack, was put into Disorder. The Battle was very fierce and obstinate; and, whilst *Cleombrotus* could act, the Victory continued in Suspence, and declared for neither Party. When he fell dead with his Wouds, the *Thebans*, to compleat the Day, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to avoid the Shame of abandoning the Body of their King, redoubled their Efforts, and a great Slaughter ensued on both Sides. The *Spartans* fought with so much Fury about the Body, that, at length, they gain'd their Point, and carry'd it off. Animated by so glorious an Advantage, they prepar'd to return to the Charge; which would, perhaps, have prov'd successful, had the *Allies* seconded their Ardor: But the Left Wing, seeing the *Lacedæmonian Phalanx* had been broken, and believing all lost, especialy when they heard the King was dead, took to Flight, and drew the Rest of the Army along with them. *Epaminondas* follow'd them vigorously, and kill'd a great Number in the Pursuit: The *Thebans* remain'd Masters of the Field of Battle, erected a Trophy, and permitted the Enemy to bury their Dead.

The *Lacedæmonians* had never receiv'd such a Blow before. The most bloody Defeats, till then, had scarce ever cost them more than Four or Five hundred of their Citizens. They had been seen, however animated, or rather, violently incens'd, against *Athens*, to ransom, by a Truce of Thirty Years, Eight hundred of their Citizens, who had suffer'd themselves to be shut up in the little Island of *Sphacteria*. Here they lost Four thousand Men, of whom One thousand were *Lacedæmonians*, and Four hundred *Spartans*, out of Seven hundred who were in the Battle; whereas, the *Thebans* had only Three hundred Men kill'd, among whom were but few of their Citizens.

The City of *Sparta* celebrated, at that Time, the *Gymnick* Games, and was full of Strangers, whom Curiosity had brought thither. When the Couriers arriv'd from *Leuctra*, with the terrible News of their Defeat, the *Ephori*, though perfectly sensible of all the Consequences, and that the *Spartan* Empire had receiv'd a mortal Wound, would not permit the Representation of the Theatre to be suspended, nor any Changes in the Celebration of the Festival. They sent to every Family the Names of their Relations, who were kill'd, and staid in the Theatre to see that the Dances and Games were continued, without Interruption, to the End.

The next Morning, the Loss of each Family being known, the Fathers, and Relations, of those who had dy'd in the Battle, met in the publick Place, and saluted and embrac'd each other with great Joy, and Serenity in their Looks; whilst the others kept themselves close in their Houses; or, if Necessity obliged them to go abroad, it was with a Sadness, and Dejection of Aspect, which sensibly express'd their profound Anguish and Affliction. This Difference was still more remarkable in the Women: Grief, Silence, and Tears, distinguish'd those, who expected the Return of their Sons; whilst such, as had lost their Sons, were seen hurrying to the Temples, to thank the Gods, and congratulating each other upon their Glory and good Fortune.

Sparta was under no small Difficulty to know how to act, with Regard to those, who had fled from the Battle: As they were numerous, and of the most powerful Families in the City, it was not safe to inflict on them the Punishments assign'd by the Laws, lest their Despair should induce them to take some violent Resolution fatal to the State: For, such as fled, were not only excluded from all Offices and Employments, but it was a Disgrace to contract any Alliance with them by Marriage: Any-body, who met them in the Streets, might buffet them, which they were oblig'd to suffer: They were, besides, to wear dirty Habits, ragged, and full of Patches of different Colours: And lastly, they were to shave half their Beards, and let the other half grow. It was a vast Loss to the *Spartans*, to be depriv'd of so many of their Soldiery, at a Time, when they had such pressing Occasion for them. To remove this Difficulty, they chose *Agesilaus* Legislator, with absolute Power to make such Alterations in the Laws as he should think fit: *Agesilaus*, without adding, retrenching, or changing any Thing, found Means to save the Fugitives, without hurting the State. In a full Assembly of the *Lacedæmonians*, he decreed, *That, for the present Day, the Laws should be suspended, and of no Effect; but ever after to remain in full Force and Authority.* In those few Words, he preserv'd the *Spartan* Laws entire; and, at the same Time, restor'd to the State that great Number of its Members, by preventing their being for ever degraded; and consequentially useless to the Republick.

After the Battle of *Leuctra*, both Parties were employ'd, one in retrieving their Loss, and the other in making the Best of their Victory. *Agesilaus*, to revive the Courage of his Troops, march'd them into *Arcadia*; but with a full Resolution, carefully to avoid a Battle. He confin'd himself to attacking some small Towns of the *Mantinæans*, which he took, and laid the Country waste. This gave *Sparta* some Joy, and they began to take Courage, from believing their Condition not entirely desperate.

The *Thebans*, soon after their Victory, sent an Account of it to *Athens*; and demanded Aid, against the common Enemy: The Senate, which was then sitting, receiv'd the Cou-

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rier with great Coldneſs, made him not the uſual Preſents, and diſmiſs'd him, without taking any Notice of Aid. The *Athenians*, alarm'd at the conſiderable Advantage which the *Thebans* had gain'd over the *Lacedæmonians*, could not diſſemble the Umbrage and Diſſatisfaction, which ſo ſudden, and unexpected an Increaſe of a neighbouring Power gave them, which might ſoon render itſelf formidable to all *Greece*.

At *Thebes*, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* had been elected joint Governors of *Bœotia*: Accordingly, having aſſembled all the Troops of the *Bœotians*, and their *Allies*, whoſe Number daily increas'd, they enter'd *Peloponneſus*, and made Abundance of Places, and People revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*; *Elis*, *Argos*, *Arcadia*, and the greateſt Part of *Laconia* itſelf. It was then about the Winter-Solſtice, and towards the End of the laſt Month of the Year; ſo that, in a few Days, they were to quit their Offices; the firſt Day of the next Month being aſſign'd by Law, for the Reſignation of them to ſuch as ſhould be appointed their Succeſſors, on Pain of Death, if they held them beyond that Term. Their Collegues, apprehending the Badneſs of the Seaſon, and more, the dreadful Conſequences of infringing that Law, were for marching back the Army immediately to *Thebes*. *Pelopidas* was the firſt, who, entering into the Opinion of *Epaminondas*, animated the Citizens, and engaged them to take Advantage of the Enemy's Alarm, and Conſternation; and to purſue their Enterprize, without any Regard to a Formality, from the Obſervance of which they might believe themſelves legally diſpens'd, by the State itſelf; as the Service of the State, when founded in Juſtice, is the ſovereign Law and Rule of the People's Obedience.

They enter'd *Laconia*, therefore, at the Head of an Army of Seventy thouſand good Soldiers; of which the Twelfth Part were not *Thebans*. The great Reputation of the Two Generals was the Cauſe, that all the *Allies*, even without Order, or publick Decree, obey'd them with reſpectful Silence, and march'd full of Confidence and Courage under their Command. It was Six hundred Years ſince the *Dorians* had eſtabliſh'd themſelves at *Lacedæmon*; and, in all that Time, had never ſeen an Enemy upon their Land; till then, none daring to enter their Territory, much leſs attack their City, though without Walls. The *Thebans*, and their *Allies*, finding a Country, till then, untouch'd by an Enemy, ran through it with Fire and Sword; deſtroying and plundering, as far as the River *Eurotas*, without any Oppoſition whatſoever.

Parties had been poſted to defend ſome important Paſſes. *Iſcholas*, the *Spartan*, who commanded one of theſe Detachments, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in a peculiar Manner: Finding it impoſſible, with his ſmall Body of Troops, to ſupport the Enemy's Attack, and thinking it below a *Spartan* to abandon his Poſt, he ſent back the young Men, who were of Age, and capable of ſerving their Country effectually, and kept none with him, but ſuch as were advanc'd in Years: With theſe devoting himſelf, after the Example of *Leonidas*, for the publick Good, they ſold their Lives dear; and, after having defended themſelves a long Time, and made a great Slaughter of their Enemies, they all periſh'd, to a Man.

Ageſilaus acted, upon this Occaſion, with great Addreſs and Wiſdom: He look'd upon this Irruption of the Enemy, as an impetuous Torrent, which it was not only in vain, but dangerous, to oppoſe; whoſe rapid Courſe would be but of ſhort Duration; and which, after ſome Ravages, would retire, of itſelf: He contented himſelf, therefore, with diſtributing his beſt Troops in the Middle of the City, and the moſt important Places, ſtrongly ſecuring all the Poſts: He was determin'd not to quit the Town, nor hazard a Battle; and perſiſted in that Reſolution; inſenſible to all the Raillery, Inſults, and Menaces of the *Thebans*; who defy'd him by Name, and call'd upon him to defend his Country, who had alone been the Cauſe of all its Sufferings, in kindling the War.

But far greater Afflictions to *Ageſilaus*, were the Commotions and Diſorders excited within the City; the Murmurs and Complaints of the old Men, in the higheſt Affliction and Deſpair, from being Witneſſes of what they ſaw; as well as of the Women, who ſeem'd quite diſtracted, with hearing the threatning Cries of the Enemy, and ſeeing the neighbouring Country all on Fire; whilſt the Flames and Smoke, which drove almoſt upon them, ſeem'd to denounce a like Misfortune to themſelves. Whatever Courage *Ageſilaus* might expreſs in his outward Behaviour, he could not fail of being ſenſibly affected with ſo mournful an Object; to which was added, the Grief of loſing his Reputation; becauſe, having found the City in a moſt flouriſhing and powerful Condition, then he ſaw it fallen to ſuch a Degree in his Hands, and all its ancient Glory loſt under him! He was, beſides, ſecretly mortify'd, at ſuch a Contradiction of a Boaſt, he had often made, *That no Woman of* Sparta *had ever ſeen the Smoke of an Enemy's Camp.*

Whilſt he was giving different Orders in the City, he was inform'd, a certain Number of Mutineers had ſeiz'd an important Poſt, with a Reſolution to defend themſelves in it. *Ageſilaus* ran immediately thither, as if he had been intirely unacquainted with their bad Deſign, and ſaid to them, *Comrades, it is not there I ſent you.* At the ſame Time, he pointed to different Poſts, to divide them; to which they went, believing their Enterprize had not been diſcover'd. This Order, which he gave without Emotion, argues a great Preſence of Mind in *Ageſilaus*; and ſhews, that, in Times of Trouble, it is not proper to ſee too much, that the Culpable may not want Time to reflect, and repent: He thought it more adviſable to ſuppoſe that ſmall Troop innocent, than urge them to a declar'd Revolt, by a too rigorous Enquiry.

The *Eurotas* was, at that Time, very much ſwell'd, by the melting of the Snow; and the *Thebans* found more Difficulty in paſſing it, than they expected; both by Reaſon of the extream Coldneſs of the Water, and its Rapidity. As *Epaminondas* paſs'd at the Head of his Infantry, ſome of the *Spartans* ſhew'd him to *Ageſilaus*; who, after having obſerv'd him well, and follow'd him with his Eyes, a long Time, ſaid only this, *O Man of great Deeds!* admiring the Valour that could undertake ſuch great Things. *Epaminondas* would have been glad to have given Battle in *Sparta*, and to have erected a Trophy in the Midſt of it: He did not, however, think proper to attempt the

the forcing of the City; and, not being able to induce *Agesilaus* to quit it, he chose to retire. It would have been difficult for *Sparta*, without Aid, and unfortify'd, to have defended itself long against a victorious Army: But the wise Captain, who commanded it, apprehended, he should draw upon himself the whole Force of *Peloponnesus*; and still more, that he should excite the Jealousy of all the *Greeks*, who would never have have pardon'd his destroying so powerful a Republick; and *pulling out* (as *Leptinus* says) *one of the Eyes of Greece*, as a first Essay of his Skill: He confin'd himself, therefore, to the Glory of having humbled the proud *Spartans*, whose *Laconick* Language added new Haughtiness to their Commands; and of having reduc'd them to the Necessity (as he boasted himself) of enlarging their Stile, and lengthening Monosyllables: At his Return, he again waited the Country.

In this Expedition, the *Thebans* again form'd *Arcadia* into one Body; and took *Messenia* from the *Spartans*, who had been in Possession of it almost three Centuries, after having expell'd all its Inhabitants. It was a Country equal in Extent to *Laconia*, and as fertile as the best Lands in *Greece*. Its ancient Inhabitants, who were dispers'd in different Regions of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily*, on the first Notice given them, return'd with incredible Joy; animated by the Love of their Country, natural to all Men; and almost as much, by their Hatred of the *Spartans*, which the Number of Years had only increas'd: They built themselves a City, which, from the ancient Name, was call'd *Messene*. Amongst the sad Events of this War, none gave the *Lacedæmonians* more sensible Displeasure; or rather, a more lively Grief; because, from immemorial Time, an irreconcilable Enmity had subsisted between *Sparta* and *Messene*; which could not be extinguish'd but in the final Ruin of the one, or the other.

Polybius mentions a flagrant Error, which had always been observ'd in the Conduct of the *Messenians*, with Regard to *Sparta*, which was the Cause of all their Misfortunes: It was their too great Solicitude for the present Tranquility; and through an excessive Love of Peace, their neglecting the Means of making it sure and lasting. Two of the most powerful States of *Greece* were their Neighbours; the *Arcadians*, and *Lacedæmonians*. The latter, from their first Settlement in the Country, had declar'd open War against them; the others, on the contrary, always join'd with them, and enter'd into all their Interests: But the *Messenians* had neither the Courage to oppose, with Fortitude and Constancy, their violent, and irreconcileable Enemies; nor the Prudence, to treat, with due Regard, their faithful and affectionate *Allies*. When the two Nations, either made War upon one another, or carry'd their Arms elsewhere, the *Messenians*, little mindful of the future, and regarding only their present Repose, made it a Rule, never to espouse the Cause of one Side, or the other, and to observe an exact Neutrality. At such a Time, they congratulated themselves upon their Wisdom and Success, in retaining their Tranquility, whilst their Neighbours all round them were involv'd in Trouble and Confusion: But this Tranquility was not of long Duration: The *Lacedæmonians*, having subdu'd their Enemies, fell upon them with all their Forces; and finding them unsupported by *Allies*, and incapable of defending themselves, they reduc'd them to submit, either to the Yoke of a severe Subjection, or banish themselves from their Country: And this was several Times their Case. They ought to have reflected, says *Polybius*, that, as there is nothing more desirable, or advantagious, than a Peace, founded in Justice and Honour; so there is nothing more shameful, and, at the same Time, more pernicious, than a Peace obtain'd by bad Measures, and purchas'd at the Price of Liberty.

It might be expected, the two *Theban* Captains, on their Return to their Country, after such memorable Actions, would have been receiv'd with general Applause, and all possible Honours conferr'd upon them. Instead of which, they were both summon'd to answer, as Criminals against the State; in having, contrary to the Law, whereby they were obliged to resign their Command to new Officers, retain'd it four Months beyond the appointed Term; during which Time, they had executed in *Messenia*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*, all those great Things, of which we have been speaking.

A Behaviour of this Kind is surprizing, and the Recital cannot be read without a secret Indignation: But, such a Conduct had a very plausible Foundation. The zealous Assertors of a Liberty lately regain'd, were apprehensive the Example might prove very pernicious, in authorizing some other Magistrate to maintain himself in Command beyond the establish'd Term; and, consequently to turn his Arms against his Country. It is not to be doubted, but the *Romans* would have acted in the same Manner; and, if they were so severe, to put an Officer to Death, for giving Battle, without Orders from his General, though victorious; how would they have behav'd to a General, who should have continued four Months in the supream Command, contrary to the Laws, and upon his own Authority?

Pelopidas was cited the first before the Tribunal: He defended himself with less Fortitude and Greatness of Mind, than was expected from a Man of his Character, by Nature, warm and fiery. That Valour, haughty, and intrepid in Fight, forsook him before the Judges: His Air, and Discourse, which had something timid, and creeping in it, denoted a Man who was afraid of Death; and did not, in the least, incline the Judges in his Favour; who acquitted him not without Difficulty. *Epaminondas* appear'd, and spoke, with a quite different Air, and Tone: He presented himself in the Face of Danger, without Emotion: Instead of justifying himself, he made a Panegyrick upon his Actions; and repeated, with a Dignity of Style, in what Manner he had ravaged *Laconia*, re-establish'd *Messenia*, and re-united *Arcadia* in one Body: He concluded with saying, he should die with Pleasure, if the *Thebans* would yield to him the sole Glory of those Actions; and declare, he had done them by his own Authority, and without their Participation. All the Voices were in his Favour; and he return'd from his Tryal, as he was accustom'd to return from Battle, with Glory, and universal Applause: Such Dignity has true Valour, that it, in a Manner, seizes the Admiration of Mankind by Force.

He was, by Nature, design'd for great Actions; and every Thing he did, had an Air of Grandeur

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in it: His Enemies, with Deſign to affront him, got him elected *Telearch*; an Office, very unworthy of a Perſon of his Merit. He did not, however, think it diſhonoured him, and ſaid, that he would demonſtrate, *that the Office did not only ſhew the Man who bore it, but the Man alſo the Office.* He accordingly raiſed that Employment to very great Dignity, which before conſiſted only in taking Care, that the Streets were kept clean, the Dirt carried away, and the Drains and common Sewers in good Order.

In the mean while, the *Lacedæmonians*, having every Thing to fear from an Enemy, whom the late Succeſſes had render'd ſtill more haughty and enterprizing than ever; and ſeeing themſelves expoſed, every Moment, to a new Irruption, had Recourſe to the *Athenians*, and ſent Deputies to them, to implore their Aid. The Perſon who ſpoke, began with deſcribing, in the moſt pathetick Terms, the deplorable Condition, and extreme Danger, to which *Sparta* was reduced. He deſcribed the inſolent Haughtineſs of the *Thebans*, and their ambitious Views, which tended to nothing leſs than the Empire of all *Greece*. He inſinuated what, in Particular, *Athens* had to fear, if they were ſuffer'd to extend their Power by the daily Encreaſe of *Allies*, who join'd their Party, and augmented their Forces. He call'd to Mind the happy Times, in which the ſtrict Union betwixt *Athens* and *Sparta*, had preſerved *Greece*, to the equal Glory of each People, and concluded with ſaying, how great an Honour it would be to the *Athenian* Name, to relieve a City, its ancient Friend and *Ally*, which, more than once, had generouſly ſacrificed itſelf for the common Intereſt and Safety.

The *Athenians* could not deny all that the Deputy advanced in his Diſcourſe; but at the ſame Time they had not forgot the bad Treatment, which they had ſuffered from the *Spartans*, on more than one Occaſion; and eſpecially ſince the Defeat of *Sicily*. However, their Compaſſion for the unhappy Condition of *Sparta*, carry'd it againſt the Senſe of former Injuries, and determined them to aſſiſt the *Lacedæmonians* with all their Forces. Sometime after, the Deputies of ſeveral States being aſſembled at *Athens*, a League and Confederacy was concluded againſt the *Thebans*, conformably to the Treaty of *Antalcides*, and the Intention of the King of *Perſia*, who continually made Inſtances for its Execution.

A ſlight Advantage gain'd by the *Spartans* over their Enemies, raiſed them from the Dejection under which they had till then labour'd; as it generally happens, when, in a mortal Diſtemper, the leaſt Glimpſe of a Recovery revives Hope, and recals Joy. *Archidamus*, ſon of *Ageſilaus*, having received Aid from *Dionyſius* the *Younger*, Tyrant of *Sicily*, put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, and defeated the *Arcadians* in a Battle, called, *the Battle without Tears*, becauſe he did not loſe a Man, and kill'd a great Number of the Enemy. The *Spartans* before had been ſo much accuſtom'd to conquer, that they became inſenſible of the Pleaſure of Victory: But when the News of this Battle arrived, and they ſaw *Archidamus* return victorious, they could not contain their Joy, nor keep within the City. His Father was the firſt that went out to meet him, weeping with Joy and Tenderneſs: He was follow'd by the great Officers and Magiſtrates: Then Crowds of old Men and Women came down as far as the River, lifting up their Hands to Heaven, and returning Thanks to *God*, as if this Action had obliterated the Shame of *Sparta*, and that they began to ſee thoſe happy Days again, in which the *Spartan* Glory and Reputation had roſe ſo high.

Philiſcus, who had been ſent, by the King of *Perſia*, to reconcile the *Grecian* States, was arrived at *Delphos*, whither he ſummon'd their Deputies to repair: The God was not at all conſulted in the Affair, which was diſcuſſed in that Aſſembly. The *Spartans* demanded, that *Meſſene*, and its Inhabitants, ſhould return to their Obedience, and Subjection to them. Upon the *Thebans* Refuſal to comply with that Demand, the Aſſembly broke up, and *Philiſcus* retired; after having left conſiderable Sums of Money with the *Lacedæmonians*, for levying Troops, and carrying on the War. *Sparta*, reduced and humbled by its Loſſes, was no longer the Object of the *Perſians* Fear or Jealouſy; but *Thebes*, victorious and triumphant, gave them juſt Cauſe of Apprehenſion.

To form a League againſt *Thebes* with better Aſſurance, the *Allies* had ſent Deputies to the Great King: The *Thebans*, on their Side, deputed *Pelopidas*; an extremely wiſe Choice; from the great Reputation of the Embaſſador, which is no indifferent Circumſtance, to promote the Succeſs of a Negotiation. The Battle of *Lectura* had made him renown'd in the remoteſt Provinces of *Aſia*. When he arrived at the Court, and appear'd amongſt the Princes and Nobility, they cried out, in Admiration of him, *This is he, who deprived the* Lacedæmonians *of their Empire by Sea and Land, and reduced* Sparta *to confine itſelf between the* Eurotas *and* Taygetus; *which not long ſince, under the Conduct of* Ageſilaus, *threatened nothing leſs than to invade us in* Suſa *and* Ecbatana.

Artaxerxes, extremely pleaſed with his Arrival; paid him extraordinary Honours, and piqued himſelf upon extolling him highly before the Lords of his Court: This he did, indeed, partly, out of Regard to his great Merit, but much more out of Vanity and Self-love; and to inſinuate to his Subjects, that the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious Perſons made their Court to him, and paid Homage to his Power and good Fortune. But after having admitted him to Audience, and heard his Diſcourſe, more nervous in his Senſe, than that of the *Athenian* Embaſſadors, and more conciſe than the *Lacedæmonians*, which is ſaying a great deal, he eſteem'd him more than ever; and, as it is common with Kings, who are but little accuſtom'd to Conſtraint, he did not diſſemble his extreme Regard for him, and his Preference of him to all the reſt.

Pelopidas, like an able Politician, had repreſented to that Monarch, how much it was the Intereſt of his Crown, to protect an infant Power, which had never born Arms againſt the *Perſians*; and which, in forming a Ballance between *Sparta* and *Athens*, might be able to make an uſeful Diverſion againſt thoſe Republicks, the perpetual and irreconcileable Enemies of the *Perſians*; and who had, not long before, done them ſo much Damage, and cauſed them ſo much Uneaſineſs. *Timagoras*, the *Athenian*, was the beſt received next to him; becauſe, being paſſionately deſirous of humbling *Sparta*, and, at the ſame Time, of

pleaſing the King, he did not appear averſe to the Views of *Pelopidas*.

The King having preſſed *Pelopidas* to explain what Favours he had to ask of him, he demanded, "To have *Meſſene* continue free and exempt from "the Yoke of *Sparta*; the *Athenian* Galleys, which "were ſailed to infeſt the Coaſts of *Bœotia*, re-"call'd, or War declared againſt *Athens*; and to "have thoſe, who would not come into the League, "or march againſt ſuch as ſhould oppoſe it, at-"tack'd firſt." All which was decreed, and the *Thebans* declared Friends and *Allies* of the King; whereupon *Leon*, Collegue to *Timagoras*, ſaid, loud enough to be heard by that Prince; *Athens has nothing now to do, but to find ſome other* Ally.

Pelopidas, having obtain'd all he deſired, left the Court, without accepting any more of the King's many Preſents, than what was neceſſary, as a Token of his Favour and Good-will; and this aggravated the Complaints which were made againſt the other *Grecian* Embaſſadors, who were not ſo reſerved, and ſcrupulous in Point of Intereſt. One of thoſe ſent by the *Arcadians*, ſaid, on his Return home, that he had ſeen many Slaves at the King's Court, but no Men. He added, that all his Magnificence was no more than a vain Oſtentation; and that the ſo much boaſted Plantain of Gold, which was valued at ſo high a Price, had not Shade enough under it for a Graſs-hopper.

Of all the Deputies, *Timagoras* had received the moſt Preſents: He did not only accept of Gold and Silver, but of a magnificent Bed, and Slaves to make it; the *Greeks* not ſeeming to him expert enough in that Office; which ſhews, that Sloth and Luxury were little in Faſhion at *Athens*. He received alſo twenty-four Cows, with Slaves to take Care of them; as having Occaſion to drink Milk for ſome Indiſpoſition. Laſtly, at his Departure, he was carried in a Chair to the Sea-ſide, at the King's Expence, who gave four Talents for that Service. His Collegue *Leon*, on their Arrival at *Athens*, accuſed him of not having any Communication with him, and of having join'd with *Pelopidas* in every Thing: Accordingly he was brought to a Trial, and condemned to Death.

It does appear, however, that the Acceptance of Preſents incenſed the *Athenians* moſt againſt *Timagoras*. For *Epicrates*, a ſimple Porter, who had been at the *Perſian* Court, and had alſo received Preſents; having ſaid, in a full Aſſembly, that he was of Opinion, that a Decree ought to paſs, by which, inſtead of the nine *Archons* annually elected, nine Ambaſſadors ſhould be choſen out of the pooreſt of the People, to be ſent to the King, in order to their being enriched by the Voyage; the Aſſembly only laughed, and made a Jeſt of it. But what offended them moſt, was the *Thebans* having obtained all they demanded: In which, ſays *Plutarch*, they did not duly conſider the great Reputation of *Pelopidas*; nor comprehend, how much ſtronger and efficacious that was in perſuading, than all the Harangues and rhetorical Flouriſhes of the other Ambaſſadors; eſpecially with a Prince, accuſtom'd to careſs, and and comply with, the ſtrongeſt; as the *Thebans* undoubtedly were at that Time; and who, beſides, was not ſorry to humble *Sparta* and *Athens*, the ancient and mortal Enemies of his Throne.

The Eſteem and Regard of the *Thebans* for *Pelopidas* was not a little augmented by the good Succeſs of this Embaſſy; which had procured the Freedom of *Greece*, and the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Meſſene*, and he was extremely applauded for his Conduct at his Return.

But *Theſſalia* was the Theatre, where the Bravery of *Pelopidas* made the greateſt Figure; in the Expedition of the *Thebans* againſt *Alexander*, Tyrant of *Pheræ*. We ſhall, therefore, relate it entire; and unite, in one Point of View, all which regards that great Event; without any other Interruption, than the Journey of *Pelopidas* into *Macedonia*, to appeaſe the Troubles of that Court.

The reduced Condition of *Sparta* and *Athens*, who for many Years had lorded it over all *Greece*, either jointly, or ſeparately, had inſpired ſome of their Neighbours with a Deſire of ſupplanting thoſe Cities; and given Birth to the Hope of ſucceeding them in the Pre-eminence. A Power had riſen up in *Theſſaly*, which began to grow formidable: *Jaſon*, Tyrant of *Pheræ*, had been declared Generaliſſimo of the *Theſſalians*, by the Conſent of the People of that Province; and it was to his Merit, univerſally known, he owed that Dignity. He was at the Head of an Army of ten thouſand Horſe, and twenty thouſand heavy arm'd Foot, without reckoning the light arm'd Soldiers; and might have undertaken any Thing, with ſuch a Body of diſciplin'd and intrepid Troops, who had an entire Confidence in the Valour and Conduct of their General: But Death prevented his Deſigns, he was aſſaſſinated by ſome Perſons who had conſpired his Deſtruction.

His two Brothers, *Polydorus* and *Polyphron*, were ſubſtituted in his Place; the latter of whom killed the other, for the Sake of reigning alone; and was ſoon after killed himſelf, by *Alexander* of *Pheræ*; who ſeized the Tyranny, under the Pretence of revenging the Death of *Polydorus* his Father: Againſt him *Pelopidas* was ſent.

As this Tyrant made open War upon ſeveral People of *Theſſaly*, and was ſecretly plotting to ſubject them all, the Citizens ſent Embaſſadors to *Thebes*, to demand Troops, and a General. *Epaminondas* being then employ'd in *Peloponneſus*, *Pelopidas* took upon himſelf the Charge of this Expedition. He ſet out for *Theſſaly* with an Army, made himſelf Maſter of *Lariſſa*, and obliged *Alexander* to come and make his Submiſſion to him. He there endeavoured, by mild Uſage and Friendſhip, to change his Diſpoſition; and from a Tyrant, to render him a juſt and human Prince; but finding him incorrigible, and of unexampled Brutality; and hearing new Complaints every Day of his Cruelty, debauch'd Life, and inſatiable Avarice; he began to treat him with warm Reproofs and Menaces. The Tyrant, alarm'd at ſuch Uſage, withdrew ſecretly with his Guard; and *Pelopidas*, leaving the *Theſſalians* in Security from any of his Attempts, and in good Underſtanding with each other, ſet out for *Macedonia*, where his Preſence had been deſired.

Amyntas II. who was lately dead, and had left Iſſue three legitimate Children, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*; with one natural Son, called *Ptolemy*. *Alexander* reigned but one Year, and was ſucceeded by *Perdiccas*, with whom his Brother *Ptolemy* diſputed the Crown. The two Brothers

thers invited *Pelopidas*, to be the Arbitrator and Judge of their Quarrel, or to engage him to take his Part, who had been injured by the other.

Pelopidas was no ſooner arrived, than he put an End to all Diſputes, and recall'd thoſe who had been baniſh'd by either Party: Having taken *Philip*, the Brother of *Perdicas*, and thirty other Children of the nobleſt Families of *Macedonia*, for Hoſtages, he carried them to *Thebes*; to ſhew the *Greeks* how far the Authority of the *Thebans* extended, from the Reputation of their Arms, and an entire Confidence in their Juſtice and Fidelity. It was this *Philip*, who was Father of *Alexander the Great*; and afterwards made War upon the *Greeks*, and ſubjected them to his Power.

The Troubles and Factions began again in *Madonia*, ſome Years after; being occaſioned by the Death of *Perdiccas*, who was killed in a Battle. The Friends of the Deceaſed call'd in *Pelopidas*; who being deſirous to get there before *Ptolemy* could execute his Deſigns, (who made new Efforts to eſtabliſh himſelf upon the Throne) and not having an Army, raiſed ſome mercenary Troops in Haſte, with whom he march'd againſt him. When they were near each other, *Ptolemy* found Means to corrupt thoſe mercenary Soldiers by Preſents of Money, and to bring them over to his Side. At the ſame Time, being awed by the Reputation and Name of *Pelopidas*, he preſented himſelf to him as his Superior and Maſter; had Recourſe to Careſſes and Entreaties; and promiſed, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, to hold the Crown only as Guardian to the Son of the Deceaſed; and to acknowledge as Friends, and Enemies, all who were ſo to the *Thebans*: Beſides which, as a Security for his Performance, he gave his Son *Philoxenus*, and fifty other Children, to be educated with him, as Hoſtages; whom *Pelopidas* ſent to *Thebes*.

The Treachery of the mercenary Soldiers ran very much in his Thoughts: He was inform'd, that they had ſent the greateſt Part of their Effects, with their Wives and Children, into the City *Pharſalus*, and conceived it a fair Oportunity of being revenged of them for their Perfidy. He, therefore, drew together ſome *Theſſalian* Troops, and march'd to *Pharſalus*; where he was ſcarce arrived, before *Alexander*, the Tyrant, advanced againſt him with a powerful Army. However, *Pelopidas*, who had been appointed Embaſſador to him, believing that he came only to to juſtify himſelf, and to anſwer the Complaints of the *Thebans*, went to him, with none but *Iſmenius* in his Company; and without any Precaution. He was not ignorant of his being an impious Wretch, both Void of Faith and Honour; but he imagin'd, that his Reſpect for *Thebes*, and Regard to his Dignity and Reputation, would prevent him from attempting any Thing againſt his Perſon. He was miſtaken; for the Tyrant, ſeeing them alone, and unarm'd, made them both Priſoners, and ſeized *Pharſalus*.

Polybius blames, extremely, the Imprudence of *Pelopidas* upon this Occaſion: There are, ſays he, in Society, certain Aſſurances, and, as it were, Ties of mutual Faith, upon which one may reaſonably rely: Such are the Sanctity of Oaths; the Pledges of Wives and Children, delivered as Hoſtages; and above all, the Conſiſtency of the paſt Conduct of thoſe, with whom one Treats: When, notwithſtanding theſe Motives for our Confidence, we are deceived, it is a Misfortune, but not a Fault: But to truſt on's ſelf to a known Traitor, a reputed Villain, is certainly an unpardonable Inſtance of Imprudence, and Temerity.

So black a Perfidy fill'd the Subjects of *Alexander* with Terror and Diſtruſt; becauſe they very much ſuſpected, that after ſo flagrant an Injuſtice, and ſo daring a Crime, the Tyrant would ſpare nobody; and would look upon himſelf, on all Occaſions, and with all Sorts of People, as a Man in Deſpair, that needed no farther Regard to his Conduct and Actions. When the News was brought to *Thebes*, the *Thebans*, incenſed at ſo vile an Inſult, immediately ſent an Army into *Theſſaly*; and, as they were diſpleaſed with *Epaminondas*, upon the groundleſs Suſpicion, of his having been too favourable to the *Lacedæmonians*, upon a certain Occaſion, they nominated other Generals; ſo that he ſerved, in this Expedition, only as a private Man. The Love of his Country, and of the publick Good, extinguiſhed all Reſentment in the Heart of that great Man; and would not permit him, as is too common, to abandon its Service, for any Pique of Honour, or perſonal Diſcontent.

In the mean While, the Tyrant carry'd *Pelopidas* to *Pheræ*; and made a Shew of him to all the World, at firſt; imagining that ſuch a Treatment would humble his Pride, and abate his Courage. But *Pelopidas*, ſeeing the Inhabitants of *Pheræ* in great Conſternation, never ceaſed to comfort, and adviſe them not to deſpair; aſſuring them, that it would not be long before the Tyrant would be fully puniſh'd: Beſides, he cauſed him to be told, that it was as imprudent as unjuſt, to torture, and put to Death, every Day, ſo many innocent Citizens, who had never done him any Wrong; and to ſpare his Life, who, he well knew, would no ſooner be out of his Hands, than he would puniſh him as his Crimes deſerved. Hereupon, the Tyrant, aſtoniſh'd at his Greatneſs of Soul, ſent to ask him, why he took ſo much Pains for Death? *It is*, anſwer'd the illuſtrious Priſoner, *that thou mayeſt periſh the ſooner, for being ſtill mor deteſtable to the Gods and Men.*

From that Time the Tyrant gave Orders, that no-body ſhould ſee or ſpeak to him: But *Thebé* his Wife, the Daughter of *Jaſon*, who had alſo been Tyrant of *Pheræ*, having heard of the Fortitude and Courage of *Pelopidas*, from thoſe who guarded him, having a Curioſity to ſee and converſe with him, *Alexander* could not refuſe her his Permiſſion. He loved her tenderly, (if a Tyrant may be ſaid to love any one:) But notwithſtanding that Tenderneſs, he treated her with great Severity, and was in a perpetual Diſtruſt, even of her. He never went to her Apartment, without a Slave before him, with a naked Sword in his Hand; and ſending ſome of his Guard to ſearch every Coffer, for concealed Ponyards. Wretched Prince, cries *Cicero*, who could confide more in a Slave, and a *Barbarian*, than in his own Wife!

Thebé then, having ſuch a Deſire to ſee *Pelopidas*, went to the Priſon, and found him in a ſad Condition; being dreſs'd in a poor Habit, with his Hair and Beard neglected, and void of every Thing that might comfort him in his Diſtreſs. Not being able to refrain from Tears at ſuch a Sight, *Ah unfortunate* Pelopidas, ſaid ſhe, *how I lament your poor Wife!* *No*, Thebé, reply'd he,

it is yourſelf you ſhould lament; who can ſuffer ſuch a Monſter, as Alexander, *without being his Priſoner.* Theſe Words touch'd *Thebé* to the Quick; for it was with extreme Reluctance ſhe ſupported the Tyrant's Cruelty, Violence, and infamous Way of Living. From whence, going often to ſee *Pelopidas*, and frequently bewailing before him the Injuries ſhe ſuffer'd, ſhe daily conceived new Abhorrence for her Husband, whilſt Hatred, and the Deſire of Revenge, grew ſtrong in her Heart.

The *Theban* Generals, who had enter'd *Theſſaly*, did nothing there, and were obliged, by their Incapacity and ill Conduct, to abandon the Country. The Tyrant purſued them in their Retreat, harraſſed them ſhamefully, and kill'd Abundance of their Troops. The whole Army had been defeated, if the Soldiers had not obliged *Epaminondas*, who ſerved as a private Man amongſt them, to take upon him the Command. *Epaminondas*, at the Head of the Cavalry and light-arm'd Foot, poſted himſelf in the Rear-guard; where, ſometimes ſuſtaining the Enemy's Attacks, and ſometimes charging them in his Turn, he accompliſh'd the Retreat with Succeſs, and preſerved the *Bœotians*: The Generals, upon their Return, were each of them fin'd ten thouſand *Drachmata*, and *Epaminondas* ſubſtituted in their Place. As the publick Good was his ſole View, he overlook'd the injurious Treatment, and Kind of Affront which had been done him; and had a full Amends, from the Glory that attended ſo generous and diſintereſted a Conduct.

Some Days after, he march'd at the Head of the Army into *Theſſaly*; whither his Reputation had preceded him. It had ſpread already both Terror and Joy through the whole Country; Terror amongſt the Friends of the Tyrant, whom the very Name of *Epaminondas* diſmay'd; and Joy amongſt the People, from the Aſſurance of being ſpeedily deliver'd from the Yoke of the Tyranny, and the Tyrant puniſh'd for all his Crimes. But *Epaminondas*, preferring the Safety of *Pelopidas*, to his own Glory, inſtead of puſhing the War on vigorouſly, as he might have done, choſe rather to protract it; from the Apprehenſion that the Tyrant, if reduced to Deſpair, like a Wild-beaſt, would turn his whole Rage againſt his Priſoner. For he knew the Violence and Brutality of his Nature; which would hearken neither to Reaſon nor Juſtice; and that he took Delight in burying Men alive; that ſome he cover'd with the Skins of Bears and wild Boars; that his Dogs might tear them in Pieces, or that he might ſhoot them with Arrows: Theſe were his frequent Sports and Diverſions. In the Cities of *Melibœa* and *Scotuſa*, which were in Alliance with him, he called an Aſſembly of the Citizens; and cauſing them to be ſurrounded by his Guards, he order'd the Throats of all their Youth to be cut in his Preſence.

Hearing, one Day, a famous Actor perform a Part, in the *Troades* of *Euripides*, he ſuddenly went out of the Theatre; but, ſent to the Actor to tell him, not to be under any Apprehenſion upon that Account; for his leaving the Place was not from any Diſcontent in regard to him, but becauſe he was aſham'd to let the Citizens ſee him weep the Misfortunes of *Hecuba* and *Andromache*, who had cut ſo many of their Throats, without any Compaſſion.

Though he was little ſuſceptible of Pity, he was much ſo of Fear, at this Time: Diſmay'd at the ſudden Arrival of *Epaminondas*, and aw'd by his great Reputation, he made Haſte to diſpatch Perſons to him, with Apologies for his Conduct. *Epaminondas* could not ſuffer, that the *Thebans* ſhould make either Peace or Alliance with ſo wicked a Man: He only granted him a Truce for thirty Days, and after having got *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias* out of his Hands, he retired with his Troops.

Fear is not a Maſter, whoſe Leſſons make any deep and laſting Impreſſion upon the Mind of Man: The Tyrant of *Pheræ* ſoon return'd to his uſual Practices: He ruin'd ſeveral Cities of *Theſſaly*, and put Garriſons into thoſe of *Phthia*, *Achæa*, and *Magneſia*. Thoſe Cities ſent Deputies to *Thebes*, to demand a Body of Troops, praying that the Command of them might be given to *Pelopidas*; which was granted. He was upon the Point of ſetting out, when there happen'd a ſudden Eclipſe of the *Sun*, by which, the City of *Thebes* was darken'd at Noon-day: The Dread and Conſternation was general. *Pelopidas* knew very well that this Accident had nothing more than natural in it; but he did not think it proper for him to expoſe ſeven thouſand *Thebans* againſt their Will, nor to compel them to march in the Terror and Apprehenſion with which he perceived they were ſeized. He therefore went himſelf with the *Theſſalians* alone, and taking with him three hundred Horſe of ſuch *Thebans* and Strangers as would follow him, he departed, contrary to the Prohibition of the Soothſayers, and the Opinion of the moſt wiſe and capable.

He was perſonally animated againſt *Alexander*; in Reſentment of the Injuries he had received from him: What *Thebé* his Wife had ſaid, and he himſelf knew, of the general Diſcontent in Regard to the Tyrant, gave him Hopes of finding great Diviſions in his Court, and an univerſal Diſpoſition to Revolt. But his ſtrongeſt Motive was, the Beauty and Grandeur of the Action itſelf: For his ſole Deſire and Ambition was, to ſhew all *Greece*, that at the ſame Time the *Lacedæmonians* ſent Generals and Officers to *Dionyſius* the Tyrant; and the *Athenians*, on their Part, were in a Manner in the Pay of *Alexandsr*, to whom they had erected a Statue of Braſs, as to their Benefactor; the *Thebans* were the only People, that declared open War againſt Tyranny; and endeavour'd to exterminate, from among the *Greeks*, all unjuſt and violent Government.

After having aſſembled therefore, his Army at *Pharſalus*, he march'd againſt the Tyrant; who, being apprized that *Pelopidas* had but few *Thebans*, and knowing that his own Infantry was twice as ſtrong as that of the *Theſſalians*, advanced to meet him: Nevertheleſs, *Pelopidas*, on being told, that *Alexander* approach'd with a great Army, reply'd; *So much the better, we ſhall beat the greater Number.*

Near the Place, called *Cynocephalus*, there were very high and ſteep Hills, which lay in the Midſt of a Plain; and both Armies were in Motion to ſeize that Poſt with their Foot, when *Pelopidas* ordered his Cavalry to charge that of the Enemy. The Horſe of *Pelopidas* broke thoſe of the Tyrant, but whilſt they purſued them upon the Plain, *Alexander* appeared ſuddenly upon the Tops of the Hills, having outſtript the *Theſſalians*; and falling fiercely upon ſuch as endeavoured to force thoſe Heights

Heights and Fences, kill'd the foremoſt, and repuls'd the others, whom their Wounds obliged to give Way: *Pelopidas*, ſeeing this, recall'd his Horſe, and giving them Orders to attack the Enemy's Foot, he took his Buckler, and ran to thoſe, who fought upon the Hills.

He preſently made Way through his Infantry, and paſſing, in a Moment, from the Rear to the Front, he reviv'd his Soldiers Vigour and Courage; in ſuch a Manner, as made the Enemies believe themſelves attack'd by freſh Troops. They ſupported two or three Charges with great Reſolution: But, finding the Infantry of *Pelopidas* continually gain'd Ground, and his Cavalry return'd from the Purſuit to ſupport them, they began to give Way, and retir'd ſlowly, ſtill making Head, in their Retreat. *Pelopidas*, then, ſeeing the whole Army of the Enemy, from the Top of the Hills, which, though it was not yet actually put to Flight, began to break, and was in great Diſorder, ſtopp'd, for ſome Time, and look'd about every-where for *Alexander*.

Aſſoon as he perceiv'd him upon his Right Wing, rallying, and encouraging his mercenary Soldiers, he could no longer contain himſelf; but, fir'd with that View, and abandoning to his ſole Reſentment the Care of his Life, and the Conduct of the Battle, he got a great Way before his Battalions, and ran forwards with all his Force, calling upon, and defying, *Alexander*. The Tyrant made no Anſwer to his Defiance; but, not daring to wait his coming up, withdrew to hide himſelf amongſt his Guards: That Battalion ſtanding firm for ſome Time, *Pelopidas* broke the firſt Ranks, and kill'd moſt Part of the Guards upon the Spot. The Reſt continuing the Fight at a Diſtance, penetrated his Arms, at length, and darted their Javelins into his Breaſt. The *Theſſalians*, alarm'd at the Danger in which they ſaw him, made all the Haſte they could from the Tops of the Hills to his Aſſiſtance; but, he was fallen dead, when they arriv'd: However, the Infantry, and the *Theban* Horſe, returning to the Fight againſt the Enemy's main Body, put them to Flight, and purſued them a great Way; and the Plain was cover'd with dead Bodies; for, more than Three Thouſand of the Tyrant's Troops were kill'd.

This Action of *Pelopidas*, though it was evidently the Effect of a moſt extraordinary Valour, is inexcuſable, and has been generally condemn'd; becauſe there is no true Valour without Wiſdom and Prudence. The greateſt Courage is cool and ſedate: It ſpares itſelf where it ought; and expoſes itſelf when the Occaſion makes it neceſſary: A General ought to ſee every Thing, and have every Thing in his Thoughts: To be in a Condition to apply the proper Remedy on all Occaſions, he muſt not throw himſelf into the Danger of being cut off, and of cauſing the Loſs of the Army, by his Death.

Euripides, after having ſaid, in one of his Pieces, that it is moſt glorious for the General of an Army, to obtain the Victory, by taking Care of his own Life, adds; "If it be neceſſary for "him to die, it muſt be when he reſigns his "Life into the Hands of Virtue;" to ſignify, that only Virtue, not Paſſion, Anger, or Revenge, has a Right over the Life of a General; and the firſt Duty of Valour is to preſerve him who preſerves others.

It is in this Senſe, the Repartee of *Timotheus* is ſo juſt and eſtimable: When *Chares* ſhew'd the *Athenians* the Wounds he had receiv'd, whilſt he was their General, and his Shield pierced through with a Pike: "And for me (*ſaid* Timotheus) "when I beſieged *Samos*, I was much aſham'd to "ſee a Dart fall very near me, as having expos'd "myſelf, like a young Man, without Neceſſity; "and more than was conſiſtent for the General of "ſo great an Army." *Hannibal*, certainly, cannot be ſuſpected of Fear; and yet it has been obſerv'd, that, in the great Number of Battles he fought, he never receiv'd any Wound, except only at the Siege of *Saguntum*. It is, therefore, not without Reaſon, *Pelopidas* is reproach'd, with having ſacrific'd all his other Virtues to his Valour, by ſuch a Prodigality of his Life; and dying rather for himſelf than his Country.

Never was Captain more regretted than him: His Death changed the Victory ſo lately gain'd into Sadneſs: A mournful Silence, and univerſal Affliction, reign'd throughout the whole Army, as if it had been entirely defeated. When his Body was carry'd to *Thebes*, from every City by which it paſs'd, the People of all Ages, and Sexes, the Magiſtrates, and Prieſts, came to meet the Pier, and march in Proceſſion before it, carrying Crowns, Trophies, and Armour of Gold. The *Theſſalians*, who were, at the ſame Time, highly afflicted for his Death, and ſenſible of their Obligations to him, made it their Requeſt, they might be permitted to celebrate, at their ſole Expence, the Obſequies of a General, who had devoted himſelf for their Preſervation; and their Zeal could not be refus'd that honourable Privilege.

His Funeral was magnificent; eſpecially, in the ſincere Affliction of the *Thebans*, and *Theſſalians*: For (ſays *Plutarch*) the external Pomp of Mourning, and thoſe Marks of Sorrow, which may be impos'd by publick Authority upon the People, are not always certain Proofs of their real Sentiments. The Tears which flow in private as well as publick; the Regret expreſs'd equally by Great and Small; the Praiſes given by the general, and unanimous Voice, to a Perſon, who is no more, and from whom nothing farther is expected, are an Evidence not to be queſtion'd, and an Homage never paid but to Virtue. Such were the Obſequies of *Pelopidas*; and, in our Opinion, nothing more great and magnificent could be imagin'd.

Thebes was not contented with barely lamenting *Pelopidas*, but reſolv'd to revenge him: A ſmall Army of Seven Thouſand Foot, and Seven Hundred Horſe, were immediately ſent againſt *Alexander*: The Tyrant, who had not yet recover'd the Terror of his Defeat, was not in a Condition to defend himſelf: He was obliged to reſtore to the *Theſſalians* the Cities he had taken from them; to give the *Magneſians*, *Pythians*, and *Achæans*, their Liberty; to withdraw his Garriſons from their Country; and ſwear, he would always obey the *Thebans*, and march, at their Orders, againſt all their Enemies.

Such a Puniſhment was very gentle: Nor, ſays *Plutarch*, did it appear ſufficient to the Gods; or proportion'd to his Crimes; they had reſerv'd one for him worthy of a Tyrant. *Thebe*, his Wife, who ſaw, with Horror and Deteſtation, the Cruelty and Perfidy of her Husband, and had not forgot

the Leſſons, and Advice, which *Pelopidas* had given her, whilſt in Priſon; enter'd into a Conſpiracy with her three Brothers to kill him. The Tyrant's whole Palace was full of Guards, who kept Watch in the Night, but he did not confide in them; and, as his Life was, in ſome Sort, in their Hands, he fear'd them moſt. He lay in a high Chamber, to which the Aſcent was by a Ladder, drawn up after his Entrance: Near this Chamber a great Dog was chain'd to guard it; who was exceeding fierce, and knew no-body but his Maſter, *Thebé*, and the Slave who fed him.

The Time pitch'd upon for the Execution of the Plot being come, *Thebé* ſhut up her Brothers, during the Day-Time, in an Apartment near the Tyrant's Chamber: When he enter'd it at Night, as he had eaten and drank plentifully, he fell into a deep Sleep immediately; whereupon, *Thebé* went out immediately, and order'd the Slave to take away the Dog, that he might not diſturb her Husband's Repoſe; and, leſt the Ladder ſhould make a Noiſe, when her Brothers went up it, ſhe cover'd the Steps with Wool. All Things being thus prepar'd, ſhe made her Brothers aſcend, arm'd with Daggers; but, when they came to the Door, they were ſeiz'd with Terror, and durſt not advance any farther: Upon which, *Thebé*, quite out of her Wits, threaten'd to awake the Tyrant, if they did not proceed immediately, and would diſcover the Plot. Their Shame and Fear reanimated them: She made them enter, led them to the Bed, and held the Lamp herſelf, whilſt they kill'd him with repeated Wounds. The News of his Death was immediately ſpread in the City; and his dead Body was expos'd to all Manner of Outrages; being trampled under Foot by the People; and given for a Prey to the Dogs and Vultures; a juſt Reward for his violent Oppreſſions and deteſtable Cruelties.

In the mean While, the extraordinary Proſperity of *Thebes* was no ſmall Subject of Alarm to the neighbouring States. Every Power was, at that Time, in Motion in *Greece*. A new War had ſprung up between the *Arcadians* and the *Eleans*, which had occaſion'd another between the *Arcadians* themſelves. Thoſe of *Tegea* had call'd in the *Thebans* to their Aid; and thoſe of *Mantinea*, the *Spartans* and *Athenians*. There were, beſides, ſeveral other *Allies* on each Side. The former gave *Epaminondas* the Command of their Troops, who immediately enter'd *Arcadia*, and encamp'd at *Tegea*; with Deſign to attack the *Mantineans*, who had quitted their Alliance with *Thebes*, to attach themſelves to *Sparta*.

Being inform'd, however, that *Ageſilaus* had begun his March with his Army, and advanc'd towards *Mantinea*, he form'd an Enterprize, which, he believ'd, would immortalize his Name, and entirely reduce the Power of the Enemy. He left *Tegea*, in the Night, with his Army, unknown to the *Mantineans*, and march'd directly to *Sparta*, by a different Rout from that of *Ageſilaus*: He would, undoubtedly, have taken the City by Surprize, as it had neither Walls, Defence, nor Troops; but, happily for *Sparta*, a *Cretan* having made all poſſible Haſte, to apprize *Ageſilaus* of his Deſign, he immediately diſpatch'd one of his Horſe, to apprize the City of the Danger that threaten'd it, and arriv'd there ſoon after in Perſon.

He had ſcarce enter'd the Town, when the *Thebans* were ſeen paſſing the *Eurotas*, and advancing towards the City: *Epaminondas* perceiv'd his Deſign was diſcover'd, but thought it incumbent on him, not to retire without ſome Attempt: He, therefore, made his Troops advance; and making Uſe of Valour, inſtead of Stratagem, he attack'd the City at ſeveral Quarters, penetrated as far as the Market-Place, and ſeiz'd that Part of *Sparta*, which lay on the Side of the River. On the other Hand, *Ageſilaus* made Head every-where, and defended himſelf with much more Valour than could be expected from his Years: He ſaw well, it was not a Time then, as before, to ſpare himſelf, and act only upon the Defenſive; but, that he had Need of all his Courage and Daring, and fight with all the Vigour of Deſpair; Means, which he had never us'd, nor plac'd his Confidence in before; but which he employ'd then with great Succeſs againſt the Danger he was in: For, by this happy Deſpair, and prudent Audacity, he, in a Manner, ſnatch'd the City out of the Hands of *Epaminondas*: His Son, *Archidamus* alſo, at the Head of the *Spartan* Youth, behav'd with incredible Valour, wherever the Danger was greateſt; and, with his ſmall Troop, ſtopp'd the Enemy, and made Head againſt them on all Sides.

But, a young *Spartan*, nam'd *Iſadas*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf above all in this Action: He was very handſome in the Face; perfectly well ſhap'd; of an advantagious Stature; and in the Flower of his Youth: He had neither Armour, nor Cloaths on, having been anointing himſelf with Oil (as was cuſtomary with the *Spartans*, to give a Suppleneſs to his Limbs, which ſhone with Oil) and held a Spear in one Hand, and a Sword in the other. In this Condition, he quitted his Houſe, with the utmoſt Eagerneſs; and breaking through the Preſs of the *Spartans* who fought, he threw himſelf upon the Enemy, wounded them mortally at every Stroke, and laid all at his Feet, who oppos'd him, without receiving any Hurt himſelf; whether the Enemy were diſmay'd at ſo aſtoniſhing a Sight, or (ſays *Plutarch*) the Gods took Pleaſure in preſerving him, upon Account of his extraordinary Valour. It is ſaid, the *Ephori* decreed him a Crown, after the Battle, in Honour of his Exploits; but, afterwards, fin'd him a Thouſand *Drachma's*, for having expos'd himſelf to ſo great Danger without Arms.

Epaminondas having miſs'd his Aim, and foreſeeing, the *Arcadians* would certainly haſten to the Relief of *Sparta*; and, not being willing to have them, with all the *Lacedæmonian* Forces, upon his Hands at the ſame Time, return'd with Expedition to *Tegea*: The *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, with their *Allies*, follow'd him cloſe in the Rear. At the ſame Time, that General, conſidering, his Command was upon the Point of expiring; and that, if he did not come to a Battle, his Reputation might ſuffer extreamly; and, immediately after his Retreat, the Enemy would fall upon the *Theban* Allies, and entirely ruin them; he gave Orders to his Troops, to hold themſelves in Readineſs for Battle.

The *Greeks* had never fought amongſt themſelves with more numerous Armies. The *Lacedæmonians* conſiſted of Twenty Thouſand Foot, and Two Thouſand Horſe; the *Thebans*, of Thirty Thouſand Foot, and Three Thouſand Horſe. On the Right Wing of the former, the *Mantineans*, *Ar-*

Arcadians, and *Lacedæmonians*, were poſted in one Line; the *Eleans*, and *Achæans*, who were the weakeſt of their Troops, had the Centre; and the *Athenians* alone compos'd the Left Wing. In the other Army, the *Thebans* and *Arcadians* were on the Left, the *Argives* on the Right, and the other *Allies* in the Centre: The Cavalry on each Side were diſpos'd in the Wings.

The *Theban* General march'd in the ſame Order of Battle, in which he intended to fight; that he might not be obliged, when he came up with the Enemy, to loſe that Time, in the Diſpoſition of his Army, which could not be too well husbanded in the Conduct of great Enterprizes. He did not march, however, directly, and with his Front to the Enemy; but in a Column, upon the Hills, with his Left Wing foremoſt, as if he did not intend to fight that Day; and when he was over-againſt them, at about a Quarter of a League's Diſtance, he made his Troops halt, and lay down their Arms, as if he deſign'd to encamp there. The Enemy were deceiv'd by this Stand; and reckoning no longer upon a Battle, they quitted their Arms; diſpers'd themſelves about the Camp, and ſuffer'd that Ardor to extinguiſh, which the near Approach of a Battle is wont to kindle in the Hearts of Soldiers.

Hereupon, *Epaminondas* ſuddenly wheeling his Troops to the Right, changing his Column into a Line, and drawing out the choice Troops, whom he had expreſsly poſted, in Front, upon his March, made them double their Files, upon the Front of his Left Wing, to add to their Strength, and to put them into a Condition to attack the *Lacedæmonian Phalanx*, which, by the Motion he had made, was directly oppoſite to them. At the ſame Time, he order'd the Centre, and Right Wing of his Army, to move very ſlow, and halt, before they came up with the Enemy; that he might not hazard the Event of the Battle upon Troops, of whom he had no great Opinion.

He expected to decide the Victory, by that Body of choſen Troops, which he commanded in Perſon; and which he had form'd in a Column, to attack the Enemy. He made no Doubt, but, if he could penetrate the *Lacedæmonian Phalanx*, in which the Enemy's principal Force conſiſted, he ſhould not find it difficult to rout the Reſt of their Army, by charging their Right and Left with his victorious Troops.

But, that he might prevent the *Athenians*, in the Left Wing, from coming to the Support of their Right, againſt his intended Attack, he made a Detachment of his Horſe and Foot advance out of the Line; and poſted them upon the Riſing Ground, in a Readineſs to flank the *Athenians*; as well to cover his Right, as to alarm them, and give them Reaſon to apprehend being taken in Flank and Rear themſelves, if they advanc'd to ſuſtain their Right.

After having diſpos'd his whole Army, in this Manner, he mov'd on to charge the Enemy with the whole Weight of his Column: They were ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, when they ſaw *Epaminondas* advance towards them in this Order; and reſum'd their Arms, bridled their Horſes, and made all the Haſte they could to their Ranks.

Whilſt *Epaminondas* march'd thus againſt the Enemy, the Cavalry, that cover'd his Flank on the Left, the beſt, at that Time, in *Greece*, being entirely compos'd of *Thebans* and *Theſſalians*, had Orders to attack the Enemy's Horſe: The *Theban* General, who omitted nothing, that might be for his Advantage, had artfully beſtow'd Bow-Men, Slingers, and Dart-Men, in the Intervals of his Horſe; to begin the Diſorder of the Enemy's Cavalry, by a previous Diſcharge of a Shower of Arrows, Stones, and Javelins, upon them. The other Army had neglected to take the ſame Precaution; and committed another Fault, not leſs conſiderable, in giving as much Depth to the Squadrons, as if they had been a *Phalanx*. By this Means, their Horſe were incapable of ſupporting long, the Charge of the *Thebans*: After having made ſeveral ineffectual Attacks with great Loſs, they were obliged to retire behind their Infantry.

In the mean Time, *Epaminondas*, with his Body of Foot, had charged the *Lacedæmonian Phalanx*. The Troops, on both Sides, fought with incredible Ardour; the *Thebans*, as well as *Lacedæmonians*, being reſolv'd to periſh, rather than yield the Glory of the Day to their Rivals. They began, by fighting with the Spear, and thoſe firſt Arms being ſoon broke, in the Fury of the Combat, they charged each other Sword in Hand: The Reſiſtance was equally obſtinate, and the Slaughter of both Parties very great: The Troops deſpiſing Danger, and deſiring only to diſtinguiſh themſelves by the Greatneſs of their Actions, choſe rather to die in their Ranks, than loſe a Step of their Ground.

The furious Slaughter, on both Sides, having continued a vaſt While, without Victory inclining to either; *Epaminondas*, to force it to declare for him, thought it his Duty to make an extraordinary Effort in Perſon, without regarding the Danger of his own Life: He form'd, therefore, a Troop of the braveſt, and moſt determin'd about him, and putting himſelf at the Head of them, made a vigorous Charge upon the Enemy, where the Battle was moſt warm; and wounded the General of the *Lacedæmonians*, with the firſt Javelin he threw: His Troop, by his Example, having wounded, or kill'd all who ſtood in their Way, broke, and penetrated the *Phalanx*; whilſt the *Lacedæmonians*, diſmay'd by the Preſence of *Epaminondas*, and overpower'd by the Weight of that intrepid Party, were forced to give Ground. The Groſs of the *Theban* Troops, animated by their General's Example and Succeſs, drove back the Enemy upon his Right and Left, and made a great Slaughter of them: But, ſome of the *Spartans* perceiving *Epaminondas* gave Way too much to his Ardour, ſuddenly rally'd, and returning to the Fight, charged him with a Shower of Javelins: Whilſt he kept off Part of thoſe Darts, ſhunning of ſome, and removing others, and was fighting with the moſt heroick Valour, to aſſure the Victory to his Army, a *Spartan*, nam'd *Callicrates*, gave him a mortal Wound with a Javelin, in the Breaſt, through his Armour; and the Wood of the Javelin being broken off, and the Iron-Head continuing in the Wound, the Torment was inſupportable, and he fell immediately. The Battle then, began around him with new Fury; one Side uſing their beſt Endeavours to take him alive, and the other to ſave him. The *Thebans* gain'd their Point, at laſt, and carry'd him off, after having put the Enemy to Flight: They did not purſue them far, however,

ever; but returning immediately, contented themſelves with remaining Maſters of the Field, and of the Dead, without making any Advantage of their Victory, or undertaking any Thing farther, as if they had waited the Orders of their General. The Cavalry, likewiſe, diſmay'd by the Accident of *Epaminondas*, whom they believ'd to be dead; and ſeeming rather vanquiſh'd than victorious, neglected to purſue their Succeſs in the ſame Manner, and return'd to their former Poſt.

Whilſt this paſs'd on the Left Wing of the *Thebans*, the *Athenian* Horſe attack'd their Cavalry on the Right: But, as the latter, beſides the Superiority of Number, had the Advantage of being ſeconded by the light Infantry poſted in their Intervals, they charged the *Athenians* fiercely, and having gall'd them extremely with their Darts, they were broken, and obliged to fly. After having diſpers'd, and repuls'd them, in this Manner, inſtead of purſuing them, they thought proper to turn their Arms againſt the *Athenian* Foot, which they took in Flank, put into Diſorder, and puſh'd with great Vigour. Juſt as they were ready to turn Tail, the General of the *Elean* Cavalry, who commanded a Body of Reſerve, ſeeing the Danger of that *Phalanx*, came upon the Spur to its Relief; and charging the *Theban* Horſe, who expected nothing ſo little, forced them to retreat, and regain'd from them their Advantage. At the ſame Time, the *Athenian* Cavalry, which had been routed at firſt, finding they were not purſued, rally'd themſelves; and, inſtead of going to the Aſſiſtance of their Foot, who were roughly handled, attack'd the Detachment poſted by the *Thebans*, upon the Heights without the Line, and put it to the Sword.

After theſe different Motions, and this Alternative of Loſſes and Advantages, the Troops on both Sides ſtood ſtill, and reſted upon their Arms; and the Trumpets of the two Armies, as if by Conſent, ſounded a Retreat at the ſame Time. Each Party pretended to the Victory, and erected a Trophy; the *Thebans*, becauſe they had defeated the Right Wing, and remain'd Maſters of the Field of Battle; the *Athenians*, becauſe they had cut the Detachment in Pieces. And from this Point of Honour, both Sides refus'd, at firſt, to ask Leave to bury their Dead; which, among the Antients, was confeſſing their Defeat. The *Lacedæmonians*, however, ſent firſt to demand that Permiſſion; after which, the Reſt had no Thoughts but of paying the laſt Duties to the Slain.

Such was the Event of the famous Battle of *Mantinea*: *Xenophon*, in his Relation of it, recommends the Diſpoſition of the *Theban* Troops, and their Order of Battle, to the Reader's Attention; which he deſcribes, as a Man of Knowledge, and Experience in the Art of War. And *Monſieur Vollard*, who, juſtly, looks upon *Epaminondas*, as one of the greateſt Generals *Greece* ever produc'd, in his Deſcription of the ſame Battle, ventures to call it the Maſter Piece of that great Captain.

Epaminondas, having been carry'd into the Camp, the Surgeons, after having examin'd the Wound, declar'd, he would expire, aſſoon as the Head of the Dart was drawn out. Thoſe Words caus'd the utmoſt Sorrow and Affliction, in all who were preſent; being inconſolable, ſeeing ſo great a Man about to die, and without Iſſue. As for himſelf, the only Concern he expreſs'd, was about his Arms, and the Succeſs of the Battle: When they ſhew'd him his Shield, and aſſur'd him, the *Thebans* had gain'd the Victory; turning towards his Friends, with a calm and ſerene Air; "Do not regard (*ſaid he*) this Day, as the End "of my Life, but as the Beginning of my Happineſs, and the Completion of my Glory: I "leave *Thebes* triumphant, proud *Sparta* humbled, and *Greece* deliver'd from the Yoke of Servitude. For the Reſt, I do not reckon I die "without Iſſue; *Leuctra* and *Mantinea* are two "illuſtrious Daughters, who will not fail to keep "my Name alive, and tranſmit it to Poſterity." Having ſpoken to this Effect, he drew the Head of the Javelin out of his Wound, and dy'd.

It may be truly ſaid, the *Theban* Power expir'd with this Great Man; whom *Cicero* ſeems to rank above all the illuſtrious Men *Greece* ever produc'd. *Juſtin* is of the ſame Opinion, when he ſays, "As a Dart is no longer in a Condition to wound, "when the Point of it is blunt; ſo *Thebes*, after "having loſt its General, was no longer formidable to its Enemies; and its Power ſeem'd to "have loſt its Edge, and annihilated, by the "Death of *Epaminondas*. Before him, that City "was not diſtinguiſh'd by any memorable Action; and afterwards, *it was not famous for its "Virtues, but Misfortunes*, till it ſunk into its "original Obſcurity: So it ſaw its Glory take "Birth, and expire with this Great Man.

"It has been donbted, whether he was a more "excellent Captain, or Man: He ſought not "Power for himſelf, but for his Country; and "and was ſo perfectly void of Self-Intereſt, that, "at his Death, he was not worth the Expences of "his Funeral. Truly a Philoſopher, and poor by "Choice, he deſpis'd Riches, without affecting any "Reputation from that Contempt." And, if *Juſtin* may be believ'd, "he coveted Glory, as "little as he did Money. It was always againſt "his Will Commands were conferr'd upon him; "and he behav'd himſelf, in them, in ſuch a "Manner, as did more Honour to the Dignities "given him, than he receiv'd from them."

Though poor himſelf, and without any Eſtate, his very Poverty, by attracting the Eſteem and Confidence of the Rich, gave him the Opportunity of doing Good to others. One of his Friends, being in great Neceſſity, *Epaminondas* ſent him to a very rich Citizen, with Orders, to ask him for a Thouſand Crowns, in his Name; and that rich Man coming to his Houſe, to know his Motives, for directing his Friend to him, on ſuch an Errand; *Why* (reply'd *Epaminondas*) *it is becauſe this honeſt Man is in Want, and you are rich.*

He had cultivated theſe generous, and noble Sentiments in himſelf, by the Study of polite Learning, and Philoſophy; which he had made his uſual Employment, and ſole Delight, from his earlieſt Infancy; ſo that it was ſurprizing, and a Queſtion frequently ask'd, how, and at what Time, it was poſſible for a Man, always buſy amongſt Books, to attain, or rather ſeize, the Knowledge of the Art military in ſo great a Degree of Perfection? Fond of Leiſure, which he devoted to the Study of Philoſophy, his darling Paſſion, he ſhunn'd publick Employments; and made no Intereſt, but to exclude himſelf from them: His Moderation conceal'd him ſo well, that he liv'd obſcure, and almoſt

almoſt unknown: His Merit, however, diſcover'd him. He was taken from his Solitude, by Force, to be placed at the Head of Armies; and he ſhew'd that Philoſophy, though generally in Contempt with thoſe who aſpire to the Glory of Arms, is admirably uſeful in forming Heroes. For beſides, that it is a great Step towards conquering the Enemy, to know how to conquer one's ſelf, in this School anciently were taught rhe great Maxims of true Policy, the Rules of every Duty; the Motives for a true Diſcharge of them; what we owe our Country; the right Uſe of Authority; wherein true Courage conſiſts; in a Word, the Qualities neceſſary in a good Citizen, a Stateſman, and a great Captain.

To return to *Epaminondas*; he had all the Ornaments of the Mind; he was Maſter of the Talent of ſpeaking in Perfection, and was well verſed in the moſt ſublime Sciences. But a modeſt Reſerve threw a Veil over all thoſe excellent Qualities, which ſtill augmented their Value; of which, he knew not what it was to be oſtentatious. *Spintharus*, in giving his Character, ſaid, *that he never had met with a Man, who knew more, and ſpoke leſs.*

It may be ſaid, therefore, of *Epaminondas*, that he falſify'd the Proverb, which treated the *Bœotians* as a groſs and ſtupid People. This was a common Characteriſtick of them, and was imputed to the groſs Air of the Country; as the *Athenian* Delicacy of Taſte, was attributed to the Subtlety of the Air they breathed. *Horace* ſays, that to judge of *Alexander* from his bade Taſte of Poetry, one would ſwear him a true *Bœotian*.

Bœotum *in craſſo jurares aere natum.*
Epiſt. i. L. 2.
In thick *Bœotian* Air you'd ſwear him born.

When *Alcibiades* was reproached with his having little Inclination for Muſick, he thought fit to make this his Excuſe; *It is for* Thebans *to ſing as they do, who know not how to ſpeak.* *Pindar*, and *Plutarch*, who have very little of the Soil in them, and who are Proofs that Genius is of all Nations, do themſelves condemn the Stupidity of their Countrymen. *Epaminondas* did Honour to his Country; not only by the Greatneſs of his military Exploits, but by that Sort of Merit, which is the Reſult of Delicacy, of Wit, and the Study of Learning.

We ſhall conclude his Portrait and Character with a Circumſtance, that no way gives Place to all his other Excellencies; and which may, in one Reſpect, be preferred to them, as it expreſſed a good Heart, and a tender and ſenſible Spirit; Qualities, very rare amongſt the Great, but infinitely more eſtimable than all thoſe ſplendid Attributes, which the Vulgar of Mankind commonly gaze on with Admiration, and ſeem almoſt the only Objects, that are worthy either of being imitated or envied. The Victory at *Leuctra* had drawn the Eyes, and Admiration, of all the neighbouring People upon *Epaminondas*, who was look'd upon, as the Support and Re-eſtabliſher of *Thebes*; as the triumphant Conqueror of *Sparta*; as the Reſtorer of the *Grecian* Liberties; in a Word, as the greateſt Man, and the moſt excellent Captain that ever was in the World. In the Midſt of this univerſal Applauſe, ſo likely to make the General of an Army, forget the Man for the glorious Victor, little ſenſible to ſo affecting, and ſo deſerved a Renown, *My Joy*, ſaid he, *ariſes from my Senſe of That, which the News of my Victory will give my Father, and my Mother.*

Nothing in Hiſtory ſeems ſo valuable to us as ſuch Sentiments, which do Honour to human Nature; and proceed from a Heart, which neither falſe Glory, nor falſe Greatneſs, have corrupted. We confeſs it is with Grief, we ſee theſe noble Sentiments daily expire amongſt us; eſpecially in Perſons, whoſe Birth and Rank raiſe them above others; but who, too frequently, are neither good Fathers, good Sons, good Husbands, nor good Friends; and who would think themſelves leſſen'd, ſhould they expreſs, for a Father, and Mother, the tender Regard, of which we have here ſo fine an Example from a *Pagan*.

'Till the Time of *Epaminondas*, two Cities had been ſeen, to exerciſe, alternately, a kind of Empire over all *Greece*: The Juſtice and Moderation of *Sparta* had, at firſt, acquired a diſtinguiſh'd Preheminence; which the Pride and Haughtineſs of its Generals, and eſpecially of *Pauſanias*, ſoon loſt. The *Athenians*, till the *Peloponneſian* War, held the firſt Rank, but in a Manner, ſcarce diſcernible in any other Reſpect, than their Care in acquitting themſelves worthily, and in giving their Inferiors juſt Reaſon to believe themſelves their Equals. They judged at that Time, and with great Propriety, that the true Method of commanding, and of continuing their Power, was to evidence their Superiority only by Services and Benefactions. Thoſe Times, ſo glorious for *Athens*, were of about forty-five Years Duration; and they retain'd a Part of that Preheminence during the twenty-ſeven Years of the *Peloponneſian* War, which make in all ſeventy-two, or ſeventy-three Years, which *Demoſthenes* allows to the Duration of their Empire: But for this latter Space of Time, the *Greeks*, offended with the Haughtineſs of *Athens*, received no Laws from that City without Reluctance. Hence the *Lacedæmonians* became again the Arbiters of *Greece*; and continued ſo, from the Time *Lyſander* made himſelf Maſter of *Athens*, till the firſt War undertaken by the *Athenians*, after their Reeſtabliſhment by *Conon*, to free themſelves, and the reſt of the *Greeks*, from the Tyranny of *Sparta*, which was now grown more inſolent than ever. At length, *Thebes* diſputed the Supremacy, and, by the exalted Merit of a ſingle Man, ſaw itſelf at the Head of all *Greece*. But that glorious Condition was of no long Continuance; and the Death of *Epaminondas*, as we have already obſerved, plunged it again into the Obſcurity in which he found it.

Demoſthenes obſerves, in the Paſſage above cited, that the Preheminence granted voluntarily either to *Sparta* or *Athens*, was a Preheminence of Honour, not of Dominion; and that the Intent of *Greece* was, to preſerve a Kind of Equality and Independance in the other Cities. Hence, ſays he, when the governing City attempted to aſcribe to itſelf what did not belong to it, and aimed at any Innovations, contrary to the Rules of Juſtice, and eſtabliſh'd Cuſtoms, all the *Greeks* thought themſelves obliged to have Recourſe to Arms, and without any Motive of perſonal Diſcontent, to eſpouſe with Ardor, the Cauſe of the Injured.

We ſhall add here another very judicious Reflection from *Polybius:* He attributes the wiſe Conduct of the *Athenians*, in the Times we ſpeak of, to the Ability of the Captains, who were then at the Head of their Affairs; and he makes uſe of a Compariſon, which explains, admirably, the Character of that People. "A Veſſel without a "Maſter, ſays he, is expoſed to great Dangers, "when every one inſiſts upon its beeing ſteer'd "according to his Opinion, and will comply with "no other Meaſures. If then a fierce Storm at-"tacks it, the common Danger reconciles and "unites them, they abandon themſelves to the "Pilot's Art; and, all the Rowers doing their "Duty, the Ship is ſaved, and in a State of Se-"curity. But if, when the Tempeſt ceaſes, and "the Weather grows calm again, the Diſcord of "the Mariners revives; if they will hearken no "longer to the Pilot, and ſome are for continuing "their Voyage, whilſt others reſolve to ſtop in "the Midſt of the Courſe; if, on one Side, they "looſe their Sails, and furl them on the other; it "often hapens, that after having eſcaped the moſt "violent Storms, they are ſhipwreck'd in the "Port itſelf." This, ſays *Polybius*, is a natural Image of the *Athenian* Republick. As long as they ſuffer'd themſelves to be conducted by the wiſe Counſels of an *Ariſtides*, a *Themiſtocles*, a *Pericles*, they came off victorious from the greateſt Dangers. But Proſperity blinded and ruined them; and following no longer any Thing but Caprice, and being become too inſolent to be adviſed, or governed, they plung'd themſelves into the greateſt Misfortunes.

CHAP. VIII.

Death of Evagoras, *King of* Salamis; *His Son* Nicocles *ſucceeds him*; *His admirable Character*; Artaxerxes *undertakes the Reduction of* Egypt; Iphicrates, *the* Athenian, *is appointed General of the Troops of that Republick, in the Service of the* Perſians; *The Enterprize miſcarries, through the ill Conduct of* Pharnabaſus, *the* Perſian *General*; *The* Spartans *ſend* Ageſilaus *to the Aſſiſtance of* Tachos, *who had aſcended the* Egyptian *Throne, and refuſed to ſubmit to the* Perſian *Yoke*; *The Actions of* Ageſilaus *in* Egypt; *His Death*; *Moſt of the* Perſian *Provinces throw off their Obedience to* Artaxerxes; *Great Troubles at the Court of that Prince about his Succeſſor*; *His Death*; Ochus *ſucceeds*; *His Cruelties*; *Divers Nations revolt*; *War of the* Allies *with the* Athenians; Demoſthenes *makes his firſt Appearance in Publick*; *He encourages the* Athenians, *who are alarm'd by the great Preparations of the* Perſians; *Adviſes them to aſſiſt the* Megalopolitans; *and alſo the* Rhodians, *who had revolted from them, and were afterwards enſlaved by* Mauſolus, *and* Artemiſa.

THE third Year of the CI. *Olympiad*, ſoon ſoon after the *Thebans* had deſtroy'd *Plataæ* and *Theſpiæ*, as has been obſerved before, *Evagoras*, King of *Salamis*, in the Iſle of *Cyprus*, of whom, much has been ſaid before, was aſſaſſinated by one of his Eunuchs. His Son *Nicocles* ſucceeded him. He had a fine Model before him, in the Perſon of his Father; but he ſeem'd to make it a Duty not to copy after him, and to think it a Diſgrace to purſue his Meaſures. When he took Poſſeſſion of the Throne, he found the publick Treaſures entirely exhauſted, by the great Expences his Father had been obliged to make, in the long War between him and the King of *Perſia*. He knew that the Generality of Princes, upon like Occaſions, thought every Means legitimate, for the Re-eſtabliſhment of their Affairs; but for him, he acted upon different Principles. In his Reign there was no Talk of Baniſhment, Taxes, and Confiſcation of Eſtates: The publick Felicity was his ſole Object, and Juſtice his favourite Virtue. He diſcharged the Debts of the State gradually, without cruſhing the People with exceſſive Impoſts; but by retrenching all unneceſſary Expences, and adminiſtring his Revenues with a wiſe Oeconomy. "I am aſſured, ſaid he, that "no Citizen can complain that I have done him "the leaſt Wrong; and I have the Satisfaction to "know, that I have enriched many of them, with "an unſparing Hand." He believed this Kind of Vanity, if it be Vanity, might be admitted in a Prince, and that it was glorious for him to have it in his Power, to make his Subjects ſuch a Defiance.

He piqued himſelf alſo in Particular upon another Virtue, which is the more admirable in Princes, as they are rarely known to have it; we mean Temperance. It is moſt amiable, but very difficult, in an Age, and a Fortune, to which every Thing is lawful, and wherein Pleaſure, arm'd with all her Arts and Attractions, is continually lying in Ambuſh for a young Prince, and preventing his Deſires, to make a long Reſiſtance againſt the Violence and Inſinuation of her ſoft Aſſaults. *Nicocles* gloried in having never known any Woman beſides his Wife, during his Reign;

and was amazed, that all other Contracts of civil Society ſhould be treated with due Regard, whilſt that of Marriage, the moſt ſacred, and inviolable of Obligations, was broke through with Impunity; and that Men ſhould not bluſh to commit an Infidelity, in Reſpect to their Wives, which, ſhould their Wives be guilty of, it would throw them into the utmoſt Anguiſh and Deſpair.

What we have ſaid of the Juſtice and Temperance of *Nicocles*, *Iſocrates* puts into that Prince's own Mouth; and as it is not probable that he would make him ſpeak in ſuch a Manner, if his Conduct had not agreed with ſuch Sentiments. It is a Diſcourſe, ſuppoſed to be addreſſed by that King to his People, wherein he deſcribes to them the Duties of Subjects to their Princes; Love, Reſpect, Obedience, Fidelity, and Devotion to his Service; and to engage them more effectually to the Diſcharge of thoſe Duties, he vouchſafes to give them an Account of his own Conduct and Sentiments.

In another Diſcourſe, which precedes this, *Iſocrates* explains to *Nicocles*, all the Duties of the Sovereignty, and makes excellent Reflections upon that Subject, of which we ſhall repeat here only a very ſmall Part. He begins by telling him, that the Virtue of private Perſons is much better ſupported than his own, by the Mediocrity of their Condition, by the Employment and Cares inſeparable from it, by the Misfortunes to which they are frequently expoſed, by their Diſtance from Pleaſures and Luxury; and particularly, by the Liberty which their Friends and Relations have of giving them Advice; whereas, the Generality of Princes have none of theſe Advantages. He adds, that a King, who would make himſelf capable of governing well, ought to avoid an idle and inactive Life, ſhould ſet apart a proper Time for Buſineſs and publick Affairs, ſhould form his Council out of the moſt able and experienced Perſons in his Kingdom; ſhould endeavour to make himſelf as much ſuperior to others, by his Merit and Wiſdom, as he is by his Dignity, and eſpecially acquire the Love of his Subjects; and for that Purpoſe love them ſincerely, and look upon himſelf as their common Father. "Perſiſt, ſaid he, "in the Religion you have received from your "Fore-fathers; but be aſſured, that the moſt "grateful Adoration and Sacrifice that you can "offer to the *Divinity*, is that of the Heart, in "rendering yourſelf good and juſt. Shew, upon "all Occaſions, ſo high a Regard for Truth, that "a ſingle Word from you, may be more confided "in than the Oath of others. Be a Warrior by "your Expertneſs in the Trade of Arms, and by "ſuch a warlike Proviſion, as may intimidate "your Enemies; but let your Inclinations be pa"cifick, and be rigidly exact, in never pretend"ing to, or undertaking any Thing unjuſtly. "The only certain Proof that you have reigned "well, will be the Power of bearing this Teſti"mony to yourſelf, that your People are be"come both more happy, and more wiſe, under "your Government."

What ſeems to us moſt remarkable in this Diſcourſe, is, that the Advice which *Iſocrates* gives the King, is neither attended with Praiſes, nor with thoſe ſtudied Reſervations and refined Turns, without which, fearful and modeſt Truth dares not venture to approach the Throne. This is moſt worthy of Applauſe, and more for the Praiſe of the Prince, than the Writer. *Nicocles*, far from being offended at theſe Counſels, received them with Joy; and, to expreſs his Acknowledgment to *Iſocrates*, made him a Preſent of twenty Talents, that is, twenty thouſand Crowns.

Artaxerxes, after having given his People a Relaxation of ſeveral Years, had form'd the Deſign of reducing *Egypt*, which had ſhaken off the *Perſian* Yoke long before, and made great Preparations of War for that Purpoſe. *Achoris*, who then reign'd in *Egypt*, foreſeeing the Storm, raiſed Abundance of Troops of his own Subjects, and took into his Pay a great Body of *Grecks*, and other auxiliary Soldiers, of whom *Chabrias* had the Command; but he had accepted that Office, without the Authority of the Republick.

Hereupon, *Pharnabaſus*, who was to command in this War, ſent to *Athens*, to complain that *Chabrias* had engaged himſelf to ſerve againſt his Maſter, and threaten'd the Republick with the King's Reſentment, if he was not immediately recalled. He demanded, at the ſame Time, *Iphicrates*, another *Athenian*, who was look'd upon, as one of the moſt excellent Captains of his Time, to give him the Command of the Body of *Greek* Troops, in the Service of his Maſter. The *Athenians*, who had a great Intereſt in the Continuance of the King's Friendſhip, recall'd *Chabrias*, and order'd him, upon Pain of Death, to repair to *Athens* by a certain Day; and *Iphicrates* was ſent to the *Perſian* Army.

The Preparations of the *Perſians* went on ſo ſlowly, that two whole Years elapſed before they enter'd upon Action. *Achoris*, King of *Egypt*, died in that Time, and was ſucceeded by *Pſammuthis*, who reigned but a Year. *Nephrerite* was the next, and four Months after *Nectanebus*, who reigned ten or twelve Years.

At length, every Thing being in a Readineſs for the Invaſion of *Egypt*, a Camp was form'd at *Acon*, (ſince called *Ptolemais*) in *Paleſtine*, where was the general Rendezvous. In a Review there, the Army was found to conſiſt of Two hundred thouſand *Perſians*, under the Command of *Pharnabaſus*, and Twenty thouſand *Greeks* under *Iphicrates*. The Forces at Sea were in Proportion to thoſe at Land; their Fleet conſiſting of three hundred Galleys, beſides two hundred Veſſels of thirty Oars, and a prodigious Number of Barks to tranſport the neceſſary Proviſions for the Fleet and Army.

The Army and Fleet began to move at the ſame Time; and, that they might act in Concert, they kept together as much as poſſible. The War was to open with the Siege of *Peluſium*; but ſo much Time had been given the *Egyptians*, that *Nectanebus* had render'd the Approach to it impracticable both by Sea and Land. The Fleet therefore, inſtead of making a Deſcent, as had been projected, ſail'd forwards, and enter'd that Mouth of the *Nile*, call'd *Mendeſium*. The *Nile*, at that Time, empty'd itſelf into the Sea by ſeven different Channels, of which only two remain at this Day, call'd *Damietta* and *Roſetta*; and at each of thoſe Mouths, there was a Fort, with a good Garriſon to defend the Entrance. The *Mendeſium* not being ſo well fortify'd as that of *Peluſium*, where the Enemy was expected to land, the Deſcent was made with no great Difficulty. The Fort was carry'd Sword in Hand,

Hand, and no Quarter given to thoſe who were found in it.

After this ſingle Action, *Iphicrates* thought it adviſable, to reimbark upon the *Nile*, without any Loſs of Time, and attack *Memphis*, the Capital of *Egypt*. If that Opinion had been follow'd, before the *Egyptians* had recover'd the Panick, into which ſo formidable an Invaſion, and the Blow already receiv'd, had thrown them, they had found the Capital without any Defence, it had, inevitably, fallen into their Hands, and all *Egypt* had been re-conquer'd: But the Groſs of the Army not being yet arriv'd, *Pharnabaſus* believ'd it neceſſary to wait its coming up, and would undertake nothing, till he had re-aſſembled all his Troops; under Pretence, they would then be invincible, and nothing capable of withſtanding them.

Iphicrates, who knew, in Affairs of War eſpecially, there are certain favourable and deciſive Moments, abſolutely proper to ſeize, judg'd quite differently; and in Deſpair, to ſee an Opportunity ſuffer'd to eſcape, which might never be retriev'd, he made preſſing Inſtances for Permiſſion to go, at leaſt, with the Twenty Thouſand Men under his Command. *Pharnabaſus* refus'd to comply with that Demand, from an abject Jealouſy, apprehending, if the Enterprize ſucceeded, the whole Glory of the War would redound to *Iphicrates*. This Delay gave the *Egyptians* Time to look about them: They drew all their Troops together into a Body, put a good Garriſon into *Memphis*, and with the Reſt of their Army, kept the Field, and harraſs'd the *Perſians*, in ſuch a Manner, as prevented their advancing farther into the Country. After which came on the Inundation of the *Nile*, which laying the whole Country under Water, the *Perſians* were oblig'd to return into *Phœnicia*, having firſt loſt ineffectually the beſt Part of their Troops.

Thus this Expedition, which had coſt immenſe Sums, and for which the Preparations alone had given ſo much Difficulty for upwards of two Years, entirely miſcarry'd; and produc'd no other Effect, but an irreconcileable Enmity between both Generals, who had the Command of it. *Pharnabaſus*, to excuſe himſelf, accus'd *Iphicrates* of having prevented its Succeſs; and *Iphicrates*, with much more Reaſon, laid all the Fault upon *Pharnabaſus*: But, being well aſſur'd, the *Perſian* Lord would be believ'd at his Court in Preference to him; and remembring what had happen'd to *Conon*, to avoid the Fate of that illuſtrious *Athenian*, he choſe to retire ſecretly to *Athens* in a ſmall Veſſel, which he hir'd, *Pharnabaſus* caus'd him to be accus'd there, of having render'd the Expedition againſt *Egypt* abortive. The People of *Athens* made Anſwer, If he could be convicted of that Crime, he ſhould be puniſh'd as he deſerv'd. But his Innocence was too well known at *Athens*, to give him any Diſquiet upon that Account: Accordingly, it does not appear he was ever call'd in Queſtion about it; on the contrary, ſome Time after, the *Athenians* declar'd him ſole Admiral of their Fleet.

After the Battle of *Mantinea*, both Parties, equally weary of the War, had enter'd into a general Peace with all the other States of *Greece*, upon the King of *Perſia*'s Plan, by which the Enjoyment of its Laws was ſecur'd to each City; and the *Meſſenians* were included in it, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition, and Intrigues of the *Lacedæmonians* to prevent it. Their Anger, on this Occaſion, ſeparated them from the other *Greeks*: They were the only People, who reſolv'd to continue the War, from the Hope of recovering the whole Country of *Meſſenia* in a ſhort Time. This Reſolution, of which *Ageſilaus* was the Author, occaſion'd him to be regarded juſtly, as a violent and obſtinate Man, inſatiable of Glory and Command; who was not afraid of involving the Republick again in inevitable Misfortunes, from the Neceſſity, to which the Want of Money expos'd them, of borrowing great Sums, and levying great Impoſts, inſtead of taking the favourable Opportunity of concluding a Peace, and putting an End to all their Evils.

Whilſt this paſs'd in *Greece*, *Tachos*, who had aſcended the Throne of *Egypt*, drew together as many Troops as he could, to defend himſelf againſt the King of *Perſia*; who meditated a new Invaſion of *Egypt*, notwithſtanding the ill Succeſs of his paſt Endeavours to reduce that Kingdom.

For this Purpoſe, *Tachos* ſent into *Greece*, and obtain'd a Body of Troops from the *Lacedæmonians*, with *Ageſilaus* to command them, whom he promis'd to make Generaliſſimo of his Troops. The *Lacedæmonians* were exaſperated againſt *Artaxerxes*, for his having forc'd them to include the *Meſſenians* in the late Treaty of Peace; and were fond of taking this Occaſion to expreſs their Reſentment. *Chabrias* went alſo into the Service of *Tachos*, but of his own Head; and without the Allowance of the *Athenians*.

This Commiſſion did *Ageſilaus* no Honour. It was thought below the Dignity of a King of *Sparta*, and a great Captain, who had acquir'd ſo great a Name throughout the World, and was then above Eighty Years old, to receive the Pay of an *Egyptian*, and ſerve a *Barbarian*, who had revolted againſt his Maſter.

When he landed in *Egypt*, the King's principal Generals, and the great Officers of his Houſe, came to receive him at his Veſſel, and make their Court to him: The Reſt of the *Egyptians* were as ſollicitous to ſee him; from the great Expectation, which the Name and Reputation of *Ageſilaus* had excited in them; and came in Multitudes to the Shore for that Purpoſe. But when, inſtead of a great and magnificent Prince, according to the Idea his great Actions had given them of him, they perceiv'd nothing ſplendid or majeſtick, either in his Perſon, or Equipage; and ſaw only an old Man of a mean Aſpect, and ſmall Body, without any Appearance, and dreſs'd in a bad Robe of very coarſe Stuff; they were ſeiz'd with an immoderate Diſpoſition to laugh, and apply'd the Fable of the Mountain in Labour, to him.

When he met *Tachos*, and had join'd his Troops with thoſe of *Egypt*, he was very much ſurpriz'd, at not being appointed General of the whole Army, as he expected, but only of the foreign Troops; that *Chabrias* was made General of the Sea-Forces, and *Tachos* retain'd the Command in Chief to himſelf, which was not the only Mortification he had to experience.

Tachos came to a Reſolution to march into *Phœnicia*; thinking it more adviſable to make that Country the Theatre of the War, than expect the Enemy in *Egypt*: And *Ageſilaus*, who knew better, repreſented to him, in vain, his Affairs were not ſuffici-

ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd, to admit removing out of his Dominions; and he would do much better to remain in them, and content himſelf, with acting by his Generals in the Enemy's Country. *Tachos* deſpis'd this prudent Counſel, and expreſs'd no leſs Diſregard for him on all other Occaſions; at which *Ageſilaus* was ſo much incens'd, that he join'd the *Egyptians*, who had taken Arms againſt him during his Abſence, and had plac'd *Nectanebus*, his Couſin, upon the Throne. *Ageſilaus*, abandoning the King, to whoſe Aid he had been ſent, and joining the Rebel, who had dethron'd him, alledg'd, in Juſtification of himſelf, he was ſent to the Aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*; and they having taken up Arms againſt *Tachos*, it was not permitted him to ſerve againſt them, without new Orders from *Sparta*. He diſpatch'd Expreſſes thither, and the Inſtructions he receiv'd, were to act, as he ſhould judge moſt advantageous for his Country. He immediately declar'd for *Nectanebus*; and *Tachos*, obliged to quit *Egypt*, retir'd to *Sidon*, from whence he went to the Court of *Perſia*: Where, *Artaxerxes* not only forgave him his Fault, but added to his Clemency the Command of his Troops againſt the Rebels.

Ageſilaus cover'd ſo criminal a Conduct with the Veil of the publick Utility: But, ſays *Plutarch*, remove that deluſive Blind, the moſt juſt, and only true Name, which can be given the Action, is that of Perfidy and Treaſon. It is true, the *Lacedæmonians*, making the *Glorious* and the *Good* conſiſt principally in the Service of their Country, which they idoliz'd, knew no other Juſtice than what tended to the Augmentation of the Grandeur of *Sparta*, and extending its Dominions. We are ſurpriz'd however, ſo judicious an Author, as *Xenophon*, ſhould endeavour to palliate a Conduct of this Kind, by ſaying only, *Ageſilaus* attach'd himſelf to him of the two Kings, who ſeem'd the beſt affected to *Greece*.

At the ſame Time, a third Prince, of the City of *Mendes*, ſet up for himſelf; and pretended to diſpute the Crown with *Nectanebus*: This new Competitor had an Army of a Hundred Thouſand Men to ſupport his Pretenſions. *Ageſilaus* gave his Advice to attack them, before they were exercis'd and diſciplin'd; and, had that Counſel been follow'd, it had been eaſy to have defeated a Body of People, rais'd in Haſte, and without any Experience in War: But *Nectanebus* imagin'd, *Ageſilaus* only gave him this Advice to betray him, as he had done *Tachos*; he, therefore, gave his Enemy Time to diſcipline his Troops, who ſoon after reduc'd him to retire into a City, fortify'd with good Walls, and of very great Extent. *Ageſilaus* was oblig'd to follow him thither; where the *Mendeſian* Prince beſieged them; and *Nectanebus* would then have attack'd the Enemy, before his Works, which were begun, were advanc'd, and preſs'd *Ageſilaus* to that Purpoſe; but he refus'd Compliance, at firſt, which extreamly increas'd the Suſpicions conceiv'd of him. At length, when he ſaw the Work in a ſufficient Forwardneſs, and that there only remain'd as much Ground, between both Ends of the Line, as the Troops within the City would take up, when drawn up in Battle, he told *Nectanebus*, it was then Time to attack the Enemy; that their own Lines would prevent their ſurrounding him; and that the Interval between them was exactly the Space he wanted, for ranging his Troops in ſuch a Manner, as they might all act together effectively. The Attack was executed according to the Expectation of *Ageſilaus*; the Beſiegers were beaten, and from thenceforth, *Ageſilaus* directed all the Operations of the War with ſo much Succeſs, that the Enemy Prince was always overcome, and, at laſt, taken Priſoner.

The following Winter, after having well eſtabliſh'd *Nectanebus*, he embark'd to return for *Laconia*, but was driven, by contrary Winds, upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, into a Place, call'd the Port of *Menelaus*, where he fell ſick, and dy'd, at the Age of Eighty-four Years. He had reign'd Forty-one of them at *Sparta*; and of thoſe, he had paſs'd Thirty, with the Reputation of the greateſt, and moſt powerful of all the *Greeks*; and had been look'd upon as the Leader, and King of almoſt all *Greece*, till the Battle of *Leuctra*. His latter Years did not entirely ſupport the Reputation he had acquir'd; and *Xenophon*, in his *Elogium* of this Prince, wherein he gives him the Preference to all other Captains, has been found to exaggerate his Virtues, and diſguiſe his Defects too much.

The Body of *Ageſilaus* was carry'd to *Sparta*: Thoſe, who were about him, not having Honey, with which it was the *Spartan* Cuſtom to cover the Bodies they would embalm, made Uſe of Wax in its Stead. His Son, *Archidamus*, ſucceeded to the Throne, which continued in his Houſe, down to *Agis*, who was the Fifth King of the Line of *Ageſilaus*.

Towards the End of the *Egyptian* War, the greateſt Part of the Provinces, in Subjection to *Perſia*, revolted. *Artaxerxes Mnemon* had been the involuntary Occaſion of this Defection. That Prince, of himſelf, was good, equitable, and benevolent: He lov'd his People, and was belov'd by them: He had Abundance of Mildneſs, and Sweetneſs of Temper; but that Eaſineſs degenerated into Sloth and Luxury, and particularly in the latter Years of his Life, in which he diſcover'd a Diſlike for all Buſineſs; from whence, the good Qualities, which he otherwiſe poſſeſs'd, as well as his beneficent Intentions, became uſeleſs, and of no Effect. The Nobility, and Governors of Provinces, abuſing his Favour, and the Infirmities of his great Age, oppreſs'd the People, treated them with Inſolence, and Cruelty, loaded them with Taxes, and did every Thing in their Power to render the *Perſian* Yoke inſupportable.

The Diſcontent became general, and broke out, after long ſuffering, almoſt at the ſame Time on all Sides. *Aſia Minor*, *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and many other Provinces, declar'd themſelves openly, and took up Arms. The chief Leaders of the Conſpiracy were, *Ariobarzanes*, Prince of *Phrygia*; *Mauſolus*, King of *Caria*; *Orontes*, Governor of *Myſia*; and *Autophradates*, Governor of *Lydia*. *Datames*, of whom Mention has been made before, and who commanded in *Cappadocia*, was alſo engaged in it. By this Means, half the Revenues of the Crown were, on a ſudden, diverted into different Channels, and the Remainder did not ſuffice for the Expences of a War againſt the Revolters, had they acted in Concert: But their Union was of no long Continuance, and thoſe, who had been the firſt, and moſt zealous in ſhaking off

the Yoke, were alſo the foremoſt in reſuming it, and betraying the Intereſts of the others, to make their Peace with the King.

The Provinces of *Aſia Minor*, on withdrawing from their Obedience, had enter'd into a Confederacy for their mutual Defence; and choſen *Oronte*s, Governor of *Myſia* for their General. They had alſo reſolv'd to add Twenty Thouſand foreign Troops to thoſe of the Country, and had intruſted the ſame *Orontes* with the Care of raiſing them: But, when he had got the Money for that Service into his Hands, with the Addition of a Year's Pay, he kept it for his own Uſe, and deliver'd up the Perſons to the King, who had brought it from the revolted Provinces.

Rheomithras, another of the Chiefs of *Aſia Minor*, being ſent into *Egypt* to negotiate Relief, commited a Treachery of the like Nature: Having brought from that Country Five Hundred Talents, and Fifty Ships of War, he aſſembled the principal Revolters at *Leucas*, a City of *Aſia Minor*, under Pretence of giving them an Account of his Negotiation, ſeiz'd them all, and deliver'd them to the King, to make his Peace, and kept the Money he had receiv'd in *Egypt* for the Confederacy. Thus this formidable Revolt, which had brought the *Perſian* Empire to the very Brink of Ruin, diſſolv'd of itſelf; or, to ſpeak more properly, was ſuſpended for ſome Time.

The End of the Reign of *Artaxerxes* abounded with Cabals; the whole Court were divided into Factions, in Favour of one, or other of his Sons, who pretended to the Succeſſion. He had a Hundred and Fifty by his Concubines, who were in Number Three Hundred and Sixty, and Three by his lawful Wife *Atoſſa*; *Darius*, *Ariaſpes*, and *Ochus*. To put a Stop to theſe Practices, he declar'd *Darius*, the Eldeſt, his Succeſſor. And, to remove all Cauſe of diſputing that Prince's Right after his Death, he permitted him to aſſume, from thenceforth, the Title of King, and wear the Royal *Tiara*. But the young Prince was for having ſomething more real. Beſides which, the Refuſal of *Artaxerxes* to give him one of his Concubines, whom he had demanded, had extreamly incens'd him, and he form'd a Conſpiracy againſt the Life of his Father, wherein he engaged Fifty of his Brothers.

It was *Tiribaſus*, of whom Mention has been made ſeveral Times before, who contributed the moſt to his taking ſo unnatural a Reſolution, and that for a like Subject of Diſcontent againſt the King, who, having promis'd to give him one of his Daughters in Marriage, and then another, broke his Word both Times, and marry'd them himſelf: Such abominable Inceſts being permitted at that Time in *Perſia*, their Religion not prohibiting them.

The Number of the Conſpirators were already very great, and the Day fix'd for the Execution, when an Eunuch, well acquainted with the whole Plot, diſcover'd it to the King. Upon this Information, *Artaxerxes* thought it would be highly imprudent to deſpiſe ſo great a Danger, by neglecting a ſtrict Enquiry into it; but much more, to believe it, without certain and unqueſtionable Proof. He aſſured himſelf of it with his own Eyes. The Conſpirators were ſuffer'd to enter the King's Apartment, and then ſeiz'd. *Darius*, and all his Accomplices were puniſh'd, as they deſerv'd.

After the Death of *Darius*, the Cabals began again: Three of his Brothers were Competitors, *Ariaſpes*, *Ochus*, and *Arſames*. The Two firſt pretended to the Throne, in Right of Birth, being Sons of the Queen. The Third had the King's Favour, who lov'd him tenderly, though only the Son of a Concubine. *Ochus*, prompted by his reſtleſs Ambition, ſtudy'd continually how to rid himſelf of both his Rivals. As he was equally cunning, and cruel, he employ'd his Craft againſt *Ariaſpes*, and his Cruelty againſt *Arſames*. Knowing the former to be extremely ſimple and credulous, he made the Eunuchs of the Palace, whom he had found Means to corrupt, threaten him ſo terribly, in the Name of the King his Father, that, expecting every Moment to be treated as *Darius* had been, he poiſon'd himſelf, to avoid it. After this, there remain'd only *Arſames* to give him Umbrage; becauſe his Father, and all the World, look'd upon that Prince as moſt worthy of the Throne, from his Ability, and other excellent Qualities: Him he cauſed to be aſſaſſinated by *Harpates*, Son of *Tiribaſus*.

This Loſs, which follow'd cloſe upon the other, and the extraordinary Wickedneſs with which both were attended, gave the old King a fatal Affliction: Nor is it ſurprizing, that, at his Age, he ſhould not have Strength enough to ſupport exceſſive Anguiſh and Sorrow. He ſunk under it into his Tomb, after a Reign of Forty-three Years; which might have been call'd happy, if not interrupted by many Revolts. The following Reign is as much diſturb'd with them.

The more the Memory of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* was honour'd and revered throughout the whole Empire, the more *Ochus* believ'd he had Reaſon to fear for himſelf; convinc'd, in ſucceeding him, he ſhould not find the ſame favourable Diſpoſitions in the People, and Nobility, of whom he had made himſelf the Horror, by the Murder of his two Brothers. To prevent that Averſion from occaſioning his Excluſion, he gain'd over the Eunuchs, and others about the King's Perſon, to conceal his Death from the Publick. He began, by taking upon himſelf the Adminiſtration of Affairs, giving Orders, and ſealing Decrees, in the Name of *Artaxerxes*, as if he had been ſtill alive; and, by one of thoſe Decrees, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaim'd King throughout the whole Empire, always by the Order of *Artaxerxes*. After having govern'd, in this Manner, almoſt Ten Months, believing himſelf ſufficiently eſtabliſh'd, he, at length, declared the Death of his Father, and aſcended the Throne, taking upon himſelf the Name of *Artaxerxes*. Hiſtory, however, moſt frequently, gives him that of *Ochus*; by which we ſhall, therefore, generally call him, in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

He was the moſt cruel and wicked of all the Princes of his Race, as his Actions ſoon ſhew'd: In a very ſhort Time, the Palace, and the whole Empire, were fill'd with his Murders. To remove from the revolted Provinces all Means of ſetting ſome other of the Royal Family upon the Throne, and to rid himſelf, at once, of all Trouble, that the Princes, and Princeſſes of the Blood might occaſion he put them all to Death, without Regard to Sex, Age, or Proximity of Blood. He cauſed his own Siſter, *Ocha*, whoſe Daughter he had marry'd, to be bury'd alive; and having ſhut

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up one of his Uncles, with a Hundred of his Sons and Grandſons in a Court of the Palace, he order'd them all to be ſhot to Death with Arrows, only, becauſe thoſe Princes were much eſteem'd by the *Perſians* for their Probity, and Valour. That Uncle was, certainly, the Father of *Siſygambis*, the Mother of *Darius Codomannus*: For, *Quintus Curtius* tells us, that *Ochus* had cauſed Eighty of her Brothers, with their Father, to be maſſacred in one Day. He treated with the ſame Barbarity, throughout the whole Empire, all thoſe who gave him any Umbrage, ſparing none of the Nobility, whom he ſuſpected guilty of the leaſt Diſcontent whatſoever.

However, theſe Cruelties, exerciſed by *Ochus*, did not free him from Uneaſineſs. *Artabaſus*, Governor of one of the *Aſiatick* Provinces, engaged *Chares*, the *Athenian*, who commanded a Fleet, and a Body of Troops in thoſe Parts, to aſſiſt him; and with his Aid, defeated an Army of Seventy Thouſand Men, ſent by the King to reduce him. *Artabaſus*, to reward ſo great a Service, made *Chares* a Preſent in Money to defray the whole Expences of his Armament. The *Perſian* Monarch reſented exceedingly this Conduct of the *Athenians*. They were, at that Time, employ'd in the War of the *Allies*; and the King's Menace, to join their Enemies with a numerous Army, obliged them to recal *Chares*.

Artabaſus, being abandon'd by them, had Recourſe to the *Thebans*; of whom he obtain'd Five Thouſand Men, which he took into his Pay, with *Pammenes* to command them. This Reinforcement put him in a Condition to acquire two other Victories over the King's Troops. Thoſe two Actions did the *Theban* Troops, and their Commander, great Honour: *Thebes* muſt have been extremely animated againſt the King of *Perſia*, to ſend ſo powerful a Body of Troops to his Enemies, at a Time, when their Republick was engaged in a War with the *Phocæans*. It was, perhaps, the Effect of Policy, to render themſelves more formidable, and to enhance the Price of their Alliance. It is certain, ſoon after, they made their Peace with the King, who paid them Three Hundred Thouſand Crowns; whereupon, *Artabaſus*, deſtitute of all Support, was overcome, at laſt, and obliged to take Refuge with *Philip*, in *Macedon*.

Ochus, being deliver'd, at length, from ſo dangerous an Enemy, turn'd all his Thoughts on the Reduction of *Egypt*, that had revolted long before: About the ſame Time, ſeveral conſiderable Events happen'd in *Greece*, which have little, or no Relation with the Affairs of *Perſia*; and which, therefore, we ſhall inſert here; after which, we ſhall return to the Reign of *Ochus*, not to interrupt the Series of his Hiſtory.

Some few Years after the Revolt of *Aſia Minor*, of which we have been ſpeaking, in the Third Year of the Hundred and Fiftieth *Olympiad*, *Chio*, *Cos*, *Rhodes*, and *Byzantium*, took up Arms againſt *Athens*, upon which, till then, they had depended. To reduce them, they employ'd both great Forces, and great Captains; *Chabrias*, *Iphicrates*, and *Timotheus*. They were the laſt of the *Athenian* Generals, who did Honour to their Country; no one, after them, being diſtinguiſh'd by Merit, or Reputation.

Chabrias had already acquir'd a great Name; becauſe, when having been ſent againſt the *Spartans*, to the Aid of the *Thebans*; and ſeeing himſelf abandon'd in the Battle by the *Allies*, who had fled, he ſuſtain'd alone the Charge of the Enemy; his Soldiers, by his Order, having cloſed their Files, with one Knee upon the Ground, cover'd with their Bucklers, and preſented their Pikes in Front, in ſuch a Manner, they could not be broken; and *Ageſilaus*, though victorious, was obliged to retire. The *Athenians* erected a Statue to *Chabrias*, in the Attitude wherein he had fought.

Iphicrates was of very mean Extraction, his Father having been a Shoemaker: But, in a free City, like *Athens*, Merit was the ſole Nobility; accordingly, this General may be truly ſaid to be the Son of his Actions: Having ſignaliz'd himſelf in a Naval Combat, wherein he was only a private Soldier, he was, ſoon after, employ'd with Diſtinction, and honour'd with a Command. In a Proſecution, which had been fomented againſt him, his Accuſer, who was one of the Deſcendants of *Harmodius*, and made very great Uſe of his Anceſtor's Name, having reproach'd him with the Baſeneſs of his Birth; *Yes*, reply'd he, *the Nobility of my Family begins in me: But yours ends in you.* He marry'd the Daughter of *Cotys*, King of *Thrace*.

He is put in Competition with the greateſt Men of *Greece*, eſpecially for his Knowledge in War and military Diſcipline: He made ſeveral uſeful Alterations in the Soldiers Armour. Before, the Bucklers were very long and heavy; and, for that Reaſon, were too great a Burden, and extremely troubleſome: He had them made ſhorter, and lighter; ſo that, without expoſing the Body, they added to its Force and Agility. On the contrary, he lengthen'd the Pikes and Swords, to make them capable of reaching the Enemy at a greater Diſtance: He alſo changed the Cuiraſſes; and, inſtead of Iron, and Braſs, of which they were made before, he cauſed them to be made of Flax. It is not eaſy to conceive how ſuch Armour could defend the Soldiers, or be any Security againſt Wounds: But that Flax, being ſoak'd in Vinegar mingled with Salt, was prepared in ſuch a Manner, that it grew hard, and became impenetrable, either by Sword, or Fire; inſomuch, that the Uſe thereof grew common amongſt ſeveral Nations.

No Troops were ever better exercis'd, or diſciplin'd, than thoſe of *Iphicrates*: He kept them always in Action, and in Times of Peace and Tranquillity, made them perform all the neceſſary Evolutions, either in attacking the Enemy, or defending themſelves; in laying Ambuſcades, or avoiding them; in keeping their Ranks, even in the Purſuit of the Enemy, without abandoning themſelves to an Ardour which often becomes pernicious, or to rally with Succeſs, after having begun to break and give Way. So that when Battle was to be given, all was in Motion, with admirable Promptitude and Order. The Officers, and Soldiers, drew themſelves up without any Trouble, and even in the Heat of Action, performed their Parts, as well as the moſt able General could have directed them. A Merit very uncommon, as we have been inform'd, but very valuable; as it contributes, more than can be imagined, to the gaining of a Battle; and ſhews,

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a very uncommon Superiority of Genius in the General.

Timotheus was the Son of *Conon*, ſo much celebrated for his great Actions, and the important Services he had render'd his Country. He did not degenerate from his Father's Reputation, either for his Merit in the Field, or his Abilities in the Government of the State; but he added to thoſe Excellencies, the Glory which reſults from the Talents of the Mind, having diſtinguiſh'd himſelf particularly by the Gift of Eloquence, and a Taſte for the Sciences.

No Captain, at firſt, ever experienc'd leſs than himſelf the Inconſtancy of the Fortune of War; he needed only to undertake an Enterprize, to accompliſh it; Succeſs perpetually attended his Views and Deſires; which uncommon Proſperity did not fail to excite Jealouſy. Thoſe who envy'd him, cauſed him to be painted aſleep, whilſt *Fortune* near him took Cities for him in Nets; to which *Timotheus* retorted coldly, *If I take Places in my Sleep, what ſhall I do when I am awake?* He took the Thing afterwards more to Heart, and growing more angry with thoſe, who pretended to leſſen the Glory of his Actions, he declar'd in publick, that he did not owe his Succeſs to his Fortune, but to himſelf. That Goddeſs, ſays *Plutarch*, offended at his Pride and Arrogance, afterwards, abandon'd him entirely, and he was never more ſucceſsful. Such were the Chiefs employ'd in the War of the *Allies*.

The War, and the Campaign open'd with the Siege of *Chio*: *Chares* commanded the Land, and *Chabrias* the Sea, Forces. All the *Allies* exerted themſelves in ſending Aid to that Iſland. *Chabrias*, having forced the Paſſage, enter'd the Port, notwithſtanding all the Endeavours of the Enemy. The other Gallies were afraid to follow, and abandon'd him. He was immediately ſurrounded on all Sides, and his Veſſel exceedingly damaged by the Aſſaults of the Enemy: He might have ſaved himſelf by ſwimming to the *Athenian* Fleet, as his Soldiers; but, from a miſtaken Principle of Glory, he thought it inconſiſtent with the Duty of a General, to abandon his Veſſel in ſuch a Manner, and preferr'd Death, which, in his Opinion, was glorious, to a ſhameful Flight.

This firſt Attempt having miſcarry'd, both Sides apply'd themſelves vigorouſly to making new Preparations. The *Athenians* fitted out a Fleet of Sixty Gallies, and appointed *Chares* to command it; and arm'd Sixty more under the Conduct of *Iphicrates*, and *Timotheus*. The Fleet of the *Allies* conſiſted of an Hundred Sail. After having ravaged ſeveral Iſlands belonging to the *Athenians*, where they made a great Booty, they ſat down before *Samos*. The *Athenians*, on their Side, having united all their Forces, beſieged *Byzantium*. The *Allies* made all poſſible Haſte to its Relief. The two Fleets being in View of each other, prepar'd to fight; when ſuddenly a violent Storm aroſe, notwithſtanding which, *Chares* reſolv'd to advance againſt the Enemy. The two other Captains, who had more Prudence and Experience than him, thought improper to hazard a Battle in ſuch a Juncture. *Chares*, enraged at their not following his Advice, call'd the Soldiers to witneſs, that it was not his Fault they did not fight the Enemy. He was naturally vain, oſtentatious, and full of himſelf; one who exaggerated his own Services, depreciated thoſe of others, and arrogated to himſelf the whole Glory of all Succeſs. He wrote to *Athens* againſt his two Collegues, and accus'd them of Cowardice, and Treaſon. Upon his Complaint, the People, who were capricious, warm, ſuſpicious, and naturally jealous of ſuch as were diſtinguiſh'd by their extraordinary Merit or Authority, recall'd thoſe two Generals, and brought them to a Trial.

The Faction of *Chares*, which was very powerful at *Athens*, having declared againſt *Timotheus*, he was ſentenc'd to pay a Fine of an Hundred Talents; a worthy Reward for the noble Diſintereſtedneſs he had ſhown upon another Occaſion, in bringing home to his Country Twelve Hundred Talents of Booty taken from the Enemy, without the leaſt Deduction for himſelf. He could bear no longer the Sight of an ungrateful City; and being too poor to pay ſo great a Fine, retir'd to *Chalcis*. After his Death, the People, touch'd with Repentance, mitigated the Fine to Ten Talents; which they made his Son *Conon* pay, to rebuild a certain Part of the Walls. Thus, by an Event, ſufficiently odd, thoſe very Walls, which his Grandfather had rebuilt with the Spoils of the Enemy, the Grandſon, to the Shame of *Athens*, repair'd, in Part, at his own Expence.

Iphicrates was alſo obliged to anſwer for himſelf before the Judges: It was upon this Occaſion, that *Ariſtophon*, another *Athenian* Captain, accus'd him of having betray'd and ſold the Fleet under his Command. *Iphicrates*, with the Confidence an eſtabliſh'd Reputation inſpires, ask'd him, *Would you have been guilty of committing a Treaſon of this Nature? No* (anſwer'd *Ariſtophon*) *I am a Man of too much Honour for ſuch an Action! And can any one believe* (reply'd *Iphicrates*) *that I would be guilty of an Action, which* Ariſtophon *would ſcorn?* However, he did not only employ the Force of *Arguments* in his Defence, he call'd in alſo the Aſſiſtance of Arms: Inſtructed by his Collegue's ill Succeſs, he ſaw plainly, that it was more neceſſary to intimidate, than convince his Judges. He poſted round the Place where they aſſembled, a Number of young Perſons, arm'd with Poniards, which they took Care to ſhew, from Time to Time. They could not reſiſt ſo forcible and triumphant a Kind of Eloquence, and diſmiſs'd him acquitted of the Charge. When he was afterwards reproach'd with ſo violent a Proceeding; *I had been a Fool indeed* (ſaid he) *if, having made War ſucceſsfully for the* Athenians, *I had neglected doing ſo for myſelf.*

Chares, by the Recal of his two Collegues, was left ſole General of the whole Army; and was in Condition to have advanc'd the *Athenian* Affairs very much in the *Helleſpont*, if he had known how to reſiſt the magnificent Offers of *Artabaſus*. That Viceroy, who had revolted in *Aſia Minor* againſt the King of *Perſia*, his Maſter, being hemm'd in by an Army of Seventy Thouſand Men; and juſt upon the Point of being ruin'd, from the Inequality of his Forces, corrupted *Chares*. That General, who had no Thoughts but of enriching himſelf, march'd directly to the Aſſiſtance of *Artabaſus*; effectually reliev'd him; and receiv'd a proportionable Reward for the Service. The Action of *Chares* was treated as a capital Crime: He had not only abandon'd the Service of the Republick for a foreign War, but offended

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the King of *Perſia*; who threatned, by his Ambaſſadors, to equip Three Hundred Sail of Ships, in Favour of the Iſlanders, ally'd againſt *Athens*. However, the *Athenians*, intimidated by the Menaces of the King, apply'd themſelves ſeriouſly to prevent their Effects, by a general Peace.

Prior to theſe Menaces, *Iſocrates* had earneſtly recommended this Treaty to them, in a fine Diſcourſe, which is ſtill extant, wherein he gives them excellent Advice: He reproaches them with great Liberty, as does *Demoſthenes*, in almoſt all his Orations, of abandoning themſelves blindly to the Inſinuations of Orators, who flatter their Paſſions; whilſt they treat thoſe with Contempt, who give them the moſt ſalutary Counſels. He applies himſelf, particularly, to correct in their violent Paſſion for the Augmentation of their Power, and Dominion over the People of *Greece*, which had been the Source of all their Misfortunes. He recalls to their Remembrance thoſe happy Days, ſo glorious for *Athens*, in which their Anceſtors, out of a noble and generous Diſintereſt, ſacrific'd every Thing for the Support of the common Liberty, and the Preſervation of *Greece*, and compares them with the then ſad Times, wherein the Ambition of *Sparta*, and afterwards that of *Athens*, had ſucceſſively plunged both Cities into the greateſt Misfortunes: He repreſents to them, that the real and laſting Greatneſs of a State does not conſiſt in augmenting its Dominions, or extending its Conqueſts to the utmoſt; which cannot be effected without Violence and Injuſtice; but in the wiſe Government of the People; in rendering them happy; in protecting their *Allies*; in being belov'd, and eſteem'd by their Neighbours, and fear'd by their Enemies. A State, ſays he, cannot fail of becoming the Arbiter of all its Neighbours, when it knows how to unite, in its Meaſures, the two great Qualities, Juſtice and Power, which mutually ſupport each other, and ought to be inſeparable: For, as Power, not regulated by the Motives of Reaſon and Juſtice, has Recourſe to the moſt violent Methods to cruſh and ſubvert whatever oppoſes it; ſo Juſtice, when unarm'd, and without Power, is expoſed to Injury; and neither in a Condition to defend itſelf, or protect others. The Concluſion, drawn by *Iſocrates* from this Reaſoning, is, That *Athens*, if it would be happy, and in Tranquillity, ought not to aim at the Empire of the Sea, for the Sake of lording it over all other States, but ſhould conclude a Peace, whereby every City and People ſhould be left to the full Enjoyment of their Liberty, and declare themſelves irreconcileable Enemies of whoſoever ſhould preſume to diſturb that Peace, or contravene ſuch Meaſures.

The Peace was concluded, accordingly, on ſuch Conditions; and it was ſtipulated, that *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*, *Chio*, and *Cos*, ſhould enjoy entire Liberty. The War of the *Allies* ended in this Manner, after having continued Three Years.

This Peace did not entirely remove the Apprehenſion raiſed in the *Athenians*, by the great Preparations of the *Perſian* Monarch, which gave them Umbrage: They were afraid, ſo formidable an Armament was intended againſt *Greece*: And that *Egypt* was only a plauſible Pretence, with which that King cover'd his real Deſign. The Orators increas'd the Fears of the People, by their Diſcourſes; and exhorted them to have an immediate Recourſe to their Arms; to prevent the King of *Perſia*, by a previous Declaration of War; and make a League with all the People of *Greece* againſt the common Enemy. *Demoſthenes* made his firſt Appearance in publick, at this Time, and mounted the Tribunal for Harangues to give his Opinion. He was then about Twenty-eight Years of Age; and, on that Occaſion, more prudent than thoſe raſh Orators; and having, no Doubt, in View, the Importance to the Republick, of the Aid of the *Perſians* againſt *Philip*, he durſt not, indeed, oppoſe, in a direct Manner, their Advice; leſt he ſhould render himſelf ſuſpected: But, admitting, as a Principle from the firſt, that it was neceſſary, to conſider the King of *Perſia* as the eternal Enemy of *Greece*, he repreſented, that it was not conſiſtent with Prudence, in an Affair of ſuch great Conſequence, to precipitate any Thing; that it was very improper, by a Reſolution taken upon light and uncertain Reports; and by a too early Declaration of War, to furniſh ſo powerful a Prince with a juſt Reaſon to turn his Arms againſt *Greece*; that all which was neceſſary, at preſent, was to fit out a Fleet of Three Hundred Sail, and hold the Troops in a Readineſs, and Condition, to make an effectual, and vigorous Defence, in Caſe of being attack'd; that, by ſo doing, all the People of *Greece*, without farther Invitation, would be ſufficiently appriz'd of the common Danger to join them; and, that the Report alone of ſuch an Armament would be enough to induce the King of *Perſia* to change his Meaſures, admitting he ſhould have form'd any Deſigns againſt *Greece*.

For the Reſt, he was not of Opinion, that it was neceſſary to levy any immediate Tax upon the Eſtates of private Perſons, for the Expence of this War, which would not amount to a great Sum, nor ſuffice for the Occaſion. It is better, ſaid he, to rely upon the Zeal and Generoſity of the Citizens. Our City may be ſaid to be almoſt as rich as all the other Cities of *Greece* together. (He had before obſerv'd, that the Eſtimate of the Lands of *Attica* amounted to Six Thouſand Talents.) When we ſhall ſee the Reality, and Approach of the Danger, every-body will be ready to contribute to the Expences of the War; as nobody can be ſo void of Reaſon, as to prefer the Hazard of loſing their whole Eſtate, with their Liberty, to ſacrificing a ſmall Part of it to their own, and the Preſervation of their Country.

And we ought not to fear, as ſome People would inſinuate, that the great Riches of the King of *Perſia* enables him to raiſe a great Body of Auxiliaries, and renders his Army formidable againſt us. Our *Greeks*, when they are to march againſt *Egypt*, or *Orontes*, and the other *Barbarians*, ſerve willingly under the *Perſians*; but not one of them, I dare be aſſur'd; not a ſingle Man of them, will ever reſolve to bear Arms againſt *Greece*.

This Diſcourſe had all the Effect that could have been wiſh'd. The refin'd, and delicate Addreſs of the Orator, in adviſing the Impoſition of a Tax to be deferr'd, and artfully explaining, at the ſame Time, that it would only fall upon the Rich, was highly proper to render abortive an Affair, which had no other Foundation than in the overheated Imagination of ſome Orators, who were, perhaps, intereſted in the War they adviſ'd.

Two Years after, an Enterprize of the *Lacedæmonians* againſt *Megalopolis*, a City of *Arcadia*, gave *Demoſthenes* another Opportunity to ſignalize his Zeal, and diſplay his Eloquence. That City, which had been lately eſtabliſh'd by the *Arcadians*, who had ſettled a numerous Colony there, drawn out of different Cities, and which might ſerve as a Fortreſs and Bulwark againſt *Sparta*, gave the *Lacedæmonians* great Uneaſineſs, and alarm'd them extremely: They reſolv'd, therefore, to attack, and make themſelves Maſters of it. The *Megalopolitans*, who, without Doubt, had renounced their Alliance with *Thebes*, had Recourſe to *Athens*, and implor'd its Protection: The other People who were concern'd, ſent alſo their Deputies thither, and the Affair was debated before the People.

Demoſthenes founded his Diſcourſe, from the Beginning of it, upon this Principle; that it was of the laſt Importance to prevent either *Sparta*, or *Thebes*, from growing too powerful; and from being in a Condition to give Laws to the Reſt of *Greece*. Now, purſued he, it is evident, that, if we abandon *Megalopolis* to the *Lacedæmonians*, they will ſoon make themſelves Maſters of *Meſſene* alſo, two ſtrong neighbouring Cities, which are a Check upon *Sparta*, and keep it within due Bounds. The Alliance we ſhall make with the *Arcadians*, in declaring for *Megalopolis*, is, therefore, the certain Means to preſerve ſo neceſſary a Balance between *Sparta* and *Thebes*; becauſe, whatever happens, neither the one, nor the other, will be able to hurt us, whilſt the *Arcadians* are our *Allies*; whoſe Forces, in Conjunction with ours, will always be ſuperior to thoſe of either of them.

A weighty Objection to this Advice of *Demoſthenes*, was the Alliance actually ſubſiſting between *Athens* and *Sparta*: For, in ſhort, ſaid the Orators, who oppos'd *Demoſthenes*, what Idea will the World have of *Athens*, if we change, in ſuch a Manner, with the Times; or, is it conſiſtent with Juſtice, to pay no Regard to the Faith of Treaties? "We ought (reply'd *Demoſthenes*, whoſe very Words we ſhall repeat in this Place) "in-"deed, always to have Juſtice in View, and to "make it the Rule of our Conduct; but, at the "ſame Time, our Conformity to it ſhould conſiſt "with the publick Good, and the Intereſt of the "State." It has been a conſtant Maxim with us to aſſiſt the Oppreſſed. (He cites the *Lacedæmonians* themſelves, the *Thebans*, and *Eubœans*, as Examples.) We have never vary'd from this Principle. The Reproach of changing, therefore, ought not to fall upon us, but upon thoſe, whoſe Injuſtice and Uſurpation oblige us to declare againſt them.

We cannot help admiring the Language of Politicians: To hear them talk, it is always Reaſon, and the ſtricteſt Juſtice, that determines them; but, to ſee them act, makes it evident, that Intereſt and Ambition are the ſole Rule and Guide of their Conduct. Their Diſcourſe is an Effect of that Regard for Juſtice, which Nature has implanted in the Mind of Man, and which they cannot entirely ſhake off. There are few, who venture to declare againſt that internal Principle, in their Expreſſions, or contradict it openly; and there are alſo few, who follow it with Fidelity and Conſtancy in their Actions. *Greece* never was known to have more Treaties of Alliance, than at the Time we are now ſpeaking of. nor were they ever leſs regarded. This Contempt of the Religion of Oaths in States, is a Proof of their Decline; and often denotes, and occalions their approaching Ruin.

The *Athenians*, mov'd with the eloquent Diſcourſe of *Demoſthenes*, ſent Three Thouſand Foot, and Three Hundred Horſe, to the Aid of the *Megalopolitans*, under the Command of *Pammenes*. *Megalopolis* was reinſtated in its former Condition; and its Inhabitants, who had retir'd into their own Countries, were oblig'd to return.

In the mean While, the Peace, which had put an End to the War of the *Allies*, did not procure, for all of them, the Tranquillity they had Reaſon to expect from it. The People of *Rhodes*, and *Cos*, who had been declar'd free by that Treaty, only chang'd their Maſter. *Mauſolus*, King of *Caria*, who had aſſiſted them in throwing off the *Athenian* Yoke, impos'd his own upon them. Having publickly declar'd himſelf for the Rich and Powerful, he inſlav'd the People, and made them ſuffer exceedingly: He dy'd, the ſecond Year after the Treaty of Peace, having reign'd Twenty-four Years. *Artemiſa*, his Wife, ſucceeded him; and, as ſhe was ſupported with all the Influence of the King of *Perſia*, ſhe maintain'd her Power in the Iſles lately ſubjected.

In ſpeaking here of *Artemiſa*, it is proper to obſerve, that ſhe muſt not be confounded with another *Artemiſa*, who liv'd above a Hundred Years before, in the Time of *Xerxes*; and who diſtinguiſh'd her Reſolution and Prudence ſo much in the naval Battle of *Salamis*. Several celebrated Writers have fallen into this Error, through Inadvertency.

This Princeſs immortaliz'd herſelf by the Honours ſhe render'd to the Memory of *Mauſolus*, her Husband. She caus'd a magnificent Monument to be erected for him in *Halicarnaſſus*, called the *Mauſolæum*; and was eſteem'd, for its Beauty, one of the Wonders of the World; and which gave the Name of *Mauſolæum* to all ſucceeding Structures, great and magnificent in the ſame Kind.

She endeavour'd alſo to eternize the Name of *Mauſolus*, by other Monuments, which ſhe believ'd more durable than thoſe of Braſs, or Marble, but are often no better Proof againſt the Injuries of Time; we mean, Works of Wit. She caus'd excellent Panegyricks to be made in Honour of her Husband, and propos'd a Prize of great Value, for the Perſon, whoſe Performance ſhould be beſt. Amongſt many others, the celebrated *Iſocrates*, and *Theopompus*, his Diſciple, were Competitors for it.

Theopompus carry'd it from them all; and had the Weakneſs and Vanity to boaſt, in publick, of having gain'd the Prize againſt his Maſter; preferring, as is too common, the Fame of fine Parts, to the Glory of a good Heart. He had repreſented *Mauſolus*, in his Hiſtory, as a Prince moſt ſordidly avaritious; to whom all Means of amaſſing Treaſure were good, and eligible: He painted him, without Doubt, in very different Colours in his Panegyrick; or elſe he would never have pleas'd the Princeſs, his Conſort.

But, beſides theſe, that illuſtrious Widow prepar'd a Tomb of a very different Nature for *Mauſolus*:

ſolus: Having gather'd his Aſhes, and had the Bones beaten in a Mortar, ſhe mingled ſome of the Powder, every Day, in her Drink, till ſhe had drank it all off; deſiring, by that Means, to make her own Body the Sepulchre of her Husband: She ſurviv'd him only two Years, and her Grief did not end but with her Life.

Inſtead of Tears, in which moſt Writers plunge *Artemiſa*, during her Widowhood, there are ſome, who ſay, ſhe made very conſiderable Conqueſts: In Effect, it appears, by one of the Orations of *Demoſthenes*, that ſhe was not look'd upon at *Athens* as a forlorn Relict, who neglected the Affairs of her Kingdom: But we have ſomething more deciſive upon this Head. *Vitruvius* tells us, that, after the Death of *Mauſolus*, the *Rhodians*, offended, that a Woman ſhould reign in *Caria*, undertook to dethrone her. They left *Rhodes*, for that Purpoſe, with their Fleet, and enter'd the great Port of *Halicarnaſſus*. The Queen, being inform'd of their Deſign, had given the Inhabitants Orders to keep within the Walls; and when the Enemy ſhould arrive, to expreſs, by Shouts, and clapping of Hands, a Readineſs to ſurrender the City to them. The *Rhodians* quitted their Ships, and went in all Haſte to the publick Place, leaving their Fleet without any to guard it. In the mean Time, *Artemiſa* came out with her Gallies from the little Port, through a ſmall Canal, which ſhe had caus'd to be cut on Purpoſe, enter'd the great Port; ſeiz'd the Enemies Fleet without Reſiſtance, and having put her Soldiers and Mariners on board of it, ſhe ſet Sail. The *Rhodians*, having no Means of eſcaping, were all put to the Sword. The Queen all the While advanc'd towards *Rhodes*. When the Inhabitants ſaw their Veſſels approach, adorn'd with Wreaths of Laurel, they rais'd great Shouts, and receiv'd their victorious, and triumphant Fleet, with extraordinary Marks of Joy. It was ſo in Effect, but in another Senſe than they imagin'd: *Artemiſa*, having met with no Reſiſtance, took Poſſeſſion of the City, and put the principal Inhabitants to Death. She caus'd a Trophy of her Victory to be erected in it, and ſet up two Statues of Braſs; one of which repreſented the City of *Rhodes*, and the other *Artemiſa* branding it with a hot Iron. *Vitruvius* adds, that the *Rhodians* durſt never demoliſh that Trophy, their Religion forbidding it; but they ſurrounded it with a Building, which intirely prevented it from being ſeen.

All this, as Monſieur *Bayle* obſerves, in his Dictionary, does not expreſs a forlorn, and inconſolable Widow, who paſs'd her whole Time in Grief and Lamentation; which makes it reaſonable to ſuſpect, that whatever is reported of Exceſs in the Mourning of *Artemiſa*, has no other Foundation, than its being advanc'd at a Venture by ſome Writer, and afterwards copy'd by all the Reſt.

We ſhould be better pleas'd, for the Honour of *Artemiſa*, if it had been ſaid, as there is nothing incredible in it, that, by a Fortitude, and Greatneſs of Mind, of which her Sex has many Examples, ſhe had known how to unite the ſevere Affliction of the Widow, with the active Courage of the Queen; and made the Affairs of her Government ſerve for her Conſolation. *Negotia pro ſolatiis accipiens.*

The *Rhodians* being treated by *Artemiſa*, in the Manner which has been ſaid, and unable to ſupport any longer ſo ſevere, and ſhameful a Servitude, they had Recourſe to the *Athenians*, and implor'd their Protection; though they had render'd themſelves intirely unworthy of it, by their Revolt. *Demoſthenes* took upon him to ſpeak to the People in their Behalf: He began, with ſetting forth their Crime in its full Light; he inlarged upon their Injuſtice and Perfidy; he even ſeem'd to enter into the People's juſt Sentiments of Reſentment and Indignation; and it was certainly thought he was going to declare himſelf in the ſtrongeſt Terms againſt the *Rhodians:* But, all this was only the Art of the Orator, to inſinuate himſelf into the Opinion of his Auditors, and excite in them quite contrary Sentiments of Goodneſs and Compaſſion for a People, who acknowledg'd their Fault; confeſs'd their Unworthineſs; and, who, nevertheleſs, were come to implore the Protection of the Republick. He ſets before them the great Maxims, which, in all Ages, had conſtituted the Glory of *Athens*; the forgiving Injuries, pardoning Rebels, and defending the Unfortunate. To the Motives of Glory, he adjoins thoſe of Intereſt; in ſhewing the Importance of declaring for a City, that favour'd the Democratick Government; and of not abandoning an Iſland, ſo powerful, as that of *Rhodes:* This is the Subſtance of the Oration of *Demoſthenes*, intitled, *For the Liberty of the* Rhodians. The Death of *Artemiſa*, which happen'd the ſame Year, it is very likely, re-eſtabliſh'd the *Rhodians* in their Liberty. She was ſucceeded by her Brother *Idriæus*, who eſpous'd his own Siſter *Ada*; as *Mauſolus* had done *Artemiſa:* It being the Cuſtom in *Caria*, for the Kings to eſpouſe their Siſters in this Manner; and for the Widows to ſucceed their Husbands in the Throne, in Preference to the Brothers, and even the Children of the Defunct.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

The ſucceſsful Expedition of Ochus, *againſt* Phœnicia, Cyprus, *and* Egypt; *His Reaſons for deſiring the* Grecian *States to live in Peace with each other; The deplorable Fate of* Sidon; *The Treachery of* Tennes *juſtly puniſh'd*; Ochus *is murder'd by the Eunuch* Bagoas, *as is alſo* Arſes, *who ſucceeds him*; Dionyſius the Younger *reaſcends the Throne of* Syracuſe; *The Inhabitants of that City deſire Aid of the* Corinthians; *they ſend him* Timoleon; *He enters* Syracuſe, *notwithſtanding all the joint Endeavours of* Icetas, *Tyrant of the* Leontines, *and the* Carthaginians, *to prevent him*; Dionyſius *ſurrenders himſelf to him, and retires to* Corinth; *He gains ſeveral Victories, and reſtores Liberty to* Syracuſe; *His Death*; *Extraordinary Honours paid to his Memory*; *Abridgment of the Life of* Demoſthenes.

TO return to *Ochus*, as we obſerv'd before, he meditated the Reduction of *Egypt* to his Obedience; which had long pretended to maintain itſelf in Independence: Whilſt he was making great Preparations for this important Expedition, he receiv'd Advice of the Revolt of *Phœnicia*. That People, oppreſs'd by the *Perſian* Government, reſolv'd to throw off ſo heavy a Yoke, and made a League with *Nectanebus*, King of *Egypt*, againſt whom *Perſia* was marching its Armies. As there was no other Paſſage for that Invaſion, but through *Phœnicia*, this Revolt was very ſeaſonable for *Nectanebus*; who, therefore, ſent *Mentor*, the *Rhodian*, to ſupport the Rebels, with Four Thouſand *Grecian* Troops: He intended, by that Means, to make *Phœnicia* his Barrier, and ſtop the *Perſians* there. The *Phœnicians* took the Field with that Reinforcement, beat the Governors of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, who had been ſent againſt them, and drove the *Perſians* intirely out of *Phœnicia*.

The *Cyprians*, who were not better treated than the *Phœnicians*, ſeeing the good Succeſs which had attended this Revolt, follow'd their Example, and join'd in their League with *Egypt*. *Ochus* ſent Orders to *Idrieus*, King of *Caria*, to make War upon them; who, ſoon after, fitted out a Fleet, and ſent Eight Thouſand *Greeks* along with it, under the Command of *Phocion*, the *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, who is believ'd to have been the Son of *Nicocles*. It is probable, that he had been expell'd by his Uncle *Protagoras*, and, that he had embrac'd with Pleaſure, this Opportunity of reaſcending the Throne: His Knowledge of the Country, and the Party he had there, made the King of *Perſia* chuſe him, very wiſely, to command in this Expedition. They made a Deſcent upon the Iſland, where their Army increas'd to double its Number, by the Reinforcements, which came from *Syria* and *Cilicia*. The Hopes of inriching themſelves, by the Spoils of this Iſland, which was very opulent, drew thither Abundance of Troops, and they form'd the Siege of *Salamis* by Sea and Land. The Iſland of *Cyprus* had, at that Time, nine Cities, conſiderable enough, to have each of them a petty King: But, all thoſe Kings were ſtill Subjects of *Perſia*; though they had, upon this Occeſion, united together, to throw off that Yoke, and render themſelves independent.

In the mean While, as *Ochus* had obſerv'd, that the *Egyptian* War was always unſucceſsful, from the ill Conduct of the Generals ſent thither, he reſolv'd to take the Care of it upon himſelf: But, before he ſet out, he ſignify'd his Deſire to the States of *Greece*, that they would put an End to their Diviſions, and ceaſe making War upon each other.

It is a juſt Matter of Surprize, that the Court of *Perſia* ſhould inſiſt ſo earneſtly, and ſo often, to have the People of *Greece* live in Tranquillity with each other, and obſerve inviolably the Articles of the Treaty of *Antalcides*; the principal End of which was, the Eſtabliſhment of a laſting Union amongſt them: It had formerly employ'd a quite different Policy. From the Time of the Miſcarriage of the Enterprize, againſt *Greece* under *Xerxes*, the *Perſians*, judging Gold and Silver a more proper Means of ſubjecting it, than that of the Sword, did not attack it with open Force, but by the ſecret Method of cloſe Intrigues. They convey'd conſiderable Sums into it privately; to corrupt the Perſons of Credit and Authority in the great Cities; and were conſtantly watching Occaſions, to arm them againſt each other, and deprive them of the Leiſure and Means to invade *Aſia Minor*. They were particularly careful to declare ſometimes for one, and ſometimes for another, in Order to ſupport a Kind of Ballance amongſt them; which put it out of the Power of any of thoſe Republicks to aggrandize themſelves too much, and, by that Means, become formidable to *Perſia*.

But, that Nattion employ'd a quite different Conduct, at this Time, in enjoining the People of *Greece*, not to make War with each other; and commanding them to obſerve an univerſal Peace, upon Pain of incurring their Diſpleaſure, in Caſe of Diſobedience: *Perſia*, without Doubt, did not take

take that Reſolution at a Venture, and had tehir Reaſons to behave in ſuch a Manner.

The Deſign of the *Perſians* might be, to ſoften their Spirit by Degrees, in diſarming their Hands; to blunt the Edge of that Valour, which ſpurred them on perpetually, with noble Emulation; to extinguiſh in them their Paſſion for Glory and Victory; to render languid, by long Idleneſs, and forced Eaſe, the Activity natural to them; and, in ſhort, to bring them into the Number of thoſe People, whom a quiet and effeminate Life enervates, and who loſe in Sloth and Peace that martial Ardor, which Combats, and even Dangers, are apt to inſpire.

The King of *Perſia* who then reigned, had a perſonal Intereſt, as well as his Predeceſſor, in impoſing theſe Terms upon the *Greeks*. *Egypt* had long thrown off the *Perſian* Yoke, and given that Empire juſt Cauſe of Uneaſineſs. *Ochus* had reſolved to go in Perſon to reduce the Rebels: He had that Expedition extremely at Heart, and neglected nothing that could promote its Succeſs. The famous Retreat of the *Ten Thouſand*, without enumerating many other Actions of a like Nature, had left a great Idea in *Perſia* of the *Grecian* Valour: That Prince relied therefore, more upon a ſmall Body of *Greeks* in his Pay, than upon the whole Army of the *Perſians*, as numerous as it was; and he well knew, that the inteſtine Diviſions of *Greece* would render the Cities incapable of ſupplying that Number of Soldiers for which he had Occaſion.

In ſhort, as a good Politician, he could not enter upon Action in *Egypt*, till he had ſecured all behind him, *Ionia* eſpecially, and its neighbouring Provinces. Now the moſt certain Means to hold them in Obedience, was to deprive them of all Hope of Aid from the *Greeks*, to whom they had always Recourſe in Times of Revolt, and without whom they were in no Condition to form any great Enterprizes.

When *Ochus* had taken all his Meaſures, and made the neceſſary Preparations, he repaired to the Frontiers of *Phœnicia*, where he had an Army of Three hundred thouſand Foot, and Thirty thouſand Horſe, and put himſelf at the Head of it. *Mentor* was then at *Sidon* with the *Grecian* Troops; and quite confounded at the Approach of ſo great an Army, he ſent ſecretly to the *Perſian*, to make him Offers not only of ſurrendering *Sidon* to him, but of ſerving him in *Egypt*, where he was well acquainted with the Country, and might be very uſeful to him: *Ochus* agreed readily to theP ropoſal; upon which he engaged *Tennes*, King of *Sidon*, in the ſame Treachery, and they ſurrender'd the Place, in Concert, to that Monarch.

The *Sidonians* had ſet Fire to their Ships upon the Approach of the King's Troops, in order to lay the People under the Neceſſity of making a good Defence, by removing all Hope of any other Security. When they ſaw themſelves betray'd, that the Enemy were Maſters of the City, and that there was no Poſſibility of eſcaping either by Sea or Land, in the Deſpair of their Condition, they ſhut themſelves up in their Houſes, and ſet them on Fire. Forty thouſand Men, without reckoning Women and Children, periſh'd in this Manner. The Fate of *Tennes*, their King, was not a Jot better: *Ochus*, ſeeing himſelf Maſter of *Sidon*, and having no farther Occaſion for him, caused him to be put to Death; a juſt Reward of his Treachery! and an evident Proof, that the *Perſian* did not yield to him in Perfidy! At the Time this Misfortune happen'd, there were immenſe Riches in *Sidon*; wherefore, as the Flames melted the Gold and Silver, *Ochus* ſold the Cynders for a conſiderable Sum of Money.

The dreadful Ruin of this City ſtruck ſo great a Terror into all the reſt of *Phœnicia*, that it ſubmitted, and obtain'd Conditions, not unreaſonable, from the King. *Ochus* made no great Difficulty in complying with their Demands, becauſe he would not loſe the Time there, he had ſo much Occaſion for, in the Execution of his Deſigns againſt *Egypt*.

Before he began his March to enter that Country, he was join'd by a Body of Ten Thouſand *Greeks*: From the Beginning of this Expedition he had demanded Troops from *Greece*; and the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* had excuſed themſelves from furniſhing him any at that Time; it being impoſſible for them to do it, whatever Deſire they might have, as they ſaid, to cultivate a good Correſpondence with the King. The *Thebans* ſent him a Thouſand Men under the Command of *Lachares*; the *Argives*, Three thouſand under *Nicoſtratus*. The reſt came from the Cities of *Aſia*: All theſe Troops join'd him immediately after the taking of *Sidon*.

The *Jews* muſt have had ſome Share in this War of the *Phœnicians* againſt *Perſia*: For *Sidon* was no ſooner taken, than *Ochus* enter'd *Judæa*, and beſieged the City of *Jericho*, which he took: Beſides which, it appears that he carried a great Number of *Jewiſh* Captives into *Egypt*, and ſent many others into *Hyrcania*, where he ſettled them them along the Coaſt of the *Caſpian Sea*.

Ochus alſo put an End to the War with *Cyprus* at the ſame Time: That of *Egypt* ſo entirely engroſſed his Attention, that, in order to have nothing to divert him from it, he was ſatisfy'd with coming to an Accommodation with the nine Kings of *Cyprus*, who ſubmitted to him upon certain Conditions, and were all continued in their little States. *Evagoras* demanded to be re-inſtated in the Kingdom of *Salamis*: It was made evident, that he had committed the moſt flagrant Oppreſſions during his Reign, and that he had not been unjuſtly dethroned. *Protagoras* was therefore confirm'd in the Kigdom of *Salamis*, and the King gave *Evagoras* a remote Government. He behaved no better in that, and was again expell'd. He afterwards return'd to *Salamis*, and was ſeized, and put to Death: Surprizing Difference between *Nicocles* and his Son *Evagoras*!

After the Reduction of the Iſle of *Cyprus*, and the Province of *Phœnicia*, *Ochus* advanced directly towards *Egypt*. Upon his Arrival, he encamped before *Peluſium*, from whence he detach'd three Bodies of his Troops; each of them commanded by a *Greek*, and a *Perſian*, with equal Authority: The firſt was under *Lachares* the *Theban*, and *Reſaces* Governor of *Lydia* and *Ionia*: The ſecond was given to *Nicoſtratus* the *Argive*, and *Ariſtazanes* one of the great Officers of the Crown: The third had *Mentor* the *Rhodian*, and *Bagoas* one of the Eunuchs of *Ochus*, at the Head of it; and each Detachment had its particular Orders. In the mean while the King remained with the main Body of the Army in the Camp he had firſt choſen,

to wait all Events; and to be ready to ſupport thoſe Troops, in Caſe of ill Succeſs; or to improve the Advantages they might gain.

Nectanebus had long expected this Invaſion, the Preparations for which had made ſo much Noiſe: To repel it, he had an Army of an Hundred thouſand Men on Foot; Twenty thouſand of whom were *Greeks*, Twenty thouſand *Lybians*, and the Reſt *Egyptian* Troops. Part of them he beſtow'd in the Places upon the Frontiers, and poſted himſelf with the Reſt in the Paſſes, to diſpute the Enemy's Entrance into *Egypt*. The firſt Detachment of *Ochus*, was ſent againſt *Peluſium*, where there was a Garriſon of Five thouſand *Greeks*, which *Lacharès* beſieged. That under *Nicoſtratus*, on Board of Four and twenty Ships of the *Perſian* Fleet, enter'd one of the Mouths of the *Nile*, at the ſame Time, and ſailed into the Heart of *Egypt*; where they landed, and fortify'd themſelves well in a Camp, of which the Situation was very advantagious. All the *Egyptian* Troops in thoſe Parts were immediately drawn together, under *Clinias*, a *Greek* of the Iſle of *Cos*, who prepared to repel the Enemy; and a very warm Action enſued, in which, *Clinias*, with Five thouſand of his Troops were killed, and the reſt entirely broken and diſperſed.

This Action decided the Succeſs of the War; for, *Nectanebus*, apprehending, that *Nicoſtratus*, after this Victory, would embark again upon the *Nile*, and take *Memphis*, the Capital of the Kingdom, made all the Haſte he could to defend it, and abandon'd the Paſſes, which it was of the laſt Importance to ſecure, to prevent the Entrance of the Enemy: And when the *Greeks*, that defended *Peluſium*, were apprized of this precipitate Retreat, they believing all loſt, capitulated with *Lacharès*; upon Condition of being ſent back into *Greece*, with all that belong'd to them, and without ſuffering any Injury, in their Perſons, or Effects.

This done, *Mentor*, who commanded the third Detachment, finding the Paſſes clear and unguarded, enter'd the Country, and made himſelf Maſter of it, without any Oppoſition. For, after having cauſed a Report to be ſpread throughout his Camp, that *Ochus* had order'd all thoſe who would ſubmit, to be treated with Favour, and that ſuch as made Reſiſtance ſhould be deſtroy'd, as the *Sidonians* had been; he let all his Priſoners eſcape, that they might diſperſe the News over the adjacent Country; and thoſe poor People reporting in their Towns and Villages, what they had heard in the Enemy's Camp; which the Brutality of *Ochus* ſeem'd to confirm, the Terror was ſo great, that all the Garriſons, both *Greeks* and *Egyptians*, ſtrove which ſhould be the foremoſt in making their Submiſſion. Hereupon, *Nectanebus*, having loſt all Hope of being able to defend himſelf, eſcaped with his Treaſures and beſt Effects into *Æthiopia*, from whence he never return'd. He was the laſt King of *Egypt*, of the *Egyptian* Race; for, ſince then, it has always continued under a foreign Yoke, according to the Prediction of *Ezekiel*. As for *Ochus*, having entirely conquer'd *Egypt* in this Manner, he diſmantled the Cities, pillaged the Temples, and return'd in Triumph to *Babylon*, laden with Spoils, and eſpecially with Gold and Silver, of which he carry'd away immenſe Sums. He left the Government of it to *Pherendates*, a *Perſian* of the firſt Quality.

Nectanebus loſt the Crown by his too good Opinion of himſelf: He had been placed upon the Throne by *Ageſilaus*; and afterwards ſupported in it by the Bravery, and good Counſel of *Diophantes* the *Athenian*, and *Lamius* the *Lacedæmonian*, who, whilſt they had the Command of his Troops, and the Direction of the War, had render'd his Arms victorious over the *Perſians*, in all the Enterprizes they had form'd againſt him. It is a Pity we have no Account of them, and that *Diodorus* is ſilent upon this Head. That Prince, elate and vain upon ſo much Succeſs, imagined that he was conſequently become ſufficiently capable of conducting his own Affairs in Perſon; and diſmiſſed them to whom he was indebted for all thoſe Advantages. He had Time enough to repent his Error, and to diſcover, that the Power does not confer the Merit of a King.

To return to *Ochus*, he rewarded very liberally the Service, which *Mentor* the *Rhodian* had render'd him, in the Reduction of *Phœnicia*, and the Conqueſt of *Egypt*. Before he left that Kingdom, he had diſmiſſed his other *Greeks* laden with his Preſents: And as for *Mentor*, to whom the whole Succeſs of the Expedition was principally owing, he not only made him a Preſent of an hundred Talents in Money, beſides many Jewels of great Value, but gave him the Government of all the Coaſt of *Aſia*; with the Direction of the War, againſt ſome Provinces, which had revolted in the Beginning of his Reign, and declared him Generaliſſimo of all the Armies, on that Side.

Mentor, having ſuch great Intereſt, made uſe thereof to reconcile the King with his Brother *Memnon*, and *Artabaſus*, who had married their Siſter. Both of them had been in Arms againſt *Ochus*: We have already related the Revolt of *Artabaſus*, and the Victories he obtain'd over the the King's Troops; as alſo that he was overpowered at laſt, and reduced to take Refuge with *Philip* King of *Macedon*; but we took no Notice that *Memnon*, who had borne a Part in his Wars, had alſo a Share in his Baniſhment. After this Reconciliation, they render'd *Ochus* and his Succeſſors ſignal Services; eſpecially *Memnon*, who was one of the moſt valiant Men of his Time, and equally excellent in the Art of War. Neither did *Mentor* want his great Merits, nor deceive the King in the Confidence he had repoſed in him. For he had ſcarce taken Poſſeſſion of his Government, when he re-eſtabliſh'd every where that Prince's Authority, and reduced thoſe who had revolted in his Neighbourhood to return to their Obedience. Some he brought over by his Addreſs and Stratagems, and others by Force of Arms. In ſhort, he knew ſo well how to take his Advantages, that at length, he ſubjected them all to the Yoke, and re-eſtabliſh'd the King's Affairs in thoſe Provinces.

After the Conqueſt of *Egypt*, and the Reduction of the revolted Provinces of his Empire, *Ochus* abandon'd himſelf to Pleaſure and luxurious Eaſe, during the Reſt of his Life; and left the Care of Affairs entirely to his Miniſters: The two principal of which were the Eunuch *Bagoas*, and *Mentor*, the *Rhodian*; who divided all Power between them; ſo that the firſt had under him all the Provinces of the *Upper Aſia*, and the latter all thoſe of the *Lower*. He reigned twenty-three Years, after which he died of Poiſon, given him by *Bagoas*. That Eunuch, who was by Birth an *Egyptian*,

ſian, had always retain'd a Love for his Country, and a Zeal for its Religion: When his Maſter conquer'd it, he flatter'd himſelf, that it would have been in his Power to have ſoften'd the Deſtiny of the one, and protected the other from Inſult. But he could not reſtrain the Brutality of his Prince; who did a thouſand Things to both, which the Eunuch ſaw with extreme Sorrow, and always violently reſented in his Heart.

Not contented with having diſmantled the Cities, and pillaged the Houſes and Temples, as has been ſaid, he had beſides taken away all the Archieves of the Kingdom; which were depoſited, and kept with religious Care, in the Temples of the *Egyptians*; and in Deriſion of their Worſhip, he cauſed the God *Apis* to be kill'd; that is, the ſacred Bull, which they adored under that Name. What gave Occaſion for this laſt Action was, that *Ochus* being as lazy and heavy as he was cruel, the *Egyptians*, from the firſt of thoſe Qualities, had given him the ſhocking Sirname of the ſtupid Animal, they found he reſembled: Violently enraged at this Affront, *Ochus* ſaid, that he would make them ſenſible, he was not an *Aſs*, but a *Lion*; and that the *Aſs*, whom they deſpiſed ſo much, ſhould eat their Ox. Accordingly, he order'd *Apis* to be dragg'd out of his Temple, and ſacrific'd to an *Aſs*: After which, he made his Cooks dreſs, and ſerve him up to the Officers of his Houſhold: This Piece of Wit incens'd *Bagoas*. As for the Archives, he redeem'd them afterwards, and ſent them back to the Places, where it was cuſtomary to keep them: But the Affront, which had been done to his Religion, was irreparable; and it is believ'd, that was the real Occaſion of his Maſter's Death.

His Revenge did not ſtop there, he caus'd another Body to be interr'd, inſtead of the King's; and, to revenge his having made the Officers of the Houſe eat the God *Apis*; he made Cats eat his dead Body, which he gave them cut in ſmall Bits; and for his Bones, he turn'd them into Handles for Knives and Swords, the natural Symbols of his Cruelty. It is very probable, that ſome new Cauſe had awaken'd in the Heart of this Monſter his ancient Reſentment, without which it is inconceivable he could carry his Barbarity ſo far to his Maſter and Benefactor.

After the Death of *Ochus*, *Bagoas*, in whoſe Hands all Power was, at that Time, plac'd *Arſes*, the youngeſt of all the late King's Sons, upon the Throne; and put the Reſt to Death, in order to poſſeſs with better Security, and without a Rival, the Authority he had uſurp'd. He gave *Arſes* only the Name of King, whilſt he reſerv'd to himſelf the whole Power of the Sovereignty: But perceiving, the young Prince began to diſcover his Wickedneſs, and took Meaſures to puniſh it, he prevented it, by having him aſſaſſinated; and deſtroy'd his whole Family with him. After having thus render'd the Throne vacant, by the Murder of *Arſes*, the Monſter plac'd *Darius* the *Third*, upon it, whoſe right Name was *Codomanus*; and of whom much will be ſaid hereafter.

We ſee here, in a full Light, the ſad Effect of the ill Policy of the Kings of *Perſia*; who, to eaſe themſelves of the Weight of publick Buſineſs, abandon'd their whole Authority to an Eunuch. *Bagoas* might have more Addreſs and Underſtanding than the Reſt, and thereby merit ſome Diſtinction. It is the Duty of a wiſe Prince to diſtinguiſh Merit; but it is as conſiſtent for him to continue always the intire Maſter, Judge, and Arbiter of his Affairs. A Prince, like *Ochus*, who had made the greateſt Crimes his Steps to mount the Throne, and who had ſupported himſelf in it by the ſame Meaſures, deſerv'd ſuch a Miniſter as *Bagoas*, who vy'd with his Maſter in Perfidy and Cruelty. *Ochus* experienc'd their firſt Effects: Had he deſir'd to have nothing to fear from him, he ſhould not have been ſo imprudent to render him formidable, by giving him an unlimited Power.

Having thus related the various Revolutions of the *Perſian* Court, which we did not think proper to interrupt, we are oblig'd to go back again to the Affairs of *Sicily*; from which we ſhall proceed to thoſe of *Macedonia*, which will open to us a new Scene in the next Book, under the famous Reigns of *Philip*, and his renown'd Son, *Alexander the Great*.

Callippus, who had caus'd *Dion* to be murder'd, and ſubſtituted himſelf in his Place, did not poſſeſs his Power long. Thirteen Months after, *Hipparinus*, Brother to *Dionyſius*, arriving unexpectedly at *Syracuſe*, with a numerous Fleet, expell'd him from the City, and recover'd his paternal Sovereignty, which he held during two Years. *Syracuſe*, and all *Sicily*, being harraſs'd by different Factions, and inteſtine War, were in a miſerable Condition; and *Dionyſius*, taking the Advantage of thoſe Troubles, Ten Years after he had been oblig'd to quit the Throne, aſſembled ſome foreign Troops; and having overcome *Nypſæus*, who had made himſelf Maſter of *Syracuſe*, reinſtated himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of his Dominions.

It was, perhaps, to thank the Gods for his Reeſtabliſhment, and expreſs his Gratitude to them, that he ſent divers Statues of Gold and Ivory to *Olympia*, and *Delphos*, of very great Value. The Gallies, which carry'd them, were taken by *Iphicrates*, who was, at that Time, near *Corcyra*, with a Fleet. He wrote to *Athens*, to know in what Manner he ſhould diſpoſe of his ſacred Booty; and was anſwer'd, not to examine too ſcrupulouſly for what it was deſign'd, but make Uſe of it for the Subſiſtence of his Troops. *Dionyſius* complain'd bitterly of this Treatment, to the *Athenians*, in a Letter he wrote them, wherein he reproach'd them with great Warmth, and Juſtice, for their Avarice, and ſacrilegious Impiety.

A Chief of Pyrates had behav'd much more nobly, and more religiouſly, to the *Romans* about Fifty Years before. After the taking of *Veij*, which had been Ten Years beſieg'd, they ſent a Golden Cup to *Delphos*. The Deputies, who carry'd it, were taken by the Pyrates of *Lipara*, and carry'd to that Iſland. "It was the Cuſtom to divide all "the Prizes they took as a common Stock. The "Iſland, at that Time, was under the Government "of a Magiſtrate, more like the *Romans* in his "Manners, than thoſe he govern'd. He was call'd "*Timaſitheus* (which ſignifies one who honours the "Gods) and his Behaviour agreed well with the "Signification of his Name. Full of Regard for "the Envoys, the ſacred Gift they carry'd, the "Motive of the Offering, and more for the Majeſty of the God for whom it was deſign'd, he "inſpir'd the Multitude, who generally follow the "Example of thoſe who rule them, with the ſame

"Sen-

" Sentiments of Reſpect and Religion. The En-
" voys were receiv'd, therefore, with all the Marks
" of Diſtinction, and their Expences born by the
" Publick. *Timaſitheus* convey'd them, with a
" good Squadron, to *Delphos*; and brought them
" back in the ſame Manner to *Rome*." It is eaſy to judge how ſenſibly the *Romans* were affected with ſo noble a Proceeding. " By a Decree of " the Senate, they rewarded *Timaſitheus* with " great Preſents, and granted him the Right of " Hoſpitality." And Fifty Years after, when the *Romans* took *Lipara* from the *Carthaginians*, with the ſame Gratitude, as if the Action had been but lately done, they thought themſelves oblig'd to do farther Honour to the Family of their Benefactor; and reſolv'd, that all his Deſcendants ſhould be for ever exempted, from the Tribute impos'd on the other Inhabitants of that Iſland. This was, certainly great and noble on both Sides: But the Contraſt does no Honour to the *Athenians*.

To return to *Dionyſius*, though he expreſs'd ſome Regard for the Gods, his Actions argued no Humanity for his Subjects: His paſt Misfortunes, inſtead of correcting and ſoftning his Diſpoſition, had only ſerv'd to inflame it, and render him more ſavage and brutal than before. Hereupon, the moſt worthy, and conſiderable of the Citizens, not being able to bear ſo cruel a Servitude, had Recourſe to *Icetas*, King of the *Leontines*, and elected him their General; not that they believ'd he differ'd in any Thing from the moſt declar'd Tyrants, but becauſe they had no other Remedy.

During theſe Tranſactions, the *Carthaginians*, who were almoſt always at War with the *Syracuſans*, arriv'd in *Sicily*, with a great Fleet; and having made a great Progreſs there, the *Sicilians*, and the People of *Syracuſe*, reſolv'd to ſend an Embaſſy into *Greece*, to demand Aid of the *Corinthians*, from whom the *Syracuſans* were deſcended; and who had always openly declar'd againſt Tyrants, in Favour of Liberty: But, *Icetas*, who propos'd no other End from his Command, than to make himſelf Maſter of *Syracuſe*, and had no Thoughts of ſetting it free, treated ſecretly with the *Carthaginians*; though, in publick, he affected to praiſe the wiſe Meaſures of the *Syracuſans*; and even ſent his Deputies along with theirs.

Corinth receiv'd the Embaſſadors perfectly well, and immediately appointed *Timoleon* their General. This great Man had led a retir'd Life for Twenty Years, without interfering in publick Affairs; and was far from believing, that, at his Age, and in the Circumſtances he then was, he ſhould be thought on upon ſuch an Occaſion. He was deſcended from one of the nobleſt Families of *Corinth*; lov'd his Country paſſionately; and diſcover'd, upon all Occaſions, a ſingular Humanity of Temper; except againſt Tyrants, and bad Men. He was an excellent Captain; and as, in his Youth, he had all the Maturity of Age, in Age he had all the Fire and Courage of the moſt vigorous Youth.

He had an elder Brother, call'd *Timophanes*, whom he tenderly lov'd; as he had demonſtrated in a Battle, in which he cover'd him with his Body, and ſav'd his Life, at the great Danger of his own; but his Country was ſtill dearer to him. That Brother having made himſelf Tyrant of it, ſo black a Crime gave him the ſharpeſt Affliction: He made Uſe of all poſſible Means to bring him back to his Duty: Kindneſs, Friendſhip, Affection, Remonſtrances, and even Menaces. But, finding all his Endeavours ineffectual; and that nothing could prevail upon an Heart abandon'd to Ambition, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated, in his Preſence, by two of his intimate Friends; and thought, that, upon ſuch an Occaſion, the Laws of Nature ought to give Place, to thoſe of his Country.

This Action was admir'd, and applauded by the principal Citizens of *Corinth*; and by moſt of the Philoſophers; who look'd upon it as the moſt noble Effect of human Virtue; and *Plutarch* ſeems to paſs the ſame Judgment upon it. All the World, however, were not of that Opinion, and ſome People reproach'd him, as an abominable Parricide, who could not fail of drawing down the Vengeance of the Gods upon him. His Mother eſpecially, in the Exceſs of her Grief, utter'd the moſt dreadful Curſes and Imprecations againſt him; and when he came to comfort her, not being able to bear the Sight of her Son's Murderer, ſhe thruſt him away with Indignation, and ſhut her Door againſt him.

He was then ſtruck with all the Horror of the moſt guilty; and, giving himſelf up to the moſt cruel Remorſe, look'd upon *Timophanes* no longer as a Tyrant, but as a Brother; and reſolv'd to put an End to his Life, by abſtaining from all Nouriſhment. It was with great Difficulty, his Friends diſſuaded him from that fatal Reſolution. Overcome by their Prayers and Inſtances, he was, at length, prevail'd on to live; but he condemn'd himſelf to paſs the Reſt of his Days in Solitude; and, from that Moment, renouncing all publick Affairs, for ſeveral Years, never came to the City, but wander'd about in the moſt ſolitary and Deſart-places, abandon'd to the Exceſs of Grief and Melancholy: This ſhew'd the excellent Temper of the Man, who could not help mourning ſo long for his Brother; though he knew him to have ſuffer'd Death juſtly and deſervedly; and even that his Death was neceſſary, for the Preſervation of his Country.

He paſs'd Twenty Years in this Condition; towards the latter Part of which Time, he did, indeed, return to *Corinth*; but liv'd there always private and retir'd, without concerning himſelf with the Adminiſtration of the Government: And it was not without great Repugnance, that he accepted the Employment of General; but he did not think himſelf at Liberty to refuſe the Service of his Country; and his Duty prevail'd againſt his Inclination.

Whilſt *Timoleon* aſſembled his Troops, and was preparing to ſail, the *Corinthians* receiv'd Letters from *Icetas*, in which he told them, It was not neceſſary for them to make any farther Levies, or exhauſt themſelves, in great Expences, to come to *Sicily*, and expoſe themſelves to evident Danger; that the *Carthaginians*, appriz'd of their Deſign, were waiting to intercept their Squadron, in its Paſſage, with a great Fleet; and that the Slowneſs in ſending their Troops, had oblig'd him to call in the *Carthaginians* himſelf to his Aid, and to make Uſe of them againſt the Tyrant. He had made a ſecret Treaty with them, as was hinted before; by which it was ſtipulated, that, after the Expul-

Expulſion of *Dionyſius* from *Syracuſe*, he ſhould take Poſſeſſion of it, in his Place.

The reading theſe Letters, far from cooling the Zeal of the *Corinians*, only incens'd them more than at firſt, and haſten'd the Departure of *Timoleon*. He embark'd on board Ten Gallies, and arriv'd ſafe on the Coaſt of *Italy*, where the News that came from *Sicily* extremely perplex'd him, and exceedingly diſcourag'd his Troops. It brought an Account, that *Icetas* had defeated *Dionyſius*; and having made himſelf Maſter of the greateſt Part of *Syracuſe*, had oblig'd the Tyrant to ſhut himſelf up in the Citadel, and in that Quarter, call'd the *Iſle*, where he beſieg'd him; and, that he had given Orders to the *Carthaginians*, to prevent the Approach of *Timoleon*; and to come on Shore, that they might make a peaceable Partition of *Sicily* between them, when they ſhould have reduc'd that General to retire.

Purſuant to this Advice, the *Carthaginians* had ſent Twenty Gallies to *Rhegio*; and the *Corinthians*, upon their Arrival at that Port, found Embaſſadors from *Icetas*, who declar'd to *Timoleon*, that he might come to *Syracuſe*, and would be well receiv'd there, provided he diſmiſs'd all his Troops. The Propoſal was intirely injurious, and, at the ſame Time, more perplexing. It ſeem'd impoſſible to beat the Veſſels, which the *Barbarians* had caus'd to advance to intercept them in their Paſſage, being double their Force; and to retire, was to abandon all *Sicily* to extream Diſtreſs; which could not avoid being the Reward of the Treachery of *Icetas*, and the Support which the *Carthaginians* ſhould give the Tyranny.

In this delicate Juncture, *Timoleon* demanded a Conference with the Embaſſadors, and the principal Officers of the *Carthaginian* Squadron, in the Preſence of the People of *Rhegio*. It was only, he ſaid, to juſtify himſelf, and for his own Security, that his Country might not accuſe him of having diſobey'd her Orders, and betray'd her Intereſts. The Governor, and Magiſtrates of *Rhegio* were of Intelligence with him: They deſir'd nothing more than to ſee the *Corinthians* in Poſſeſſion of *Sicily*; and apprehended nothing ſo much as the Neighbourhood of the *Barbarians*. They ſummon'd, therefore, an Aſſembly, and ſhut the City-Gates, on Pretence of preventing the Citizens from going Abroad, that they might apply themſelves ſolely to the preſent Affair.

The People being aſſembled, long Speeches were made, of little, or no Tendency, every-body treating of the ſame Subject, and repeating the ſame Reaſons, or adding new ones, only to protract the Council, and gain Time. Whilſt this was doing, Nine of the *Corinthian* Gallies went off, and were ſuffer'd to paſs by the *Carthaginian* Veſſels, believing that their Departure had been concerted with their own Officers who were in the City, and that thoſe Nine Gallies were to return to *Corinth*, the Tenth remaining behind, to carry *Timoleon* to the Army of *Icetas* at *Syracuſe*. When *Timoleon* was inform'd, in a Whiſper, that his Gallies were at Sea, he ſlipp'd gently through the Crowd; which, to favour his going off, throng'd exceedingly around the Tribunal; and getting to the Sea ſide, embark'd directly, and rejoin'd his Gallies, which ſoon reach'd *Tauromenium*, a City of *Sicily*, where they were receiv'd with open Arms by *Andromachus*, who commanded it; and join'd his Citizens with the *Corinthian* Troops, to re-eſtabliſh the *Sicilian* Liberties.

It is eaſy to imagine, how much the *Carthaginians* were ſurpriz'd, and aſham'd, at being ſo deceiv'd: But, as ſome-body told them, being *Phœnicians* (who paſs'd for the greateſt Cheats in the World) Fraud and Artifice ought not to give them ſo much Aſtoniſhment or Diſpleaſure.

Upon the News of the Arrival of *Timoleon*, *Icetas* was terrify'd, and made the greateſt Part of the *Carthaginian* Gallies advance: They had an Hundred and Fifty long Veſſels, Fifty Thouſand Foot, and Three Hundred arm'd Chariots. As for the *Syracuſans*. they loſt all Hope, when they ſaw the *Carthaginians* in Poſſeſſion of the Port, *Icetas* Maſter of the City, *Dionyſius* block'd up in the Citadel, and *Timoleon* without any other Footing in *Sicily*, than the ſmall City of *Tauromenium*, with little Hope, and leſs Force; for, his Troops did not amount, in all, to more than a Thouſand Soldiers; and he had ſcarce Proviſions for their Subſiſtence. Beſides this, the Cities did not confide in him: The Ills they had ſuffer'd from the Extortion and Cruelty, that had been practis'd amongſt them, had exaſperated them againſt all Commanders of foreign Troops; eſpecially, after the horrid Treachery of *Callippus*, and *Pharacides*; who, being both ſent, the one from *Athens*, and the other from *Sparta*, to free *Sicily*, and expel the Tyrants, made them conceive the Tyranny gentle and deſirable; ſo ſevere were the Vexations, with which they had oppreſs'd them: And they were afraid of experiencing the ſame Treatment from *Timoleon*.

In the mean While, the Inhabitants of *Adranon*, a ſmall City below Mount *Ætna*, being divided amongſt themſelves, one Party had call'd in *Icetas*, and the *Carthaginians*; and the other had apply'd to *Timoleon*. The two Chiefs arriv'd, almoſt at the ſame Time, in the Neighbourhood of *Adranon*; the former with Five Thouſand Men, and the latter with only Twelve Hundred. Notwithſtanding this Inequality, *Timoleon*, who juſtly conceiv'd he ſhould find the *Carthaginians* in Diſorder, employ'd in taking up their Quarters, and pitching their Tents, made his Troops advance; and, without loſing Time to reſt them, as the Officers advis'd him, march'd directly to charge the Enemy; who no ſooner ſaw him, than they took to their Heels. This occaſion'd their killing only Three Hundred, and taking twice as many Priſoners; but the *Carthaginians* loſt their Camp, and all their Baggage: The *Adranites* open'd their Gates, at the ſame Time, and receiv'd *Timoleon*; and other Cities ſent Deputies to him ſoon after, and made their Submiſſion.

Even *Dionyſius* himſelf, who renounc'd his vain Hopes, and ſaw himſelf at the Point of being reduc'd, as full of Contempt for *Icetas*, who had ſuffer'd himſelf to be ſo ſhamefully defeated, as of Admiration, and Eſteem for *Timoleon*, ſent Embaſſadors to the latter, to treat of ſurrendring himſelf, and the Citadel to the *Corinthians*. Hereupon, *Timoleon*, taking the Advantage of ſo unexpected a good Fortune, made *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, with four Hundred Soldiers, file off into the Caſtle; not all at once, nor in the Day-Time; that being impoſſible, the *Carthaginians* being Maſters of the Gate, but in Plattoons, and by Stealth. Thoſe Troops, having ſucceſsfully got to

the Citadel, took Poſſeſſion of it with all the Tyrant's Moveables, and warlike Stores: For, he had a conſiderable Number of Horſe, all Sorts of Engines, and Darts; beſides Seventy Thouſand Suits of Armour, which had been laid up there long before: He had alſo Two Thouſand regular Troops, which, with the Reſt, he ſurrendred to *Timoleon*: And, as for himſelf, taking with him his Money, and ſome few of his Friends, he embark'd, unperceiv'd by the Troops of *Icetas*, and repair'd to the Camp of *Timoleon*.

It was the firſt Time of his Life, that he had appear'd in the low and abject State of a private Perſon, and a Suppliant; he who had been born and bred, in the Arms of the Tyranny, and had ſeen himſelf Maſter of a powerful Kingdom. He had poſſeſs'd it Ten Years intire, before *Dion* took Arms againſt him; and ſome Years after, though always in the Midſt of Wars and Battles: But he was ſent to *Corinth* with only one Galley without Convoy, and with very little Money. He ſerv'd there for a Sight, every-body running to gaze at him; ſome with a ſecret Joy, to feed their Eyes with viewing the Miſeries of a Man, whom the Name of Tyrant had render'd odious; others with a Kind of Compaſſion, from comparing the ſplendid Condition, from which he had fallen, with the inextricable Abyſs of Diſtreſs, into which they beheld him plung'd.

His Manner of Life, at *Corinth*, excited not long any Sentiments, in Regard to him, but thoſe of Contempt and Indignation: He paſs'd whole Days in Perfumers Shops, in Taverns, or with Actreſſes, and Singers, diſputing with them on the Rules of Muſick, and the Harmony of Airs. Some People have thought, that he behav'd in ſuch a Manner, out of Policy, not to give Umbrage to the *Corinthians*, nor diſcover any Thought or Deſire of recovering his Dominions: But ſuch an Opinion does him too much Honour; and it ſeems more probable, that, having been educated, as he was, in Drunkenneſs and Debauchery, he did no more than follow his Inclinations; and, that he paſs'd his Life in the Kind of Slavery into which he was fallen, as he had done upon the Throne, not having any other Conſolation in his Misfortunes.

Some Writers ſay, that the extreme Poverty to which he was reduc'd at *Corinth*, oblig'd him to open a School there, and teach Children to read; perhaps, ſays *Cicero*, to retain a Species of Empire, and not abſolutely renounce the Habit and Pleaſure of commanding. Whether that were his Motive, or not, it is certain, *Dionyſius*, who had ſeen himſelf Maſter of *Syracuſe*, and of almoſt all *Sicily*; who had poſſeſs'd immenſe Riches; and had numerous Fleets, and great Armies of Horſe and Foot under his Command; reduc'd then almoſt to Beggary, and, from a King, become a School-Maſter, was a good Leſſon for Perſons of exalted Stations, not to confide in their Grandeur, nor rely too much upon their Fortune. Accordingly, the *Lacedæmonians*, ſome Time after, gave *Philip* this Admonition. That Prince, having written to them in very haughty and menacing Terms, they made him no other Anſwer, but *Dionyſius at Corinth*.

An Expreſſion of *Dionyſius*, which has been preſerv'd, ſeems to argue, if it be true, that he knew how to make a good Uſe of his Adverſity, and turn his Misfortunes to his Advantage; which would be very much to his Praiſe, but contrary to what has been ſaid of him before. Whilſt he liv'd at *Corinth*, a Stranger rally'd him unſeaſonably, and with an indecent Groſſneſs, on his Commerce with the Philoſophers, during his moſt ſplendid Fortunes; and ask'd him, by Way of Inſult; Of what Conſequence all the Wiſdom of *Plato* had been to him? *Can you believe then*, reply'd he, *I have received no Benefit from* Plato, *and ſee me bear ill Fortune as I do?*

After the Retreat of *Dionyſius*, *Icetas* preſs'd the Siege of the Citadel of *Syracuſe* with the utmoſt Vigour, and kept it ſo cloſely block'd up, that the Convoys, ſent frequently to the *Corinthians*, by *Timoleon*, who was at *Catana*, could not enter it without great Difficulty. To deprive them of this Relief, *Icetas* and *Mago* ſet out together, with Deſign to beſiege that Place: During their Abſence, *Leon*, the *Corinthian*, who commanded in the Citadel, having obſerv'd, from the Ramparts, thoſe, who had been left to continue the Siege, were very remiſs in their Duty, made a ſudden, and furious Sally upon them, whilſt they were diſpers'd, kill'd Part of them, put the Reſt to Flight, and ſeiz'd the Quarter of the City, call'd *Achradina*, which was the ſtrongeſt Part of it, and had been leaſt injur'd by the Enemy. This done, *Leon* fortify'd it in the beſt Manner the Time would admit, and join'd it to the Citadel by Works of Communication.

This bad News caus'd *Mago* and *Icetas* to return immediately: But, at the ſame Time, a Body of Troops from *Corinth* landed ſafe in *Sicily*, having deceiv'd the Vigilance of the *Carthaginian* Squadron, poſted to intercept them. When they were landed, *Timoleon* receiv'd them with Joy; and, after having taken Poſſeſſion of *Meſſina*, march'd in Battle-Array againſt *Syracuſe*. This Army conſiſted of only Four Thouſand Men; but, when he approach'd the City, his firſt Care was, to ſend Emiſſaries, amongſt the Soldiers who bore Arms for *Icetas*; who repreſented to them, that it was highly ſhameful for *Greeks*, as they were, to endeavour to have *Syracuſe*, and all *Sicily* given up to the *Carthaginians*, the wickedeſt, and moſt cruel of all *Barbarians*: And that *Icetas* need only join *Timoleon*, and act in Concert with him againſt the common Enemy. Theſe Soldiers having ſpread theſe Inſinuations throughout the whole Camp, gave *Mago* violent Suſpicions of his being betray'd; beſides which, he had already, for ſome Time, ſought a Pretence to retire: For which Reaſon, notwithſtanding the Intreaties, and warm Remonſtrances of *Icetas*, he weigh'd Anchor, and ſet Sail for *Africa*, ſhamefully abandoning the Conqueſt of *Sicily*.

The Army of *Timoleon*, the next Day, appear'd before the Place in Line of Battle; and attack'd it in three different Quarters with ſo much Vigour and Succeſs, that the Troops of *Icetas* were quite overthrown, and put to Flight. Thus, by a good Fortune, of which there are few Examples, he carry'd *Syracuſe* by Force, in an Inſtant, which was, at that Time, one of the ſtrongeſt Cities in the World. When he had made himſelf Maſter of it, he did not act like *Dion*, in ſparing the Forts, and publick Edifices, for their Beauty and Magnificence. To avoid giving the ſame Cauſe of Suſpicion, which, at firſt, made that Great Man ſuſ-

ſuſpected, though without Foundation; and, at laſt, ruin'd him; he caus'd Proclamation to be made, by Sound of Trumpet, that all, who would come with their Tools, might employ themſelves in demoliſhing the Forts of the Tyrants. Accordingly, the *Syracuſans*, looking upon that Publication, and Day, as the Commencement of their Liberty, ran in Crowds to the Citadel, which they not only demoliſh'd, but the Palaces of the Tyrants alſo; breaking open their Tombs, at the ſame Time, which they alſo threw down, and deſtroy'd.

The Citadel being raz'd, and the Ground made level, *Timoleon* caus'd Tribunals to be erected upon it, for the Diſpenſation of Juſtice, in the Name of the People; that the ſame Place, from whence, under the Tyrants, had iſſued, every Day, ſome bloody Edict, might become the *Aſylum* and Bulwark of Liberty and Innocence. *Timoleon* then remains quiet after of the City; but it wanted People to inhabit it: For, ſome having periſh'd in the Wars and Seditions, and others being fled, to avoid the Power of the Tyrants, the City of *Syracuſe* was become a Deſart, and the Graſs was grown ſo high in the Streets, that Horſes graz'd in them; and all the Cities of *Sicily* were almoſt in the ſame Condition: Wherefore, *Timoleon* and the *Syracuſans* found it neceſſary to write to *Corinth*, to deſire People might be ſent from *Greece*, to inhabit *Syracuſe*; that otherwiſe the Country could never recover itſelf, and was beſides threatned with a new War. For they had received Advice, that *Mago* having kill'd himſelf, the *Carthaginians*, enraged at his having acquitted himſelf ſo ill of his Charge, had hung up his Body upon a Croſs, and were making great Levies to return into *Sicily*, with a more numerous Army than at the Beginning of the Year,

Thoſe Letters being arrived, with Embaſſadors from *Syracuſe*, who conjured the *Corinthians* to take Compaſſion of their City, and to be a ſecond Time the Founders of it; the *Corinthians* did not conſider the Calamity of that People, as an Occaſion of aggrandizing themſelves, and of making themſelves Maſters of the City, according to the baſe Maxims of an ignoble Policy; but, ſending to all the ſacred Games of *Greece*, and to all publick Aſſemblies, they cauſed Proclamation to be made in them by Heralds, That the *Corinthians*, having aboliſh'd the Tyranny of *Syracuſe*, and expelled the Tyrants, they declared free, and independent, the *Syracuſans*, and all the People of *Sicily*, who ſhould return to their own Country; and exhorted them to repair thither, to partake of an equal and juſt Diſtribution of the Lands amongſt them. At the ſame Time, they diſpatched Couriers into *Aſia*, and into all the Iſles, whither great Numbers of Fugitives had retired, to invite them to come as ſoon as poſſible to *Corinth*; which would provide them Veſſels, Commanders, and a ſafe Convoy, to tranſport them into their own Country, at its own Expences.

Upon this Publication, *Corinth* received univerſal Praiſes and Bleſſings, as it juſtly deſerved: It was every-where proclaim'd, that *Corinth* had deliver'd *Syracuſe* from the Tyrants, had preſerved it from falling into the Hands of the *Barbarians*, and reſtored it to its Citizens. It is not neceſſary to inſiſt here, upon the Grandeur of ſo noble and generous an Action; the common Account of it muſt make the Impreſſion, that always reſults from what is truly great and excellent; and every Body will admit, that never Conqueſt or Triumph equalled the Glory, which ſo perfect and magnanimous a Diſintereſtedneſs the *Corinthians* acquired at this Time.

Thoſe who came to *Corinth*, not being ſufficiently numerous, demanded ſtill an Addition from the Inhabitants of that City, and from all *Greece*, to augment this kind of Colony. Having obtained their Requeſt, and finding themſelves increaſed to Ten thouſand, they embark'd for *Syracuſe*, where a Multitude of People, from all Parts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, had join'd *Timoleon*. It was ſaid their Number amounted to Sixty Thouſand, and upwards. *Timoleon* diſtributed the Lands amongſt them, *Gratis*; but ſold them the Houſes, with which he raiſed a very great Sum; leaving it to the Diſcretion of the old Inhabitants to redeem their own, and by this Means he collected a conſiderable Fund for ſuch of the People, who were poor, and unable to ſupport either their own Neceſſities, or the Burden of the War.

The Statues of the Tyrants, and of all the Princes who had governed *Sicily*, were put up to Sale; but firſt they were cited, and ſentenced in the Forms of Law; and one only eſcaped the Rigour of this Enquiry, and was preſerved. This was that of *Gelon*, who had gain'd a celebrated Victory over the *Carthaginians* at *Himera*, and govern'd the People with Lenity and Juſtice; for which his Memory was ſtill cheriſh'd and honour'd. If the ſame Scrutiny were made into all Statues, we know not whether many would continue ſtanding.

Hiſtory has preſerved another Sentence paſſed alſo in Regard to a Statue, but of a very different kind: The Fact is curious, and will excuſe a Digreſſion. *Nicon*, a Champion of the Iſle of *Thaſos*, had been crowned fourteen hundred Times, as Victor in the ſolemn Games of *Greece*: A Man of ſuch Merit could not fail of being envy'd. After his Death, one of his Competitors inſulted his Statue, and gave it ſeveral Blows; to revenge, perhaps, thoſe he had formerly received from the Perſon it repreſented. But the Statue, as if ſenſible of that Outrage, fell from its Height, upon the Author of the Inſult, and kill'd him. The Son of the Man who had been cruſh'd to Death, proceeded judicially againſt the Statue, as guilty of Homicide, and puniſhable by the Law of *Draco*. That famous Legiſlator of *Athens*, to inſpire a greater Horror for the Guilt of Murder, had ordain'd, that even the inanimate Things ſhould be exterminated, which ſhould occaſion the Death of a Man by their Fall. The *Thaſians*, conformably to this Law, decreed that the Statue ſhould be thrown into the Sea. But ſome Years after, being afflicted with a great Famine, and having conſulted the Oracle of *Delphos*, they cauſed it to be taken out of the Sea, and render'd new Honours to it.

Syracuſe being raiſed, in a Manner, from the Grave, and People flocking from all Parts to inhabit it, *Timoleon*, deſirous of freeing the other Cities of *Sicily*, and finally to extirpate Tyranny and Tyrants out of it, began his March with his Army. He compelled *Icetas* to renounce his Alliance with the *Carthaginians*, obliged him to demoliſh his Forts, and to live as a private Perſon in the City of the *Leontines*. *Leptinus*, Tyrant of *Apollonia*, and of ſeveral other Cities and Fortreſſes,

treſſes, ſeeing himſelf in Danger of being taken by Force, ſurrender'd himſelf. *Timoleon* ſpared his Life, and ſent him to *Corinth*: For he thought nothing more great and honourable, than to let all *Greece* ſee the Tyrants of *Sicily*, in a State of Humiliation, and living like baniſh'd Men.

He return'd afterwards to *Syracuſe*, to regulate the Government, and to inſtitute ſuch Laws as ſhould be moſt important and neceſſary, in Conjunction with *Cephalus* and *Dionyſius*, two Legiſlators ſent to him by the *Corinthians*: For he had not the Weakneſs to deſire unlimited Power, and the ſole Adminiſtration. But on his Departure, that the Troops in his Pay might get ſomething for themſelves, and to keep them in Exerciſe at the ſame Time, he ſent them, under the Command of *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus*, into all the Places ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. Thoſe Troops drew over ſeveral Cities from the *Barbarians*, lived always in Abundance; made great Booty, and brought away conſiderable Sums of Money, which was of great Service in the Support of the War.

About this Time, the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Lilybæum*, under *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, with an Army of Seventy thouſand Men, Two hundred Ships of War, a Thouſand Tranſports laden with Machines, armed Chariots, Horſes, Ammunition, and Proviſions: They propoſed no leſs than the entire Expulſion of the *Greeks* out of *Sicily*. *Timoleon* did not think fit to wait their advancing, and though he could raiſe only Six or Seven thouſand Men, ſo great was the Terror of the People, he march'd with that ſmall Body of Troops againſt the formidable Army of the Enemy, and obtain'd a celebrated Victory, near the River *Crimeſus*; This done, *Timoleon* returned to *Syracuſe*, amidſt Shouts of Joy, and univerſal Applauſes.

He had before effected the Conqueſt and Reduction of the *Sicilian* Tyrants, but had not changed them, nor taken from them their tyrannical Diſpoſition. They united together, and formed a powerful League againſt him. *Timoleon* immediately took the Field, and ſoon put a final End to their Hopes: He made them all ſuffer the juſt Puniſhment, their Revolt deſerved; and *Icetas*, amongſt others, with his Son, were put to Death, as Tyrants and Traitors. His Wife and Daughters, having been ſent to *Syracuſe*, and preſented to the People, were alſo ſentenced to die, and executed accordingly. The People, without doubt, deſign'd to avenge *Dion*, their firſt Deliverer, by that Decree: For it was the ſame *Icetas*, who had cauſed *Arete*, *Dion*'s Wife, his Siſter *Ariſtomache*, and his Son an Infant, to be thrown into the Sea.

Virtue is ſeldom or never unenvy'd: Two Accuſers ſummon'd *Timoleon* to anſwer for his Conduct before the Judges, and having aſſign'd him a certain Day for his Appearance, demanded Surties of him. The People expreſſed great Indignation againſt ſuch a Proceeding, and would have diſpenſed with the cuſtomary Formalities in ſo great a Man: But he ſtrongly oppoſed it, giving for his Reaſon, that all he had undertaken had no other Principle, than that the Laws might be duly obſerved. He was alſo accuſed of Malverſation, during his Command of the Army; but without giving himſelf the Trouble to refute thoſe Calumnies, he only reply'd, "That he thank'd the "Gods, who had heard his Prayers; and that he "at length ſaw the *Syracuſians* enjoy an entire "Liberty of ſaying every Thing, a Liberty, abſolutely unknown to them under the Tyrants; "but which, it was juſt to confine within due "Bounds."

That great Man had given *Syracuſe* wiſe Laws, had purged all *Sicily* of the Tyrants, which had long infeſted it, had re-eſtabliſh'd Peace and Security univerſally; and ſupply'd the Cities, ruin'd by the War, with the Means of re inſtating themſelves. After ſuch glorious Actions, which had given him an unbounded Credit, he quitted his Authority to live in Retirement. The *Syracuſians* had given him the beſt Houſe in the City, in Gratitude for his great Services; and another very fine and agreeable one, in the Country, where he generally reſided with his Wife and Children, whom he had ſent for from *Corinth*; for he did not return thither, and *Syracuſe* was become his Country. He had the Wiſdom in reſigning every Thing, to ſecure himſelf entirely alſo from Envy, which never fails to attend exalted Stations, and pays no Reſpect to Merit, however great and ſubſtantial: He ſhunned the Rock, on which the greateſt Men, through an inſatiate Luſt of Honours and Power, are often ſhipwreck'd; that is, by engaging, to the End of their Lives, in new Cares and Troubles, of which Age renders them incapable; and by chooſing rather to ſink under them, than to lay them down.

Timoleon, who knew all the Value of a noble and glorious Leiſure, acted in a different Manner: He paſſed the reſt of his Life as a private Perſon, enjoying the grateful Satisfaction of ſeeing ſo many Cities, and ſuch a numerous People, indebted to him, for their Happineſs and Tranquillity. But he was always reſpected, and conſulted, as the common Oracle of *Sicily*: There was neither Treaty of Peace, Inſtitution of Law, Diviſion of Land, nor Regulation of Government, that ſeem'd well done, if *Timoleon* had not been conſulted, and put the laſt Hand to it.

His Age was tried with a very ſenſible Affliction, which he ſupported with aſtoniſhing Patience; it was the Loſs of Sight. That Accident, far from leſſening him in the Conſideration and Regard of the People, ſerved only to add thereto. The *Syracuſans* did not content themſelves with paying him frequent Viſits, they conducted all Strangers, both in Town and Country, to ſee their Benefactor and Deliverer. When they had any important Affair to deliberate upon in the Aſſembly of the People, they called him in to their Aſſiſtance; he came thither in a Chariot drawn by two Horſes, which croſſed the publick Place to the Theatre, and in that Manner he was introduced into the Aſſembly, amidſt the Shouts, and Acclamations of Joy, of the whole People. After he had given his Opinion, which was always religiouſly obſerved, his Domeſticks re-conducted him, acroſs the Theatre, follow'd by all the Citizens, beyond the Gates, with continual Shouts of Joy, and clapping of Hands.

He had ſtill greater Honours paid to him after his Death: Nothing was wanting that could add to the Magnificence of the Proceſſion, which followed his Bier, of which, the Tears that were ſhed, and the Bleſſings uttered, by every Body, in Honour of his Memory, were the nobleſt Ornament. Thoſe Tears were neither the Effect of

Cuſtom,

Cuſtom, and the Formality of Mourning, nor exacted by publick Decree, but flow'd from a native Source, ſincere Affection, lively Gratitude, and inconſolable Sorrow. A Law was alſo made, that annually, for the future, upon the Day of his Death, the Muſick, and Gymnick Games, ſhould be celebrated, with Horſe-Races, in Honour of him. But what was ſtill more honourable for the Memory of that great Man, was the Decree of the *Syracuſan* People, that whenever *Sicily* ſhould be engaged in a War with Foreigners, they ſhould ſend to *Corinth* for a General.

We do not know, that Hiſtory has any Thing more great and accompliſh'd, than what it ſays of *Timoleon:* We ſpeak not only of his military Exploits, and the happy Succeſs of all his Undertakings. *Plutarch* obſerves a Characteriſtick in them, which diſtinguiſhes *Timoleon* from all the great Men of his Time, and makes uſe, upon that Occaſion, of a very remarkable Compariſon. There is, ſays he, in Painting, and Poetry, Pieces which are excellent in themſelves, and which, at the firſt View, may be known to be the Works of a Maſter; but ſome of them denote, their having coſt Abundance of Pains and Application; whereas in others, is ſeen an eaſy and native Grace, which adds exceedingly to their Value; and amongſt this latter Kind he places the Poems of *Homer*. There is ſomething of this Sort occurs, when we compare the great Actions of *Epaminondas*, and *Ageſilaus*, with thoſe of *Timoleon*. In the former, we find them executed with Force, and innumerable Difficulties; but in the latter, there is an Eaſineſs and Facility, which diſtinguiſh them as the Work, not of Fortune, but of Virtue, which Fortune ſeems to have taken Pleaſure in ſeconding. It is *Plutarch* who ſtill ſpeaks.

But not to mention his military Actions; what we admire the moſt in *Timoleon*, is his warm and diſintereſted Paſſion for the publick Good, and his reſerving only for himſelf the Pleaſure of ſeeing others happy by his Services; his extreme Remoteneſs from Ambition and Haughtineſs; his honourable Retirement into the Country; his Modeſty, Moderation, and Indifference for the Honours paid him; and what is ſtill more uncommon, his Averſion for all Flattery, and even juſt Praiſes. *When ſomebody extolled, in his Preſence, his Wiſdom, Valour, and Glory, in having expelled the Tyrants, he made no Anſwer, but that he thought himſelf obliged to expreſs his Gratitude to the Gods, who having decreed to reſtore Peace and Liberty to* Sicily, *had vouchſafed to make Choice of him, in Preference to all others, for ſo honourable a Miniſtration: For he was fully perſuaded, that all human Events are guided and diſpoſed by the ſecret Determinations of Divine Providence.* What a Treaſure, what an Happineſs for a State, is ſuch a Miniſter!

For the better underſtanding his Value, we need only to compare the Condition of *Syracuſe*, under *Timoleon*, with its State under the two *Dionyſii*. It was the ſame City, Inhabitants, and People; but how different was it under the different Governments we mention! The two Tyrants had no Thoughts but of making themſelves feared, and of oppreſſing their Subjects, to render them more paſſive. They were terrible in Effect, as they deſired to be; but, at the ſame Time, deteſted and abhorred; and had more to fear from their Subjects, than their Subjects from them. *Timoleon*, on the contrary, who look'd upon himſelf as the Father of the *Syracuſan* People, and who had no Thoughts but of making them happy, enjoy'd the refin'd Pleaſure of being beloved and revered as a Parent, by his Children; and he was remember'd amongſt them with Bleſſings, becauſe they could not reflect upon the Peace and Happineſs they enjoy'd, without calling to Mind, at the ſame Time, the wiſe Legiſlator, to whom they were indebted, for thoſe ineſtimable Gifts.

As *Demoſthenes* will have a great Part, in the Hiſtory of *Philip*, and *Alexander*, which will be the Subject of the enſuing Sheets, it is neceſſary to give the Reader ſome previous Idea of him; and to let him know by what Means he cultivated, and to what a Degree of Perfection he carry'd, his Talent of Eloquence; which made him more dreaded by *Philip*, and *Alexander*, and enabled him to render greater Services to his Country, than the higheſt military Virtue could have done.

That Orator, born two Years before *Philip*, and two hundred and fourſcore before *Cicero*, was not the Son of a dirty ſmoaky Blackſmith, as *Juvenal* ſeems to intimate, but of a Man moderately rich, who got conſiderably by Forges. Not that the Birth of *Demoſthenes* could derogate in the leaſt from his Reputation, whoſe Works are an higher Title of Nobility, than the moſt ſplendid the World affords. *Demoſthenes* tells us himſelf, that his Father employ'd thirty Slaves at his Forges, each of them valued at three *Minæ*, or fifty Crowns; two excepted, who were, without Doubt, the moſt expert in the Buſineſs, and directed the Work, and thoſe were, each of them, worth an hundred Crowns. It is well known, that Part of the Wealth of the Ancients conſiſted in Slaves. Thoſe Forges, all Charges paid, clear'd annually thirty *Minæ*, that is, fifteen hundred Crowns. To this firſt Manufactury, appropriated to the forging of Swords, and ſuch kind of Arms, he added another, wherein Beds, and Tables, of fine Wood and Ivory, were made; which brought him in yearly, twelve *Minæ*. In this, only twenty Slaves were employ'd, each of them valued at two *Minæ*, which is about twenty-five Crowns.

The Father of *Demoſthenes* died poſſeſſed of an Eſtate of fourteen Talents: He had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of ſordid and avaritious Guardians, who had no Views but of making the moſt out of his Fortune. They carried that baſe Spirit ſo far, as to refuſe their the Maſters of their Pupil the Reward due to them: So that he was not educated with that Care, which ſo excellent a Genius as his required; beſides which, the Weakneſs of his Conſtitution, and the Delicacy of his Health, with the exceſſive Fondneſs of a Mother, that doated upon him, prevented his Maſters from obliging him to apply much to his Studies.

The School of *Iſocrates*, in which many great Men had been educated, was at that Time the moſt famous at *Athens:* But whether the Avarice of the Guardians of *Demoſthenes* prevented them from letting him improve under a Maſter, whoſe Price was very high, or the ſoft and peaceful Eloquence of *Iſocrates* was not to his Taſte at that Time, he ſtudied under *Iſæus*, whoſe Character was Strength and Vehemence. He found Means, however, to get the Principles of Rhetorick taught by the former: But *Plato*, in Reality, contributed

the moſt to forming *Demoſthenes*; he read his Works with great Application, and received Leſſons from him alſo; and it is eaſy to diſtinguiſh, in the Writings of the Diſciple, the noble and ſublime Air of the Maſter.

But he ſoon quitted the Schools of *Iſæus* and *Plato*, for another, under a different kind of Direction; we mean, to frequent the Bar, of which this was the Occaſion. The Orator *Calliſtratus* was appointed to plead the Cauſe of the City *Oropus*, ſituated between *Bœotia* and *Attica*: *Chabrias*, having diſpoſed the *Athenians* to march to the Aid of the *Thebans*, who were in great Diſtreſs, they haſten'd thither, and deliver'd them from the Enemy: The *Thebans*, forgetting ſo great a Service, took the Town of *Oropus*, which was upon their Frontier, from the *Athenians*; *Chabrias* was ſuſpected, and charged with Treaſon upon this Occaſion; and *Calliſtratus* was choſen to plead againſt him. The Reputation of the Orator, and the Importance of the Cauſe, excited Curioſity, and made a great Noiſe in the City. *Demoſthenes*, who was then ſixteen Years of Age, earneſtly entreated his Maſters to carry him with them to the Bar, that he might be preſent at ſo famous a Trial. The Orator was heard with great Attention, and having had extraordinary Succeſs, was attended home by a Crowd of illuſtrious Citizens, who ſeem'd to vye with each, in praiſing and admiring him. The young Man was extremely affected with the Honours, which he ſaw paid to the Orator, and ſtill more, with the ſupreme Power of Eloquence over the Minds of Men, of which it diſpoſes, as abſolute Sovereign. He was himſelf ſenſible of its Effects, and not being able to reſiſt its Charms, he gave himſelf wholly up to it; from thenceforth he renounced all other Studies and Pleaſures, and during the Continuance of *Calliſtratus* at *Athens*, he never quitted him, but made all the Improvement he could from his Precepts.

The firſt Eſſay of his Eloquence was againſt his Guardians, whom he obliged to refund a Part of his Fortune: Encouraged by this Succeſs, he ventured to ſpeak before the People, but with very ill Succeſs. He had a weak Voice, a thick Way of ſpeaking, and a very ſhort Breath; notwithſtanding which, his Periods were ſo long, that he was often obliged to ſtop in the Midſt of them, for Reſpiration. This occaſion'd his being hiſſed by the whole Audience, from whence he retired, entirely diſcouraged, and determin'd to renounce for ever, a Function, of which he believed himſelf incapable. But, one of his Auditors, who had obſerved an excellent Fund of Genius in him, and a Kind of Eloquence, which came very near that of *Pericles*, gave him new Spirit, from the grateful Idea of ſo glorious a Reſemblance, and the good Advice which he added to it.

He ventured therefore, to appear a ſecond Time before the People, and was no better received than before: However, as he withdrew, hanging down his Head, and in the utmoſt Confuſion, *Satyrus*, one of the moſt excellent Actors of thoſe Times, who was his Friend, met him; and having learnt from himſelf, the Cauſe of his being ſo much dejected, aſſured him, that the Evil was not without Remedy, and that the Caſe was not ſo deſperate as he imagin'd. Thereupon he deſired him only to repeat ſome Verſes of *Sophocles* or *Euripides*; which he accordingly did; when *Satyrus* ſpoke them after him, and gave them ſuch Graces by the Tone, Geſture, and Spirit, with which he pronounced them, that *Demoſthenes* himſelf found them quite different from what they were in his own Manner of ſpeaking. He then perceived plainly what he wanted, and apply'd himſelf to the acquiring of it.

His Efforts to correct his natural Defect of Utterance, and to perfect himſelf in Pronunciation, and Action, of which his Friend had made him underſtand the Value, ſeem almoſt incredible; and prove, that an induſtrious Perſeverance can ſurmount almoſt any Thing. He ſtammer'd to ſuch a Degree, that he could not pronounce ſome Letters; amongſt others, that with which the Name of the Art he ſtudied begins, (*Rhetorick*;) and he was ſo ſhort-breath'd, that he could not utter a whole Period without ſtopping. He overcame theſe Obſtacles at length, by putting ſmall Pebbles into his Mouth, and pronouncing ſeveral Verſes in that Manner, without Interruption; and that walking, and going up ſteep, and difficult Places, ſo that at laſt, no Letter made him heſitate, and his Breath held out through the longeſt Periods. He went alſo to the Sea ſide, and whilſt the Waves were in the moſt violent Agitation, he pronounced Harangues, to accuſtom himſelf, by the confuſed Noiſe of the Waters, to the Roar of the People, and the tumultuous Cries of publick Aſſemblies.

Demoſthenes took no leſs Care of his Action, than of his Voice: He had a large Looking-glaſs in his Houſe, which ſerved to teach him Geſture, and at which he uſed to declaim, before he ſpoke in Publick. To correct a Fault, which he had contracted by an ill Habit of continually ſhrugging his Shoulders, he practiſed ſtanding upright, in a Kind of very narrow Pulpit or *Roſtrum*, over which hung a Halbard in ſuch a Manner, that if in the Heat of Action that Motion eſcaped him, the Point of the Weapon might ſerve at the ſame Time to admoniſh and correct him.

His Pains were well beſtow'd; for it was by this Means, that he carried the Art of declaiming to the higheſt Degree of Perfection of which it was capable; whence, it is plain, he well knew its Value and Importance. When he was ask'd, three ſeveral Times, which Quality he thought moſt neceſſary in an Orator, he gave no other Anſwer than, *Pronunciation* and *Action*; inſinuating, by giving that Anſwer, three Times ſucceſſively, that theſe were the only Qualifications, of which, the Want could be leaſt conceal'd, and which, was the moſt capable of concealing other Defects; and that Pronounciation alone, could give conſiderable Weight, even in an indifferent Orator; when without it, the moſt moſt excellent could not hope the leaſt Succeſs. He muſt have had a very high Opinion of it, ſince to arrive at Perfection in it, and for the Inſtruction of *Neoptolemus*, the moſt excellent Comedian then in being, he devoted ſo conſiderable a Sum as ten thouſand Drachmas, though he was not very rich.

His Application to Study was no leſs ſurprizing: To be the more removed from Noiſe, and leſs ſubject to Diſtraction, he cauſed a ſmall Chamber to be made for him under Ground, in which he ſhut himſelf up ſometimes for whole Months, having on Purpoſe half his Head and Face, that he might not be in a Condition to go abroad. It was there-

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by the Light of a ſmall Lamp, he compoſed the admirable Orations, which were ſaid, by thoſe who envy'd him, *to ſmell of the Oil*; to imply, that they were too elaborate. *It is plain*, reply'd he, *yours did not coſt you ſo much Trouble.* He roſe very early in the Morning, and uſed to ſay, that he was ſorry when any Workman was at his Buſineſs before him. We may judge of the extraordinary Efforts he made to acquire an Excellence of every Kind, from the Pains he took in copying the Hiſtory of *Thucydides* eight Times with his own Hand, to render the Style of that great Man familiar to him.

At laſt *Demoſthenes*, after having exerciſed his Talent of Eloquence in ſeveral private Cauſes, made his Appearance in full Light, and mounted the Tribunal of Harangues, to treat there upon the publick Affairs; with what Succeſs, we ſhall ſee hereafter. *Cicero* tells us, that Succeſs was ſo great, that all *Greece* came in Crowds to *Athens* to hear *Demoſthenes* ſpeak; and he adds, that with his Merit it could not have been otherwiſe.

If we may believe *Philip* upon this Head, of which he is certainly an Evidence of unqueſtionable Authority, the Eloquence of *Demnoſthenes* alone did him more Hurt, than all the Armies and Fleets of the *Athenians*. His Harangues, he ſaid, were like Engines of War, and Batteries raiſed at a Diſtance againſt him; by which he overthrew all his Projects, and ruined his Enterprizes, without its being poſſible to prevent their Effect. *For I myſelf*, (ſays *Philip* of him) *had I been preſent, and heard that vehement Orator declaim, ſhould have concluded the firſt, that it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to declare War againſt me.* No City ſeem'd impregnable to that Prince, provided he could introduce a Mule laden with Gold into it; but he confeſſed, that to his Sorrow, *Demoſthenes* was invincible in that Reſpect; and that he always found him inacceſſible to his Preſents. After the Battle of *Chæronea*, *Philip*, though Victor, was ſtruck with extreme Dread at the Proſperity of the great Danger, to which that Orator, by the powerful League, had been the ſole Cauſe of forming againſt him, had expoſed him and his Kingdom.

Antipater ſpoke to the ſame Effect of him. *I value not*, ſaid he, *the* Piræum, *the Galleys, and Armies of the* Athenians: *For what have we to fear from a People continually employ'd in Games, Feaſts, and* Bacchanals? Demoſthenes *alone gives me Pain. Without him the* Athenians *differ in nothing from the meaneſt People of* Greece. *He alone excites and animates them: It is he that rouzes them from their Lethargy and Stupidity, and puts their Arms and Oars into their Hands, almoſt againſt their Wills; continually repreſenting to them the famous Battles of* Marathon *and* Salamis; *he transforms them into other Men, by the Ardor of his Diſcourſes, and inſpires them with incredible Valour and Fortitude. Nothing eſcapes his penetrating Eyes, nor his conſummate Prudence: He foreſees all our Deſigns, he countermines all our Projects, and diſconcerts us in every Thing; and did* Athens *entirely confide in him, and wholly follow his Advice, we were undone without Remedy. Nothing can tempt him, nor diminiſh his Love for his Country: He is as much Proof againſt all the Gold of* Philip, *as* Ariſtides *was formerly againſt that of* Perſia.

He was reduced, by Neceſſity, to give this glorious Teſtimony of himſelf, in his juſt Defence againſt *Æſchines*, his Accuſer and declared Enemy. "Whilſt all the Orators have ſuffer'd themſelves "to be corrupted by the Preſents of *Philip* and "*Alexander*, it is well known, ſays he, that neither dangerous Junctures, engaging Expreſſions, "magnificent Promiſes, Hope, Fear, Favour, "any Thing in the World, have ever been able "to induce me to give up the leaſt Right or Intereſt of my Country." He adds, that inſtead of acting like thoſe mercenary Perſons, who in all they propoſed, declared for ſuch as paid them beſt; like Scales, that always incline to the Side from whence they receive moſt; he, in all the Counſels he had given, had ſolely in View the Intereſt and Glory of his Country, and that he had always continued inflexible and incorruptible by the *Macedonian* Gold. The Sequel will ſhew, how well he ſupported this Character to the End.

Such was the Orator who is about to aſcend the Tribunal of Harangues; or rather, the Stateſman, about to enter upon the Adminiſtration of the publick Affairs, and who will will be the Soul, and Principle of all the great Enterprizes of *Athens*, againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*.



THE

THE HISTORY OF *PHILIP*, KING *of* MACEDON.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Extraction of Philip; *He is ſent, as a Hoſtage, to the* Illyrians; *He is again ſent, as a Hoſtage, to the* Thebans, *and plac'd with* Epaminondas, *under whom he is educated; He ſteals away from* Thebes, *and takes upon him the Government of* Macedon, *as Guardian to his Nephew; He is made King, by the People; He forms the celebrated* Macedonian Phalanx; *His profound Policy; His Son* Alexander *the* Great *born; He provides early for a ſuitable Education for him, and places him under* Ariſtotle; *He attempts to ſeize on the Paſs of* Thermopylæ, *but is prevented by the* Athenians; Demoſthenes *warns the* Athenians *of the ambitious Views of that Prince, and animates them againſt him; He poſſeſſes himſelf of* Olynthus; *He ſeizes on the* Thermopylæ; *His ſevere Treatment of the* Phocenſes; *He obtains a Seat in the Council of the* Amphictyons.

MACEDON was an hereditary Kingdom, ſituated in ancient *Thrace*; and was bounded, at firſt, on the *South*, by the Mountains of *Theſſaly*; on the *Eaſt* by *Bœotia*, and *Pieria*; on the *Weſt*, by the *Lynceſtes*; and on the *North*, by *Mygdonia* and *Pelagonia*: But, after *Philip* had conquer'd Part of *Thrace* and *Illyrium*, this Kingdom extended from the *Adriatic* Sea to the River *Strymon*; and *Edeſſa*, which was, firſt, the Capital of it, reſign'd this Honour to *Pella*; famous for giving Birth to *Philip*, and *Alexander* the *Great*.

Philip, whoſe Hiſtory we are going to write, was Son to *Amyntas* II; who is reckon'd the Sixteenth King of *Macedon*, from *Caranus*, who had founded that Kingdom, about Four Hundred and Thirty Years before, that is, *Anno Mundi* 3191, and *before Chriſt* 813. The Hiſtory of all theſe Monarchs is pretty obſcure, and includes little elſe than a few particular Wars, carry'd on againſt the *Illyrians*, the *Thracians*, and other neighbouring People.

The Kings of *Macedon* pretended to deſcend from *Hercules*, by *Caranus*; and conſequently, to have been *Greeks* originally: But, notwithſtanding this, *Demoſthenes* often ſtyles them *Barbarians*, eſpecially in his Invectives againſt *Philip*. The *Greeks*, indeed, gave this Name to all other Nations, without excepting the *Macedonians*; and *Alexander*, King of *Macedon*, in the Reign of *Xerxes*, was excluded from the *Olympick* Games, upon Pretence of his being a *Barbarian*; and was not

not admitted to ſhare in them, till after having given Proofs of his being deſcended, originally, from *Argos*. The abovemention'd *Alexander*, likewiſe, when he went over from the *Perſian* Camp to that of the *Greeks*, in order to acquaint the latter, that *Mardonius* was determin'd to come upon them by Surprize, at Day-break, juſtify'd his Perfidy, by the Antiquity of his Origin, which he declar'd to be from the *Greeks*.

The ancient Kings of *Macedon* did not think it beneath them, to live, at different Times, under the Protection of the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, and *Spartans*; ſhifting their Alliances, as it ſuited their Intereſt. Of this we have ſeveral Inſtances in *Thucydides*; and one of them, nam'd *Perdiccas*, with whom the *Athenians* were diſſatisfy'd, became their Tributary; which laſted from the Time they had ſettled a Colony in *Amphipolis*, under *Agnon*, the Son of *Nicias*, about Forty-eight Years before the *Peloponneſian* War, till *Bruſidas*, the *Lacedæmonian* General, about the fifth or ſixth Year of that War, rais'd that whole Province againſt them, and drove them from the Frontiers of *Macedon*.

But now, in the following Sheets, we ſhall ſee this *Macedon*, which had before paid Tribute to *Athens*, become, under *Philip*, the Arbiter of *Greece*; and triumph, under *Alexander*, over all the Forces of *Aſia*.

Amyntas, Father of *Philip*, began to reign the Third Year of the Ninety-ſixth *Olympiad*: Having, the very Year after, been warmly attack'd by the *Illyrians*, and diſpoſſeſs'd of a great Part of his Kingdom, which he thought it ſcarce poſſible for him ever to recover again, he addreſs'd himſelf to the *Olynthians*; and, in order to engage them the more firmly in his Intereſt, he gave up to them a large Tract of Ground, in the Neighbourhood of their City. According to ſome Authors, *Argæus*, who was of the Blood-Royal, being ſupported by the *Athenians*, and taking Advantage of the Troubles which broke out in *Macedonia*, reign'd there two Years. *Amyntas* was reſtor'd to the Throne by the *Theſſalians*; upon which, he was deſirous of reſuming the Poſſeſſion of the Lands, which nothing but the ill Situation of his Affairs, had oblig'd him to reſign to the *Olynthians*. This caus'd a War to break out; but *Amyntas*, not being ſtrong enough to make Head, ſingly, againſt ſo powerful a People; the *Greeks*, and the *Athenians*, in particular, ſent him Relief; and enabled him to weaken the *Olynthians*, who threatned him with a total and impending Ruin. It was then, that *Amyntas*, in an Aſſembly of the *Greeks*, to which he had ſent a Deputation, engag'd to unite with them, to enable the *Athenians* to poſſeſs themſelves of *Amphipolis*; declaring, this City belong'd to them. This ſtrong Alliance was continued, after his Death, with Queen *Eurydice*, his Widow, as we ſhall ſoon ſee.

Philip, one of the Sons of *Amyntas*, was born the ſame Year this Monarch declar'd War againſt the *Olynthians*: This *Philip* was Father of *Alexander* the *Great*; for, we cannot point him to better Advantage, than by calling him the Father of ſuch a Son, as *Cicero* obſerves, of the Father of *Cato* of *Utica*. *Amyntas* dy'd, after having reign'd Twenty four Years, leaving Three legitimate Children, whom *Eurydice* had brought him, *viz. Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*; and a natural Son, nam'd *Ptolemy*.

Alexander ſucceeded his Father, as being eldeſt Son. In the very Beginning of his Reign, he was engag'd in a ſharp War againſt the *Illyrians*, Neighbours to, and perpetual Enemies of *Macedonia*. Concluding, afterwards, a Peace with them, he gave up *Philip*, his younger Brother, an Infant, into their Hands, by Way of Hoſtage; who was ſoon ſent back to him: *Alexander* reign'd but one Year.

The Crown now belong'd to *Perdiccas*, his Brother, who was become eldeſt by his Death; but *Pauſanias*, a Prince of the Blood Royal, who had been exil'd, diſputed it with him, and was ſupported by a great Number of *Macedonians*; accordingly, he began, by ſeizing upon ſome ſtrong Holds. Happily for the new King, *Iphicrates* was then in that Country, whither the *Athenians* had ſent him with a ſmall Fleet; not to beſiege *Amphipolis*, but only to take a View of the Place, and make the neceſſary Preparations for the Siege. *Eurydice*, hearing of his Arrival, deſir'd a Viſit from him, intending to requeſt his Aſſiſtance againſt *Pauſanias*: To this End, when he was come into the Palace, and had ſeated himſelf, this afflicted Queen, the better to excite his Compaſſion, takes her two Children, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*, and ſetting the former in the Arms, and the latter on the Knees, of *Iphicrates*, thus accoſted him: "Remember, *Iphicrates*, that *Amyntas*, the Father "of theſe unhappy Orphans, had always a Love "for your Country, and adopted you for his Son. "This double Tie lays you under a double Obli"gation: The Amity, which that King entertain'd for *Athens*, requires that you ſhould acknowledge us publickly for your Friends; and "the Tenderneſs, which that Father had for your "Perſon, requires you ſhould indulge a fraternal "Love to theſe Children." This Speech, and Action, had the deſir'd Effect; for, *Iphicrates*, mov'd, both with the Sight, and Diſcourſe, drove away the Uſurper, and reſtor'd the lawful Sovereign.

However, *Perdiccas* did not continue long unmoleſted. A new Enemy, more formidable than the firſt, ſoon diſturb'd his Tranquillity: This was *Ptolemy*, his Brother, natural Son of *Amyntas*, as was before obſerv'd: Poſſibly, he might be the eldeſt Son; and, as ſuch, might claim the Crown. However, that was, the two Brothers referr'd the Deciſion of their Claim to *Pelopidas*, General of the *Thebans*, more revered for his Probity than Valour; and *Pelopidas* gave Sentence in Favour of *Perdiccas*; and, having judg'd it neceſſary to take Pledges on both Sides, in order to oblige the two Competitors to obſerve the Articles of the Treaty accepted by them; among other Hoſtages, he carry'd *Philip* with him to *Thebes*, where he reſided ſeveral Years. He was then Ten Years of Age; and *Eurydice*, at her leaving this much lov'd Son, earneſtly beſought *Pelopidas* to procure him an Education, which might be worthy of his Birth, and the City, whither he was going to be educated. He did ſo; for, he plac'd him with *Epaminondas*, who kept a celebrated *Pythagorean* Philoſopher in his Houſe, to educate his Son. *Philip* improv'd greatly by the Inſtructions of this Preceptor; and much more by thoſe of *Epaminondas*, under whom, he, doubtleſs, made ſome Campaigns, though no Mention is made thereof. He could not poſſibly have had a more excellent

Maſter, either for War, or the Conduct of Life; for, this illuſtrious *Theban* was, at the ſame Time, a great Philoſopher; that is, a wiſe, and virtuous Man; and a great Commander; as well as a great Stateſman. *Philip* was very proud of being his Pupil, and propos'd him as a Model to himſelf; thrice happy, could he have copy'd him perfectly! Perhaps, he borrow'd from *Epaminondas* his Activity in War; and his Diligence, in laying Hold of Opportunities, which, however, form'd but a very inconſiderable Part of the Merit of that illuſtrious Perſonage: But, as to his Temperance, Juſtice, Diſintereſtedneſs, Sincerity, Magnanimity, and Clemency, which render'd him truly great; theſe were Virtues, which *Philip* had not receiv'd from Nature, nor did he acquire them by Imitation. Little did the *Thebans* think that they were then forming and educating the moſt dangerous Enemy to *Greece*.

After *Philip* had ſpent Nine or Ten Years in their City, the News of a Revolution in *Macedon*, made him reſolve to leave *Thebes* clandeſtinely. Accordingly, he ſteals away, makes the utmoſt Diſpatch, and finds the *Macedonians* greatly ſurpriz'd at having loſt their King *Perdiccas*, who had been kill'd in a mighty Battle fought againſt the *Illyrians*; but much more ſo, to find they had as many Enemies as Neighbours. The *Illyrians* were on the Point of returning into the Kingdom with a greater Force; the *Peonians* infeſted it with perpetual Incurſions; the *Thracians* were determin'd to place *Pauſanias* on the Throne, he not having yet laid aſide his Pretenſions; and the *Athenians* were bringing *Argæus*, whom *Mantias*, their General, was order'd to ſupport, with a ſtrong Fleet, and a conſiderable Body of Troops. *Macedonia*, at that Time, wanted an active Prince; but it was poſſeſs'd by a Child only, *Amyntas*, the the Son of *Perdiccas*, and lawful Heir to the Crown: Accordingly, *Philip* govern'd the Kingdom, for ſome Time, by the Title of Governor to the young Prince; but, very ſoon, the Subjects, being juſtly alarm'd, depos'd the Nephew, in Favour of the Uncle; and, inſtead of the Heir, whom Nature had made ſuch, they inthron'd him, whom the preſent Exigency of Affairs requir'd; being perſuaded, that Neceſſity has Laws, which annul all others: Accordingly, *Philip*, being Twenty-four Years old, aſcended the Throne, the firſt Year of the 105th *Olympiad*.

The new King, with the utmoſt Calmneſs of Mind, us'd all his Endeavours to anſwer ſpeedily the Expectations of the People: Accordingly, he provides for, and applies a Remedy to all Things; raiſes the deſponding Courage of the *Macedonians*, and reinforces the Troops, whom he inur'd to the ſtricteſt Diſcipline: He was invincibly rigorous on this Article, being juſtly ſenſible, the whole Succeſs of all his Enterprizes depended on it. A Soldier, being very thirſty, went out of the Ranks, in order to drink; but *Philip* puniſh'd him with very great Severity for ſo doing. Another Soldier, who ought to have been under Arms, laying them down, he immediately order'd to be put to Death.

Then it was he eſtabliſh'd the *Macedonian Phalanx*, which afterwards became ſo famous; it was the choiceſt, and beſt diſciplin'd, ever ſeen till that Time; and which might have diſputed, for Priority, with the *Greeks* of *Marathon* and *Salamis*: He drew up the Plan, or, at leaſt, improv'd it, from the Idea which he borrow'd from *Homer*. This Poet deſcribes the Union of the *Grecian* Commanders, under the Image of a Battalion; the Soldiers of which, by the Aſſemblage, or Conjunction of their Shields, form ſuch a Body, as is impenetrable to the Enemy's Darts. *Philip* treated theſe choſen Foot-Soldiers with peculiar Diſtinction, honouring them with the Title of his *Comrades*, or *Companions*; and, by this Mark of Honour, and Confidence, prevail'd with them to bear, without any Murmuring, the hardeſt Fatigues; and to brave with Intrepidity the greateſt Dangers. Such Familiarities, as theſe, are of very little Expence to a Monarch, and procure him the higheſt Advantages.

One of the firſt Things *Philip* took Care of, was, the negotiating a captious Peace with the *Athenians*, whoſe Power he dreaded; and whom he was not willing to make his Enemies, in the Beginning of a Reign, as yet ſo ill eſtabliſh'd: He, therefore, ſends Embaſſadors to *Athens*, ſpares neither Promiſes, nor Proteſtations of Friendſhip; and, at laſt, was ſo happy, as to conclude a Treaty, of which he made all the Advantages he had propoſed to himſelf.

Immediately after this he does not ſeem to act ſom uch like a Monarch of but Twenty-four Years of Age, as a Politician, deeply ſkill'd in the Art of Diſſimulation; and who, without the Aſſiſtance of Experience, was already ſenſible, it is Gain, to know when to loſe at a proper Seaſon. He had ſeiz'd upon *Amphipolis*, a City ſituate on the Frontiers of his Kingdom; which conſequently, ſtood very convenient for him: He could not keep it; ſince, by this Means, he would have weaken'd his Army too much; not to mention, that the *Athenians*, whoſe Friendſhip it was his Intereſt to preſerve, would have been exaſperated at ſuch an Attempt, they claiming it as their Colony. On the other Side, he was determin'd, not to give up to his Enemies, one of the Inlets of his Dominions: He, therefore, took the Reſolution to declare that Place free, by giving the Citizens of it Leave to govern themſelves as a Republick; and, in this Manner, to ſet them at Variance with their ancient Maſters. At the ſame Time, he diſarm'd the *Peonians*, by Dint of Promiſes, and Preſents; reſolving to attack them, after he had diſunited his Enemies, and weaken'd them by this Diſunion.

This Compliance and Subtlety fix'd him the more ſtrongly on the Throne, and he ſoon found himſelf without Competitors: And firſt, he prevents *Pauſanias* from making an Incurſion into his Kingdom; marches afterwards againſt *Argæus*; comes up with him in the Road from *Ægæ* to *Methone*; defeats him, kills a great Number of his Soldiers, and takes a Multitude Priſoners; attacks the *Peonians*, and ſubjects them to his Power: Afterwards turns his Arms againſt the *Illyrians*, cuts them in Pieces, and oblig'd them to reſtore to him the ſeveral ſtrong Holds poſſeſſed by them in *Macedon*.

Much about this Time the *Athenians* diſplay'd the greateſt Generoſity to the Inhabitants of *Eubœa*. This Iſland, which is ſeparated from *Bœotia* by the *Euripus*, was ſo call'd, from its large and beautiful Paſture-Grounds: It is, at this Day, call'd *Negropont*. It had been ſubject to the *Athenians*, who had ſettled Colonies in *Eretria* and *Chalcis*.

Chalcis, the two principal Cities of it. *Thucydides* relates, that in the *Peloponnesian* War, the Revolt of the *Eubœans* dismay'd the *Athenians* very much, because they drew more from thence than *Attica*: From that Time, *Eubœa* became a Prey to Factions. In that we are now speaking of, one of these Factions implor'd the Assistance of *Thebes*, and the other of *Athens*: At first, the *Thebans* met with no Obstacle, and easily made the Faction they espous'd, triumphant; however, at the Arrival of the *Athenians*, Matters took a very different Turn. Though these were highly offended at the *Eubœans*, who had behav'd very injuriously towards them; nevertheless, being now sensibly affected with the great Danger to which they were expos'd. and forgetting their private Resentments, they immediately gave them such powerful Assistance by Sea and Land, that, in a few Days, they forc'd the *Thebans* to retire. And now, being absolute Masters of the Island, they restor'd the Inhabitants their Cities and Liberty, being persuaded, says *Æschines*, in relating this Incident, that Justice requires we should obliterate the Remembrance of past Injuries, when the Person offending relies on him who was offended. The *Athenians*, after having re'tor'd *Eubœa* to its former Tranquility, left it; not desiring to reap any other Benefit for all their Toils, than t' e Glory of having appeased the Troubles of that Island. But they did not always behave in this Manner, to other Nations; and it was this gave Rise to *the War of the Allies*, of which we have spoken elsewhere.

During the former Part of his Reign, *Philip* had employ'd his Endeavours to triumph over his Competitors for the Throne; to pacify domestick Divisions, repel the Attacks of his foreign Enemies; and disable them, by his frequent Victories, from troubling him in the Possession of his Kingdom. But he is now going to appear in another Character. *Sparta* and *Athens*, after having long disputed for the Empire of *Greece*, had weakned themselves, by their reciprocal Divisions. This Circumstance had given *Thebes* an Opportunity of raising itself to its former Grandeur; but *Thebes*, having weakned itself by the Wars in which it had been engag'd, against *Sparta* and *Athens*, gave *Philip* an Opportunity to aspire also, in his Turn, to the Sovereignty of *Greece*. And now, as a Politician, and a Conqueror, he revolves how he may best extend his Frontiers, reduce his Neighbours, and weaken those, whom he was not yet able to conquer: How he may introduce himself into the Affairs of *Greece*, share in its intestine Feuds, make himself Arbiter of it, join with one Part, in order to destroy the other; in a Word, to obtain the Empire over them all. In the Execution of this great Design, he was not sparing either of Artifices, open Force, Presents, or Promises. He employs for this Purpose, Negociations, Treaties, and Alliances; and each of them singly, in such a Manner, as he judges most conducive to the Success of the Design he had projected: Profit and Advantage only direct his Choice on these Occasions.

We shall always see him acting under this second Character, in the several Gradations the Reader will now perceive, till such Time as he assum'd a third, and last Character, which is, his preparing to attack the mighty King of *Persia*, and his endeavouring to become the Avenger of *Greece*, by overthrowing an Empire, which before had attempted to subdue that Country; and which had ever continu'd its irreconcilable Enemy, either by open Invasions, or secret Intrigues.

We have observ'd, that *Philip*, in the very Beginning of his Reign, had seiz'd upon *Amphipolis*, because it was of great Service to him; and that, in order not to give it up to the *Athenians*, who claim'd it as one of their Colonies, he had declar'd that City free: But, at this Time, being no longer under such mighty Apprehensions from the *Athenians*, he resum'd his former Design of seizing on *Amphipolis*. The Inhabitants of that City, being threatned with a speedy Siege, sent Embassadors to the *Athenians*, offering to put themselves, and their City, under the Protection of *Athens*, and beseeching them to accept the Keys of *Amphipolis*. But, that Republick rejected their Offer, for Fear of breaking the Peace they had concluded the Year before with *Philip*. However, this Monarch was no Way scrupulous on this Occasion; for, he besieg'd, and took *Amphipolis*, by Means of the Intelligence he carry'd on in the City, and made it one of the strongest Barriers of his Kingdom. *Demosthenes*, in his Orations, frequently reproaches the *Athenians* with Indolence on this Occasion, by representing to them, if they had then us'd a proper Diligence and Dispatch, they might have sav'd a confederate City, and secur'd themselves from a Multitude of Evils.

Philip had promis'd the *Athenians*, to give up *Amphipolis* into their Hands; and, upon this Promise, they continu'd supine and unactive; but he did not set up for one who kept his Word; and Sincerity was, in no Manner, the Virtue he profess'd. So far from surrendring that City, he possess'd himself of *Pydne*, and *Potydæa*. The *Athenians* kept a Garrison in the latter; these he dismiss'd, without doing them the least Injury, and gave up this City to the *Olynthians*, to engage them in his Interest.

From thence he advanc'd, and seiz'd upon *Crenides*, which the *Thasians* had built two Years before; and to which he gave the Name of *Philippi*, from his own. It was near this City, render'd afterwards famous, by the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, that he open'd, and dug up certain Gold Mines, which every Year brought him above a Thousand Talents, that is, about a Million of Crowns; a prodigious Sum of Money in that Age. By this Means, Money became much more current in *Macedon* than before; and *Philip* caused to be there coin'd, and nam'd after him, the Gold Coin, which outlasted his Monarchy. Such Kings, as possess greater Treasures than their Enemies, have a vast Advantage over them; and no one was better skill'd in the Finances than *Philip*, or neglected them less. By this Fund, he was enabled to maintain a powerful Army of Foreigners, and bribe a Number of Creatures in most of the Cities of *Greece*.

Demosthenes observes, that, when *Greece* was in its Splendor, *Gold and Silver were ranked in the Number of prohibited Arms*: But *Philip* spoke, and acted in a quite different Manner. It is said, that, having, one Day, consulted the Oracle of *Delphi*, he receiv'd the following Answer:

Make Coin thy Weapons, and thou'lt conquer all.

The

The Advice of the Prieſteſs became his Rule, and he found the greateſt Benefit by it: He own'd, that he had won more ſtrong Holds by Preſents than Weapons; that he never fore'd open a Door, till after having attempted to open it; and that he did not think any Fortreſs impregnable, in which there was Paſſage for a Mule laden with Silver. It has been ſaid, that he was a Merchant, rather than a Conqueror; that it was not *Philip*, but his Gold, which ſubdu'd *Greece*; and that he bought its Cities, rather than ſtorm'd them. He had Penſioners in all the Commonwealths of *Greece*, and paid Stipends to thoſe who had the greateſt Share in their reſpective Adminiſtrations. And, indeed, he was leſs proud of the Succeſs of a Battle, than that of a Negociation; well knowing, that neither his Generals, nor his Soldiers, could ſhare in the Honour thereof.

Philip had marry'd *Olympias*, Daughter of *Neoptolemus*: The latter was Son of *Alcetas*, King of *Moloſſia*, or *Epirus*. *Olympias* brought him *Alexander*, ſurnam'd the *Great*, who was born in *Pella*, the chief City of *Macedon*, the firſt Year of the 106th *Olympiad*. *Philip*, who, at that Time, was abſent from his Kingdom, had three very agreeable Advices brought him; that he had been crown'd in the *Olympick* Games; that *Parmenio*, one of his Generals, had gain'd a great Victory over the *Illyrians*; and that his Queen was deliver'd of a Son: Whereupon, that Prince, terrify'd at ſo ſignal a Happineſs, which the *Heathens* thought frequently the *Omen* of a mournful Cataſtrophe, cry'd out, *Great* Jupiter, *in Return for ſo many Bleſſings, ſend me, as ſpeedily as poſſible, ſome ſlight Misfortune.*

We may form a Judgment of the Care and Attention, which *Philip* gave to the Education of this Prince, by the Letter he wrote, a little after his Birth, to *Ariſtotle*, to acquaint him, ſo early as this, that he pitch'd upon him as Preceptor for his Son. "I am to inform you (*ſays he*) that a "Son is born to me. I return Thanks to the "Gods, not ſo much for having given him to "me, as to have given him to me in the Age "in which *Ariſtotle* liv'd. I may juſtly promiſe "myſelf, that you will form him ſuch a Succeſſor, "as may be worthy of Us, and ſuch a King as is "worthy of *Macedonia*." What noble Thoughts ariſe from the Peruſal of this Letter! far different from the Manners of the preſent Age, but highly worthy a great Monarch, and a kind Parent! We ſhall leave the Reader to make ſuch Reflexions on it, as he ſhall think proper; and ſhall only obſerve, that this Example may ſerve as a Leſſon even to private Perſons, as it teaches them how highly they ought to value a good Maſter, and the prodigious Care they ſhould take to ſearch for one who excels; for, every Son is an *Alexander* to his Father. It appears, that *Philip* put his Son very early under *Ariſtotle*, being perſuaded, that the Succeſs of Studies depends on the Foundation that is laid; and, that the ableſt Man is not too much ſo, to teach the Principles in the Manner they ought to be inculcated.

Diſcord, which fomented perpetually in the *Greeks* ſuch Diſpoſitions, as were not very far remov'd from an open Rupture, broke out with Violence, on Occaſion of the *Phocenſes*. Theſe People, who inhabited the Territories adjacent to *Delphos*, plough'd up certain Lands ſacred to *Apollo*, which was an Act of Prophanation. Immediately, the People in the Neighbourhood exclaim'd againſt them, as guilty of Sacrilege; ſome being prompted to this, from a Spirit of Sincerity; and others, in order to cover their private Thirſt of Revenge with the Veil of Religion. The War, that broke out on this Occaſion, was call'd the *Sacred War*, as being undertaken from a religious Motive, and laſted ten Years. The People guilty of this Prophanation, were ſummon'd to appear before the *Amphyctiones*, or States-General of *Greece*; and the whole Affair being duly examin'd, the *Phocenſes* were declar'd ſacrilegious, and ſentenc'd to pay a heavy Fine.

Philomelus, one of their chief Citizens, a bold Man, and of great Authority, having prov'd, by ſome Verſes in *Homer*, that the Sovereignty of *Delphos* belong'd anciently to the *Phocenſes*, rouzes them againſt this Decree, prevails with them to take up Arms, and is appointed their General. Immediately he goes to *Sparta*, to engage the *Lacedæmonians* in his Intereſt, they being very much diſguſted, at the Sentence, which the *Amphictyones* had pronounc'd againſt them, at the Sollicitation of the *Thebans*; by which they had been ſentenc'd to pay a Fine, for having ſeiz'd upon the Citadel of *Thebes* by Fraud and Violence. *Archidamus*, one of the Kings of *Sparta*, gave *Philomelus* a handſome Reception. This Monarch, however, did not yet dare to declare openly in Favour of the *Phocenſes*, but promiſed to aſſiſt him with Money, and furniſh him with Troops privately, which he accordingly did.

Philomelus, at his Return home, raiſed a Body of Forces, and began, by attacking the Temple of *Delphos*, of which he poſſeſſed himſelf without any great Difficulty, the Inhabitants of the Country making but a feeble Reſiſtance. The *Locrians*, a People neighbouring to *Delphos*, took up Arms againſt him, but were defeated in ſeveral Rencounters: *Philomelus*, encouraged by theſe Succeſſes, at firſt, increaſed his Troops daily, and put himſelf in a Condition to carry on his Enterprize with Vigour. Accordingly, he ruſh'd into the Temple, tore from the Pillars, the Decree of the *Amphictyones*, againſt the *Phocenſes*; and publiſh'd all over the Country, that he did not intend to touch the Riches of the Temple; only deſigning to reſtore the *Phocenſes* to their ancient Rights and Privileges. To ſupport himſelf in this bold Undertaking, it was neceſſary for him to receive a Sanction from the God, who preſided at *Delphos*; and to receive ſuch an Anſwer from the Oracle, as might be favourable to him. The Prieſteſs, at firſt, refuſed to act on this Occaſion; but, being terrify'd by his Menaces, ſhe anſwer'd, that the God permitted him to do whatever he ſhould think proper; a Circumſtance, he took Care to publiſh to all the neighbouring Nations.

The Affair was now become of great Importance: The *Amphictyones* meeting a ſecond Time, a Reſolution was form'd to declare War againſt the *Phocenſes*; and moſt of the *Grecian* Nations engag'd in this Quarrel, and ſided with the one, or the other Party. The *Bœotians*, *Locrians*, *Theſſalians*, and ſeveral other neighbouring People, declar'd in Favour of the God; whilſt *Sparta*, *Athens*, and ſome other Cities of *Peloponneſus*, join'd with the *Phocenſes*. *Philomelus* had not yet touch'd the Treaſures of the Temple; but, being

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afterwards not so scrupulous, he said he believ'd, that the Riches of the God could not be better employ'd, than in Defence of the Deity; for, he gave this specious Name to this sacrilegious Attempt; and being enabled, by this fresh Supply, to double the Pay of the Soldiers, he got together a very considerable Body of Troops.

Several Battles were fought, and the Success, for some Time, seem'd doubtful on both Sides. Mankind are sensible, how greatly religious Wars are to be dreaded; and the prodigious Lengths, which a false Zeal, when veil'd with that venerable Name, is apt to run. The *Thebans* having, in a Rencounter, taken several Prisoners, condemn'd them all to die, as sacrilegious Wretches, who were excommunicated; and the *Phocenses* did the same, by Way of Reprizal. The latter had, at first, gain'd several Advantages; but, having been defeated in a great Battle, *Philomelus*, their Leader, being closely attack'd upon an Eminence, which had no Outlet, defended himself, for a long Time, with invincible Bravery; which, however, not availing, he threw himself headlong from a Rock, in order to avoid the Torments, he must, unavoidably, have undergone, had he fallen into the Hands of his Enemies. *Onomarchus* was his Successor, and took on him the Command of the Forces.

This new General had soon levy'd a fresh Army; the advantageous Pay he offer'd procuring him Soldiers from all Sides: He also, by Dint of Money, gain'd over several Chiefs from the other Party, and prevail'd with them, either to retire, or do little, or nothing, by which he gain'd great Advantages.

Philip thought it most consistent with his Interest to remain neuter, in this general Rise of the *Greeks*, in Favour, either of the *Phocenses*, or the *Thebans*. It was very artful Policy in this ambitious Prince (who had little Regard for Religion, or the Interest of *Apollo*; but was ever watchful over his own) not to enter into a War, by which he could not reap the least Benefit; and to take Advantage of a Juncture, in which all *Greece*, being distracted with a mighty War, gave him an Opportunity to extend his Frontiers, and push on his Conquests, without being under any Apprehensions of an Opposition. It also was a great Pleasure to him, to see both Parties weaken, and destroy each other, since he would, thereby, be enabled to fall upon them with greater Advantage.

Being desirous of subjecting *Thrace*, and securing the Conquests he had already made in it, he determin'd to possess himself of *Methone*, a small City, incapable of supporting itself by its own Strength; but, which gave him great Uneasiness, and obstructed his Designs, whenever it was in the Hands of his Enemies: Accordingly, he besieg'd that City, made himself Master of, and raz'd it: It was before this City, that he lost an Eye, by a very singular Accident: *Aster* of *Amphipolis*, had offer'd his Service to *Philip*, as being so excellent a Marksman, that he could bring down Birds in their most rapid Flight; but, that Prince made him this Answer; *Well, I'll take you into my Service, when I make War upon Sterlings*; which stung the Cross-Bowman to the Quick: A Repartee proves often of fatal Consequence to him who makes it; and it is not a small Merit to be able to bridle one's Tongue. *Aster*, after having thrown himself into the City, let fly an Arrow, on which was written, *To* Philip's *Right Eye*; and gave him a most cruel Proof, that he was a good Marksman, by wounding him directly in that Part: Whereupon *Philip* sent him back the same Arrow, with this Inscription, *If* Philip *takes the City, he will hang up Aster*; and accordingly, he was as good as his Word.

A skilful Surgeon drew the Arrow out of *Philip*'s Eye with so much Art and Dexterity, that not the least Scar remain'd; and though he could not save his Eye, he took away the Blemish: But, nevertheless, this Monarch was so weak, as to be angry, whenever any Person happen'd to let slip the Word *Cyclops*; or, even the Word *Eye*, in his Presence. Men, however, seldom blush for an honourable Imperfection. A *Lacedæmonian* Woman thought in a more manly Way, when, to comfort her Son, for an honourable Wound he had receiv'd, which had lam'd him, she us'd to say, *Go, my Son; every Step thou now takest, will recall thy Bravery to thy Remembrance.*

After the Taking of *Methone*, *Philip*, ever studious how he might best weaken his Enemies, by fresh Conquests; or gain new Friends, by doing them some important Service, march'd into *Thessaly*, which had implor'd his Assistance against the Tyrants. The Liberty of that Country seem'd now secure, since *Alexander Pheræus* was no more. Nevertheless, his Brothers, who, in Concert with his Wife *Thebe*, had murther'd him; grown weary of having, for some Time, acted insidiously the Part of Deliverers, reviv'd his Tyranny, and oppress'd the *Thessalians* with a new Yoke. *Lycophron*, the eldest of the three Brothers, who succeeded *Alexander*, had strengthned himself, by the Protection which the *Phocenses* indulg'd him. *Onomarchus*, their Leader, brought him a numerous Body of Forces; and, at first, gain'd a considerable Advantage over *Philip*; but, engaging him a second Time, he was intirely defeated; his Army routed; and the Flying Troops pursu'd to the Sea-shore. Upwards of six Thousand Men were kill'd on the Spot; among whom was *Onomarchus*, whose Body was hung upon a Gallows; and three Thousand, who were taken Prisoners, were thrown into the Sea by *Philip*'s Order, as being so many sacrilegious Wretches, who were professed Enemies to Religion; whereupon, *Lycophron* deliver'd up the City of *Pheræ*, and restor'd *Thessaly* to its Liberty, by his abandoning it. By the happy Success of this Expedition, *Philip* won for ever the Hearts of the *Thessalians*; whose excellent Cavalry join'd to the *Macedonian Phalanx*, had, afterwards, so great a Share in his Victories, and those of his Son.

Phaylle, who succeeded his Brother *Onomarchus*, finding the same Advantages he had done, from the immense Riches he found in the Temple, rais'd a numerous Army; and, supported by the Troops of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Athenians*, and other *Allies*, whom he paid very largely, he march'd into *Bœotia*, and invaded the *Thebans*. For a long Time, Victory shifted Sides; but, at last, *Phaylle*, being attack'd with a sudden, and violent Distemper, after suffering the most cruel Torments, ended his Life, in a Manner worthy his Impieties, and sacrilegious Actions. *Phalecus*, then very young, the Son of *Onomarchus*, was plac'd in his Room; and *Mnaseas*, a Man of great Experience, and strongly attach'd to his Family, was appointed his Counsellor.

The new Leader, treading in the Steps of his Predeceſſors, plunder'd the Temple, as they had done, and inrich'd all his Friends: At laſt, the *Phocenſes* open'd their Eyes, and appointed Commiſſioners, to call all thoſe to Account, who had any Concern in the publick Monies. Upon this, *Phalœcus* was depos'd; and, after an exact Enquiry, it was found, that, ſince the Beginning of the War, upwards of ten Thouſand Talents, that is, upwards of ten Millions of Crowns, had been taken out of the Temple.

After having freed the *Theſſalians*, *Philip* reſolv'd to carry his Arms againſt *Phocis*: This was the firſt Attempt he made to ſet his Foot in *Greece*, and have a Share in the general Affairs of the *Greeks*, from which the Kings of *Macedon* had always been excluded, as Foreigners. With this View, on Pretence of marching into *Phocis*, in order to puniſh the ſacrilegious *Phocenſes*; he advanc'd towards the *Thermopylæ*, to poſſeſs himſelf of a Paſs, which gave him a free Paſſage into *Greece*, and eſpecially into *Attica*: But, the *Athenians*, hearing of a March, which might prove of the moſt fatal Conſequence to them, haſted to the *Thermopylæ*, and poſſeſs'd themſelves very ſeaſonably of this important Paſs; from which *Philip* did not then dare attempt to force them; ſo that he was oblig'd to return back into *Macedon*.

As we ſhall ſoon ſee *Philip* engag'd againſt the *Athenians*; and, as they, by the ſtrong Exhortations, and prudent Counſels of *Demoſthenes*, will become his greateſt Enemies, and the moſt powerful Obſtacle to his ambitious Deſigns; it may not be improper, before we enter into that Part of the Hiſtory, to give a ſhort Account of the State of *Athens*, and of the Diſpoſition of the Citizens at that Time.

We muſt not form a Judgment of the Character of the *Athenians*, in the Age we are now ſpeaking of, from that of their Anceſtors in the Time of the Battles of *Marathon* and *Salamis*; they having very much degenerated from the Virtue of thoſe illuſtrious Perſons. They were no longer the ſame Men, the ſame Maxims, nor the ſame Manners: They no longer diſcover'd the ſame Zeal for the publick Good; the ſame Application to Buſineſs; the ſame Courage to ſupport Fatigues both by Sea and Land; the ſame Care of the Revenues; the ſame Willingneſs to bear ſalutary Advice; the ſame Diſcernment in the Choice of Generals of the Armies, and Magiſtrates, to whom they intruſted the Adminiſtration of the State. To theſe happy, and glorious Diſpoſitions, ſucceeded a Fondneſs for Repoſe, and an Indolence towards publick Affairs; an Averſion for military Fatigues, which they now left intirely to the mercenary Troops; and a ſquandering of the publick Treaſure in Games, and Shews; a Love for the Flattery, which their Orators laviſh'd upon them; and whilſt all Poſts, and Employments, were conferr'd, not according to Merit, but Faction and Party, all Indications, and the uſual Forerunners of the Ruin of a State: Such was the Situation of *Athens*, at the Time the King of *Macedon* firſt turn'd his Arms againſt *Greece*.

We have ſeen, that *Philip*, after various Conqueſts, had attempted to advance as far as *Phocis*, but in vain; becauſe, that the *Athenians*, juſtly alarm'd at the impending Danger, had ſtopp'd him at the Paſs of the *Thermopylæ*. *Demoſthenes*, taking Advantage of ſo favourable a Diſpoſition of Things, mounted the *Roſtra*, in order to ſet before them a lively Image, of the impending Danger, to which they were expos'd, by the boundleſs Ambition of *Philip*; and to convince them of the abſolute Neceſſity they were under from hence, to apply the moſt ſpeedy Remedies. With this View, as the Succeſs of his Arms, and the Rapidity of his Progreſs, had ſpread throughout *Athens*, a Kind of Terror bordering very near on Deſpair; the Orator, by a wonderful Artifice, firſt endeavours to raiſe their drooping Spirits, and aſcribes their Calamities entirely to their Effeminacy and Indolence: Repreſenting to them, that, if they had already acquitted themſelves of their Duty; and that, in Spite of their Activity, and utmoſt Efforts, *Philip* had prevail'd over them; they then, indeed, would not have the leaſt Refuge, or Hope left; but, that the Grandeur of *Philip* was wholly owing to the Supineneſs of the *Athenians*; and, that this Supineneſs made him bold and daring; and ſwell'd him with ſuch a Spirit of Haughtineſs, as even inſulted the *Athenians*.

" See (ſays *Demoſthenes* to them, ſpeaking of " *Philip*) To what a Height the Arrogance of that " Man riſes, who will not ſuffer you to chuſe War " or Peace, as you may think proper; but who " employs Menaces, and, as Fame ſays, ſpeaks in " the moſt inſolent Terms; and, not ſatisfy'd " with his firſt Conqueſts, but, incapable of ſa- " tiating himſelf, engages every Day in a new " Enterprize. Poſſibly, you wait for ſome Oc- " caſion, in which Neceſſity may rouze you to " Action; but, can any one more ſtrongly affect " Men, who are born free, than Shame and In- " famy? Will you, then, for ever, walk to and " fro in the publick Square, with this Queſtion " in your Mouths, *What News is there?* Can any " News be more new, than that a *Macedonian* has " vanquiſh'd the *Athenians*, and made himſelf " the ſupream Arbiter of *Greece*? *Philip is dead*, " ſays one; *He is only ſick*, replies another." (His being wounded at *Methone*, had occaſion'd theſe Reports.) " But, whether he be ſick, or dead, is " nothing to the Purpoſe, O *Athens!* For, the " Moment after Heaven has deliver'd you from " him (ſhould you ſtill behave as you now do) " you would raiſe up another *Philip* againſt your " ſelves; ſince the Man in Queſtion owes his " Grandeur infinitely more to your Indolence, " than his own Strength."

But *Demoſthenes*, not ſatisfy'd with bare Remonſtrances, or with giving his Opinion in general Terms, propos'd a Plan, the Execution of which, he believ'd, would check the Attempts of *Philip*. In the firſt Place, he adviſ'd the *Athenians* to fit out a Fleet of fifty Gallies, and reſolve firmly to man them themſelves. He requir'd them alſo to reinforce theſe with ten Gallies lightly arm'd; which might ſerve as a Convoy to the Fleet and Tranſports: Then, with Regard to the Land-Forces; whereas, in his Time, the General, being elected by the moſt powerful Faction, rais'd ſuch an Army, as conſiſted of a tumultuous Multitude of Foreigners, and mercenary Troops, who did little Service: *Demoſthenes* requir'd them to levy no more than two Thouſand choice Soldiers, five

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Hundred of which to be *Athenians*, and the Reſt rais'd from among the *Allies*; with two Hundred Horſe, fifty of which to be alſo *Athenians*.

The Expence of this little Army, in Proviſions, and other Matters independent from their Pay, was to amount to a little more (*per* Month) than ninety Talent (ninety Thouſand Crowns) *viz.* forty Talents for ten Convoy-Gallies, at the Rate of twenty *Minæ* for each Galley; forty Talents for the two Thouſand Infantry, and ten Drachms each Foot-Soldier: Laſtly, twelve Talents for the two Hundred Horſe, at thirty Drachms each Horſeman. Our Reaſon for deſcribing this ſo particularly, is, to give the Reader an Idea of the Expences of keeping up an Army in that Age. *Demoſthenes* adds; That, if any one imagines, that the getting ready Proviſions, will not be a conſiderable Step, he is very much *miſtaken*; for, he is perſuaded, that, provided the Forces don't want Proviſions, the War will furniſh the Soldiers with every Thing beſides; and, that this will enable them likewiſe to get their whole Pay, without doing the leaſt Injury either to the *Greeks*, or to the *Allies*.

But, as the *Athenians* might be ſurpriz'd at his requiring ſo ſmall a Body of Forces, he gives this Reaſon for it, *viz.* that, at preſent, the Circumſtances of the Commonwealth did not permit the *Athenians* to oppoſe a Force, ſufficient to meet *Philip* in the Field; and, that it would be their Buſineſs to make Excurſions only. Thus, his Deſign was, that this little Army ſhould be perpetually hovering about the Frontiers of *Macedon*, to curb the Enemy; and to obſerve, harraſs, and keep cloſe to them; in order to prevent them from concerting their Enterprizes at Pleaſure, and from executing what they might think fit to attempt.

What the Succeſs of this Harangue was, is not known: It is very probable, that, as the *Athenians* were not attack'd perſonally, they, according to their natural Supineneſs, were very much unconcern'd at the Progreſs of *Philip*'s Arms. At this Time, the Diviſions in *Greece* were very favourable to that Monarch: *Athens*, and *Lacedæmon*, on one Side, employ'd themſelves wholly in reducing the Strength of *Thebes*, their Rival; whilſt, on the other Side, the *Theſſalians*, to free themſelves from their Tyrants; the *Thebans*, to maintain the Superiority, which they had gain'd by the Battles of *Leuctra*, and *Mantinea*, devoted themſelves in the moſt abſolute Manner to *Philip*; and aſſiſted him, undeſignedly, in making Chains for themſelves.

Philip, being an able Politician, made a proper Uſe of all theſe Diſſenſions: To ſecure his Frontiers, he had nothing more at Heart, than to make Excurſions towards *Thrace*; and this he could ſcarce attempt, without injuring the *Athenians*, who, ſince the Defeat of *Xerxes*, had many Colonies in that Country, beſides ſeveral States, who were either their *Allies*, or Tributaries.

Olynthus, a City of *Thrace*, in the Peninſula of *Pallene*, was one of theſe Colonies: The *Olynthians* had been engaged in great Diſputes with *Amyntas*, Father of *Philip*, and had even very much oppoſed the latter, on his Acceſſion to the Crown: However, not being yet well ſettled in his Throne, he, at firſt, diſſembled, and requeſted the Alliance of the *Olynthians*, to whom, ſome Time after, he gave up *Potidæa*, an important Fortreſs, which he had taken, in Concert with them, from the *Athenians*: But, when he found himſelf able to execute his Deſigns, he took proper Meaſures, in order to beſiege *Olynthus*. Hereupon, the Inhabitants of that City, who heard the Noiſe of the Thunder from far, had Recourſe to the *Athenians*, of whom they requeſted ſpeedy Succour. The Affair was debated in an Aſſembly of the People; and, as it was of the utmoſt Importance, a great many Orators met before the *Roſtra*: Each of them mounted it in his Turn, which was regulated by their Age. *Demoſthenes*, who was then but Thirty-four, did not ſpeak, till after the antient Orators had diſcuſſed the Matter a long Time.

In this Diſcourſe, the Orator, the better to ſucceed in his Deſign, terrifies the *Athenians* one Minute, and encourages them the next: For this Purpoſe, he repreſents *Philip* in two very different Lights: On one Side, he is a Man, whoſe Ambition is ſo unbounded, that the Empire of the World would not ſatiate it; a proud Wretch, who looks upon all Men, and even his *Allies*, as ſo many Subjects or Slaves; and who, for that Reaſon, is equally exaſperated at too ſlow a Submiſſion, as at an equal Inſurrection; a vigilant Politician, who, always watchful to take Advantage of the Overſights and Errors of others, ſnatches at every favourable Opportunity; an indefatigable Warrior, whom his Activity multiplies, as it were; and who ſubmits perpetually to the moſt ſevere Toils, without allowing himſelf a Moment's Repoſe, or having the leaſt Regard to to the Difference of the Seaſons; an intrepid Hero, who ruſhes through Obſtacles, and plunges into the Midſt of Dangers; a Corrupter, who trafficks, buys, and employs Gold no leſs than Iron; a happy Prince, on whom Fortune is laviſh of her Favours, and for whom ſhe ſeems to have forgotten her natural Inconſtancy: But, on the other Side, this very *Philip* is an imprudent Man; who meaſures his vaſt Projects, not by his Strength, but merely by his Ambition; a raſh Man, who, by his Attempts, digs himſelf a Grave to inter his own Grandeur; and opens Precipices before him, down which he need only be thrown; a perfidious Wretch, whoſe Power is raiſed on the moſt ruinous of all Foundations, Inſincerity, and Villany; an Uſurper, univerſally hated Abroad; who, by trampling under Foot, all Laws human and divine, has made all Nations his Enemies; a Tyrant, deteſted, even in the Heart of his Dominions, in which, either, by his infamous Behaviour, or his other Vices, he has tired out the Patience of his Captains, of his Soldiers, and all his Subjects in general. To conclude, a perjur'd, and impious Wretch, who is equally abhorr'd by Heaven, and by Earth; and whom the Gods are now going to ſtrike, by any Hand, that will adminiſter to their Wrath, and ſecond their Vengeance.

Our Orator, after having thus repreſented *Philip*, one Moment, as formidable; the next, very eaſy to be conquer'd; concludes, that the only Method (and which alone is a ſure one) to overthrow ſuch an Enemy, as this *Macedonian*, would be, to reform the new Abuſes; to revive the antient Order and Regularity; to appeaſe domeſtick Diſſenſions; and ſuppreſs the Cabals, which are inceſſantly forming; and all this in ſuch a Manner, that every Thing may unite in one Point, *viz.* the

the publick Emolument; and that, at a common Expence, every Man, according to his Abilities, may contribute to the Deſtruction of the common Enemy.

Demades, being brib'd by *Philip*'s Gold, oppoſed very ſtrenuouſly the Advice of *Demoſthenes*, but in vain; for, the *Athenians* ſent, under the Conduct of *Chares*, thirty Gallies, and two Thouſand Men, to ſupport the *Olynthians*; who, in this urgent Neceſſity, which ſo nearly affected all the *Greeks* in general, could only obtain Aſſiſtance from the *Athenians*.

However, theſe Forces did not check the Schemes of *Philip*, nor the Progreſs of his Arms: For, he marches into *Chalcis*, takes ſeveral ſtrong Holds, razes the Fortreſs of *Gira*; and ſpreads Terror throughout the whole Country. *Olynthus*, being then in greater Danger of an Invaſion, and menac'd with Deſtruction, ſent a ſecond Embaſſy to *Athens*, to ſollicit a freſh Reinforcement: And *Demoſthenes* argued very ſtrongly in Favour of their Requeſt, proving to the *Athenians*, that they were equally bound, both by Honour, and by Intereſt, to pay a Regard to it. This is the Subject of the *Olynthiac*, which is generally look'd upon as the Third.

The Orator, ever animated with a ſtrong and lively Zeal, for the Safety, and Glory of his Country, endeavours to intimidate the *Athenians*, by ſetting before them the Dangers, with which they are threaten'd; exhibiting to them a moſt dreadful Proſpect, for Times to come, in caſe they do not rouze from their Lethargy: For that, in caſe *Philip* ſeiz'd upon *Olynthus*, he would inevitably come afterwards, and fall upon *Athens* with his whole Force.

The greateſt Difficulty, was, the Method how to raiſe Sums ſufficient for defraying the Expences, requiſite for the Aſſiſtance of the *Olynthians*; becauſe the military Funds were employ'd for the Celebration of the publick Games. When the *Athenians*, at the End of the War of *Ægina*, had concluded a thirty Years Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*, they reſolv'd to put into their Treaſury, by Way of Reſerve, a Thouſand Talents every Year; at the ſame Time, prohibiting any Perſon, on Pain of Death, once to mention the employing any Part of it, except for the repulſing of an Enemy who ſhould invade *Attica*. This was, at firſt, obſerv'd with that Zeal, which Men generally have for all new Inſtitutions. Afterwards, *Pericles*, in order to make his Court to the People, propoſed to diſtribute among them, in Times of Peace, the Thouſand Talents; and to beſtow it, by that Means, on the publick Shows, allowing for each Citizen two *Oboli*; upon Condition, however, that they might reſume this Fund in Time of War. The Propoſal was approv'd, and the Reſtriction alſo: But, as every Conceſſion degenerates, one Time or other, into Wantonneſs, the *Athenians* were ſo highly pleaſed with this Diſtribution (call'd by *Demades*, *a Glue, by which the* Athenians *would be caught*) that they, abſolutely, would not ſuffer it to be taken from them, upon any Account. The Abuſe was carry'd to ſuch a Height, that *Eubulus*, one of the chief Men of the Faction, which oppoſed *Demoſthenes*, made it capital for any Perſon, ſo much as to propoſe, the reſtoring, for the Service of the War, thoſe Funds, which *Pericles* had lent to the Games, and the publick Shows: Nay, *Apollodorus* was even puniſh'd, for declaring himſelf of a contrary Opinion, and inſiſting on it.

This ridiculous Propoſition had very ſtrange Effects. It was impoſſible to compenſate for it, but by impoſing Taxes, the Inequality of which (being entirely arbitrary) perpetuated ſtrong Feuds; and made the military Preparations ſo very ſlow, as quite defeated the Deſign of them, without any Way leſſening the Expence. As the Artificers, and Seafaring Perſons, who compoſed above two Thirds of the People of *Athens*, did not contribute any Part of their Subſtance, and only gave their Perſons, the whole Weight of the Taxes fell intirely upon the Wealthy. Theſe murmur'd on that Account, and reproach'd the others with the publick Monies being ſquandred in Feſtivals, Comedies, and ſuch like Superfluities. But the People, being ſenſible of their Superiority, paid very little Regard to their Complaints; and had no Manner of Inclination to part with their Diverſions, merely to eaſe a Set of People, who poſſeſſed Employments and Dignities, from which they were entirely excluded. Beſides, any Perſon, who ſhould have dar'd to propoſe this to the People ſeriouſly, and in Form, would have been in great Danger of his Life.

However, *Demoſthenes* preſum'd to open this Subject at two different Times; but then he treated it with the utmoſt Art and Circumſpection: After ſhewing, that the *Athenians* were indiſpenſibly obliged to raiſe an Army, in order to curb the Enterprizes of *Philip*; he hinted, but in a diſtant Way, that thoſe Funds, which were expended in Theatric Repreſentations, ought to be employ'd in levying, and maintaining an armed Force: He requir'd, that Commiſſioners might be nominated, not to enact new Laws (there being but too many eſtabliſh'd) but in order to examine, and aboliſh ſuch, as ſhould be prejudicial to the Commonwealth. *Demoſthenes* did not, hereby, become obnoxious to capital Puniſhment, as enacted by thoſe Laws; becauſe he did not require they ſhould be actually aboliſh'd, but only, that Commiſſioners might be nominated to inſpect them: He only hinted, how highly neceſſary it was to aboliſh a Law, which griev'd the moſt zealous Citizens, and reduc'd them to this ſad Neceſſity, either to ruin themſelves if they gave their Opinion boldly and faithfully; or deſtroy their Country, if they obſerv'd a fearful, prevaricating Silence.

Theſe Remonſtrances don't ſeem to have had the Succeſs they deſerved; ſince, in the following *Olynthiac*, (which, however, is commonly placed as the firſt) the Orator was obliged to inveigh once more, againſt the ſquandring of the military Funds. The *Olynthians* being then warmly attack'd by *Philip*, and having received but very indifferent Relief till then, merely from the venal Principle of the *Athenians*; required, by a third Embaſſy, a Body of Troops; which ſhould not conſiſt of Mercenaries, and Foreigners, as before, but of true *Athenians*; that is, of Men inſpired with a ſincere Ardour, for the Intereſt, both of their own Glory, and of the common Cauſe. Hereupon, the *Athenians*, at the earneſt Solicitation of *Demoſthenes*, ſent *Chares* a ſecond Time, with a Reinforcement of ſeventeen Gallies, with Two thouſand Foot, and Three hundred Cavalry, all Citizens of *Athens*, as the *Olynthians* had requeſted.

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The following Year, *Philip* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Olynthus*: Neither the Troops, nor Efforts of the *Athenians*, could defend it from its domeſtic Enemies; it being betray'd by *Euthyrates*, and *Laſthenes*, two of its moſt eminent Citizens, and in actual Employment at that Time. Thus *Philip* enter'd by the Breach which his Gold had made: Immediately he plunder'd this unhappy City, threw one Part of the Inhabitants in Chains, and ſold the reſt for Slaves; and diſtinguiſh'd thoſe who had betray'd their City, no otherwiſe than the by the moſt ſovereign Contempt. This King, like his Son *Alexander*, loved the Treaſon, but abhorred the Traitor: And indeed, how can a Prince rely upon him who has betray'd his Country? Every one, even the common Soldiers of the *Macedonian* Army, reproach'd *Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes* for their Perfidy; who complaining to *Philip* upon that Account, he only made them this ironical Anſwer, which was infinitely more ſevere than the Reproach itſelf: *Don't mind what a Pack of vulgar Fellows ſay, who call every Thing by its real Name.*

That Prince, however, was greatly overjoy'd at his being poſſeſſed of this City; which was of the utmoſt Importance to him, its Power being ſuch, as might have very much check'd his Conqueſts. Some Years before, the *Olynthians* had long reſiſted the united Armies of *Macedon* and *Lacedæmonia*; whereas *Philip* had met with very little Reſiſtance, or, at leaſt, had not loſt many Men in the Siege. To celebrate, therefore, his Succeſs, he gave publick Shews; and cauſed publick Games to be exhibited, with the utmoſt Magnificence; the whole being heighten'd with Feaſts, in which he made himſelf very popular; beſtowing on all the Gueſts conſiderable Gifts, and indulging them with the utmoſt Marks of his Friendſhip.

The *Thebans*, being unable alone, to put an End to the War, which they had ſo long carried on againſt the *Phocenſes*, addreſſed *Philip*: Till then, as we before obſerved, he had kept a kind of Neutrality, with Reſpect to the ſacred War; and he ſeem'd to wait for an Opportunity of throwing off the Mask; that is, till both Parties ſhould have weaken'd themſelves by long Hoſtilities, which drain'd and conſum'd them equally. By this Time, the *Thebans* had very much abated of that Haugntineſs, and thoſe ambitious Pretences, with which the Victories of *Epaminondas* had inſpired them: The Inſtant therefore, that they requeſted the Alliance of *Philip*, he reſolved to eſpouſe the Intereſt of this Republick, in Oppoſition to the *Phocenſes*: He had not loſt Sight of the Project he had form'd, to procure himſelf an Entrance into *Greece*, in order to make himſelf Maſter of it. To facilitate his Deſign, it was proper for him to declare in Favour of one of the two Parties, which at that Time divided all *Greece*; that is, either for the *Thebans*, or the *Athenians* and *Spartans*. He was not ſo weak, as to imagine that the latter Party would aſſiſt his Deſign of turning his Arms againſt *Greece*. He therefore had no more to do, but to join in the Party of the *Thebans*, who offer'd themſelves voluntarily to him, and who ſtood in need of *Philip*'s Power, in order to ſupport themſelves in their declining Condition. Accordingly, he declared at once in their Favour: But, being deſirous of giving a ſpecious Colour to this Engagement; beſides pretending to be incited thereto by his Gratitude to *Thebes*, in which he had been educated, he alſo feigned to be zealous for the Honour of the inſulted Deity, and deſirous to paſs for a religious Prince, who very warmly eſpouſed the Cauſe of the God, and Temple of *Delphos*, in order to gain, by this Means, the Eſteem and Friendſhip of the *Greeks*. Politicians make a Handle of every Thing, and endeavour to ſkreen the moſt unjuſt Attempts with the Veil of Probity, and ſometimes even of Religion; though they very frequently have no Manner of Regard for either.

There was nothing *Philip* had more at Heart, than to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Thermopylæ*, as this open'd him a Paſſage into *Greece*; to appropriate all the Honour of the ſacred War; to ſeem as though he had been ſupreme in that Affair; and to preſide in the *Pythian* Games. He was deſirous of going to the Aſſiſtance of the *Thebans*, and by their Means to poſſeſs himſelf of *Phocis*; but then, in order to put this double Deſign in Execution, it was neceſſary for him to keep it ſecret from the *Athenians*, who had actually declared War againſt *Thebes*, and who for many Years, had been allied to the *Phocenſes*. His Buſineſs therefore was to impoſe upon them, by drawing off their Attention to another Object; and on this Occaſion, the Politicks of *Philip* ſucceeded to a Wonder.

The *Athenians*, who began to grow tired of a War which was very burthenſome, and of little Benefit to them, had commiſſion'd *Cteſiphon* and *Phrynon*, to ſound the Intentions of *Philip*, and to ſee how he might ſtand inclin'd with Reſpect to Peace. Theſe reported that *Philip* did not appear averſe to it, and that he even ſeem'd to have a great Affection for the Common-wealth. Upon this, the *Athenians* reſolv'd to ſend a ſolemn Embaſſy, in order to enquire more ſtrictly into the Truth of Things, and to procure the laſt Explication, which a Negociation of ſo much Importance might naturally require. *Æſchines* and *Demoſthenes* were among the ten Embaſſadors, who brought back three from *Philip*, *viz.* *Antipater*, *Parmenio* and *Eurylochus*. All the Ten executed their Commiſſion, for that Time, very faithfully, and gave a very good Account of it: Upon this, they were immediately ſent back, with full Powers to conclude a Peace, and to ſtrengthen it by Oaths. 'Twas then that *Demoſthenes*, who in his firſt Embaſſy had met ſome *Athenian* Captives in *Macedonia*, and had promiſed to return and ranſom them at his own Expence, endeavours to enable himſelf to keep his Word; and in the mean Time adviſes his collegues, to embark with the utmoſt Expedition, as the Republick had commanded; and to wait as ſoon as poſſible upon *Philip*, whereſoever he might be. However, theſe, inſtead of making a ſpeedy Diſpatch, as they were deſir'd, go an Embaſſador's Pace; proceed to *Macedon* by Land; ſtay three Months in that Country, and gave *Philip* Time to poſſeſs himſelf of ſeveral other ſtrong Holds, belonging to the *Athenians*, in *Thrace*. At laſt, meeting with the King of *Macedon*, they agree with him upon Articles of Peace; and this Monarch, having lull'd them aſleep with the ſpecious Pretence of a Treaty, deferr'd the Ratification of it from Day to Day. *Philip* had found Means to corrupt all the Embaſſadors, one after another, by Preſents; *Demoſthenes* excepted, who

who being but one, oppoſed his Collegues to no Manner of Purpoſe.

In the mean Time, *Philip* was marching forward his Troops; and being arrived at *Phera* in *Theſſaly*, he at laſt ratify'd the Treaty of Peace, but refuſed to include the *Phocenſes* in it. When News was brought to *Athens*, that *Philip* had ſign'd the Treaty, it occaſion'd very great Joy in that City; eſpecially in thoſe Perſons who were averſe to War, and dreaded the Conſequences of it. Among theſe was *Iſocrates*: He was a Citizen very zealous for the Common-wealth, whoſe Proſperity he had very much at Heart. The Weakneſs of his Voice, together with a Fearfulneſs which was natural to him, had prevented his appearing in Publick, and from aſcending, as the others did, the *Roſtra*. He had open'd a School in *Athens*, in which he read rhetorical Lectures, and taught Youth Eloquence, with great Reputation Succeſs. However, he had not entirely thrown off the Care of publick Affairs; and as others ſerved their Country, *viva voce*, in the publick Aſſemblies, *Iſocrates* contributed to it by his Writings, in which he deliver'd his Thoughts; and theſe being ſoon made publick, were very eagerly ſought after.

On this Occaſion, he wrote a pretty long Piece, which he addreſſed to *Philip*, with whom he held a Correſpondence, but in ſuch Terms, as were worthy a good and faithful Citizen. He was then very far advanced in Years, being at leaſt fourſcore and eight. The Scope of his Diſcourſe was, to exhort *Philip*, to take Advantage of the Peace he had juſt before concluded, in order to reconcile all the *Greek* Nations, and afterwards to turn his Arms againſt the King of *Perſia*. The Buſineſs was to engage in this Plan, four Cities, on which all the Reſt depended, *viz. Athens*, *Sparta*, *Thebes*, and *Argos*. He confeſſes, that had *Sparta*, or *Athens*, been as triumphant States as formerly, he ſhould be far from making ſuch a Propoſal, which he was ſenſible they would never have approv'd; and that the Haughtineſs of theſe two Commonwealths, brought up in, and enlarg'd by good Succeſs, would have rejected with Diſdain. But that, as the moſt powerful Cities of *Greece*, then wearied out and exhauſted by long Wars, and humbled ſeverally in their Turns, by fatal Reverſes of Fortune, had equally an Intereſt in laying down their Arms, and living in Peace, purſuant to the Example which the *Athenians* had begun to ſet them; it was then the moſt favourable Opportunity *Philip* could poſſibly meet with, to reconcile and unite the ſeveral Cities of *Greece*.

He added, that in Caſe *Philip* ſhould be ſo happy as to ſucceed in ſuch a Project; ſo glorious, and beneficial a Succeſs, would raiſe him above whatever had appear'd moſt auguſt in *Greece*. But this Deſign in itſelf, though it ſhould not have ſo happy an Effect as he might expect from it, would yet infallibly gain him the Eſteem, the Affection, and Confidence of all the Nations of *Greece*; Advantages that are infinitely preferable to the taking of Cities, and to all the Conqueſts he might hope to obtain.

Iſocrates allow'd indeed, that ſome Perſons, who were prejudiced againſt *Philip*, repreſented and exclaim'd againſt him, as a crafty Prince, who colour'd over his Deſigns with a ſpecious Pretext, but at the ſame Time, had, in Reality, no other Object in View, but the enſlaving of *Greece*. But in this Piece, either from a too great Credulity, o from a Deſire of gaining over *Philip*, he ſuppoſes, that Rumours ſo injurious as theſe, have no Manner of Foundation; it not being probable, that a Prince, who glories in being deſcended from *Hercules*, the Deliverer of *Greece*, ſhould think of invading and poſſeſſing himſelf of it. He then adds, that theſe very Reports, which are ſo capable of blackning his Name, and of ſullying all his Glory, ſhould prompt him to demonſtrate the Falſity of them, in the Preſence of all *Greece*, by the moſt unſuſpicious Proofs, by leaving, and maintaining each City, in the full Poſſeſſion of its Laws and Liberties; by removing, with the utmoſt Care, all Suſpicions of Partiality; by not eſpouſing the Intereſt of one Nation againſt another; by gaining the Confidence of all Men, by a noble Diſintereſtedneſs, and an invariable Love of Juſtice; in ſhort, by aſpiring at no other Title, than that of the Reconciler of the ſeveral Diviſions of *Greece*, a Title vaſtly more glorious than that of Conqueror.

'Tis in the King of *Perſia*'s Dominions, (continues *Iſocrates*) that he ought to merit thoſe laſt Titles. The Conqueſt of it is open and ſure to him, in Caſe he could ſucceed in pacifying the Troubles of *Greece*. He ſhould call to Mind, that *Ageſilaus*, with no other Forces than that of *Sparta*, ſhook the *Perſian* Throne; and would infallibly have deſtroy'd it, had he not been recall'd into *Greece*, by the inteſtine Diviſions which then broke out in it. The ſignal Victory of the *Ten Thouſand*, under *Clearchus*, and their triumphant Retreat in the Sight of a numberleſs Multitude of Troops, prove what might be expected from the joint Forces of the *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, and commanded by *Philip*, againſt a Prince, inferior in every Reſpect to him, whom *Cyrus* had attack'd.

He concludes with declaring, that one would believe the Gods had hitherto granted *Philip* ſuch a Series of Succeſs, with no other View, but that he might be enabled to form and execute the glorious Enterprize, the Plan of which he had laid before him. He reduces the Council he gave, to three Heads: That this Prince ſhould govern his own Empire with Wiſdom and Juſtice; ſhould heal the Diviſions between the neighbouring Nations and all *Greece*, without deſiring to poſſeſs any Part of it himſelf; and this being done, that he ſhould turn his victorious Arms towards a Country, which from all Ages had been an Enemy to the *Greeks*, and had often vow'd their Deſtruction. It muſt be confeſſed, that this is a moſt noble Plan, and highly worthy a great Prince. But *Iſocrates* had a very falſe Idea of *Philip*, if he thought this Monarch would ever put it in Execution: He was not Maſter of that Equity, Moderation or Diſintereſtedneſs, which ſuch an Attempt required. He really intended to paſs over into *Perſia*, and was perſuaded, that 'twas his Buſineſs to ſecure himſelf firſt of *Greece*, which indeed he was determin'd to do, not by Acts of Bounty, but by Force. He did not endeavour either to gain over, or perſuade Nations, but to ſubject and reduce them. As he himſelf had no Manner of Regard for Alliances and Treaties, he judged of others by himſelf, and would faſten them with much ſtronger Bands than thoſe of Friendſhip, Gratitude and Sincerity.

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As *Demoſthenes*, however, was better acquainted with the State of Affairs than *Iſocrates*, ſo he form'd a truer Judgment of *Philip*'s Deſigns: Upon his Return from his Embaſſy, he declares expreſly, that he does not approve, either of the Diſcourſe, or the Conduct of the *Macedonian* King, but that the moſt fatal Things might be expected from him. On the contrary, *Æſchines*, who had been brib'd, aſſures the *Athenians*, that he diſcover'd the greateſt Candour and Sincerity, in the ſeveral Proceedings of that Monarch: He had engaged to repeople *Theſpiæ* and *Plataæ*, in Spight of the Oppoſition of the *Thebans*; that, in caſe he ſhould proceed ſo far, as to ſubject the *Phocenſes*, he would preſerve them, and not do them the leaſt Injury; to reſtore *Thebes* to the good Order, which had before been obſerv'd in it; to give up *Oropus* abſolutely to the *Athenians*; and put them in Poſſeſſion of *Eubœa*, inſtead of *Amphipolis*. It was to no Purpoſe, that *Demoſthenes* remonſtrated to his Fellow-Citizens, that *Philip*, notwithſtanding all theſe glorious Promiſes, endeavour'd to poſſeſs himſelf, in an abſolute Manner, of *Phocis*; and that, by abandoning it to him, they would betray the Commonwealth, and give up all *Greece* into his Hands: He was not regarded, and the Oration of *Æſchines*, who engag'd, that *Philip* would make good his ſeveral Promiſes, prevail'd over that of *Demoſthenes*.

Theſe Deliberations gave that Prince an Opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of the *Thermophylæ*, and to enter *Phocis*. Till then there had been no Poſſibility of reducing the *Phocenſes*; but *Philip* needed but appear, for the bare Sound of his Name fill'd them with Terror. Upon the Suppoſition that he was marching againſt a Herd of ſacrilegious Wretches, not againſt common Enemies, he ordered all his Soldiers to wear Crowns of Laurel; and led them to Battle, as being under the Conduct of the God himſelf, whoſe Honour they revenged. The Inſtant they appear'd, the *Phocenſes* imagin'd themſelves overcome: Accordingly they ſued for Peace, and yielded to *Philip*'s Mercy, who gave *Phalecus* their Leader Leave to retire into *Peloponneſus*, with the eight thouſand Men in his Service. In this Manner *Philip*, with very little Trouble, gain'd all the Honour of a long and bloody War, which had exhauſted the Forces of both Parties. This Victory acquir'd him incredible Honour throughout all *Greece*, and his glorious Expedition was the Topic of all Converſation in that Country. He was look'd on as the Revenger of Sacrilege, and the Protector of Religion; and they almoſt rank'd in the Number of the Gods, the Man who had defended their Majeſty with ſo much Courage and Succeſs.

This done, *Philip*, that he might not ſeem to do any Thing by his own private Authority, in an Affair which concern'd all *Greece*, aſſembled the Council of the *Amphictyones*, and appointed them, for Form Sake, ſupreme Judges of the Pains and Penalties to which the *Phocenſes* had render'd themſelves obnoxious. Under the Name of theſe Judges, who were entirely at his Devotion, he gave Orders for deſtroying the Cities of *Phocis*, that they ſhould all be reduced to ſmall Towns of ſixty Houſes each, and that the Towns ſhould be placed at a certain Diſtance one from the other; that thoſe Wretches who had committed Sacrilege ſhould be abſolutely proſcrib'd; and that the Reſt ſhould not enjoy their Poſſeſſions, but upon Condition of paying an annual Tribute, which ſhould continue to be levy'd, till ſuch Time as the whole Sums, carry'd away from the Temple of *Delphos*, ſhould be repaid. *Philip* did not forget himſelf on this Occaſion: After he had ſubjected the rebellious *Phocenſes*, he requir'd this People to tranſfer to him the Seat in the *Amphyctionic* Council, which they now were declared to have forfeited: And the *Amphyctiones*, the Inſtrument of whoſe Vengeance he had now been, were afraid of refuſing him, and accordingly admitted him a Member of their Body, a Circumſtance of the higheſt Importance to him; as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel, and of very dangerous Conſequence to all the Reſt of *Greece*. They alſo gave him the Superintendance of the *Pythian* Games, in Conjunction with the *Bœotians* and *Theſſalians*; becauſe that the *Corinthians*, who had poſſeſs'd this Privilege till then, had render'd themſelves unworthy of it, by ſharing in the ſacrilegious Attempts of the *Phocenſes*.

When News was brought to *Athens*, of the Treatment which the *Phocenſes* had met with, they perceived, but too late, the wrong Step they had taken in refuſing to comply with the Counſels of *Demoſthenes*; and in delivering themſelves, blindly, to the vain and idle Promiſes of a Traitor, who had ſold his Country. Beſides the Shame and Grief with which they were ſeized, for their having failed in the Obligations of the Confederacy with the *Phocenſes*, they found that they had betray'd their own Intereſts in abandoning the *Allies*. For *Philip*, by his poſſeſſing himſelf of *Phocis*, was become Maſter of the *Thermopylæ*, which open'd him the Gates, and put into his Hands the Keys of *Greece*. The *Athenians*, therefore, being alarm'd upon their own Account, gave Orders, that the Women and Children ſhould be brought out of the Country into the City; that the Walls ſhould be repair'd, and the *Piræum* fortify'd, in order to put themſelves in a State of Defence, in Caſe of an Invaſion.

The *Athenians* had no Hand in the Decree, by which *Philip* had been admitted among the *Amphyctiones*: They perhaps had abſented themſelves purpoſely, that they might not authorize it by their Preſence; or, which is more probable, *Philip*, in order to remove the Obſtacles, and avoid the Oppoſitions he might meet with in the Execution of his Deſign, aſſembled ſuch of the *Amphyctiones* only, as were entirely at his Devotion. In ſhort, he conducted his Intrigue ſo very artfully, that he obtain'd his Ends. This Election, however, might have been diſputed him, as being clandeſtine and irregular; and therefore he requir'd a Confirmation of it from the People, who, as Members of that Body, had a Right either to reject or ratify the new Choice. *Athens* received the circular Invitation; but in an Aſſembly of the People, who were call'd in order to deliberate on *Philip*'s Demand, ſeveral were of Opinion, that no Notice ſhould be taken of it. *Demoſthenes*, however, was of a contrary Opinion; and though he did not approve in any Manner of the Peace which had been concluded with *Philip*, he did not think it would be for their Intereſt to infringe it at that Juncture; ſince that could not be done without ſtirring up againſt the *Athenians*, both the new *Amphyctionic* Council, or general Diet, and thoſe who

who had elected it. His Advice therefore was, that they ſhould not expoſe themſelves unſeaſonably to the dangerous Conſequences which might enſue, in Caſe they ſhould refuſe, out of Obſtinacy, to conſent to the almoſt unanimous Decree of the *Amphictyones*; and proteſted, that 'twas their Intereſt to ſubmit, for fear of worſe, to the preſent Circumſtances of Things; that is, conſent to what was not in their Power to prevent. This is the Subject of the Diſcourſe of *Demoſthenes*, entitled, *An Oration on the Peace*. We may probably believe that his Opinion was follow'd.

CHAP. II.

Philip *turns his Arms againſt* Illyria, *and* Thrace, *where he reduces divers Places; Forms the Deſign of invading* Peloponneſus, *but is prevented by the* Athenians *declaring in Favour of the* Spartans; *Invades* Eubœa, *but is driven from thence by* Phocion; *Beſieges* Perinthus, *and* Byzantium; *Is forced by* Phocion *to raiſe both thoſe Sieges; The* Byzantines, *and* Perinthians *make a very honourable Decree, in Favour of the* Athenians, *in Return for the Effectual Relief ſent them by that Republick*; Philip *gets himſelf appointed Generaliſſimo of the* Greeks; *Poſſeſſes himſelf of* Elatea; *The* Athenians, *and* Thebans, *alarm'd thereat, unite againſt him; He defeats them at the Battle of* Chæronea; *He is declared Generaliſſimo of the* Greeks *againſt the* Perſians, *and prepares for that Expedition; but is prevented from undertaking it by Death, being aſſaſſinated at the Nuptials of his Daughter; His memorable Sayings, and Character.*

AFTER *Philip* had ſettled every Thing, relating to the Worſhip of the God, and the Security of the Temple of *Delphos*, he return'd into *Macedonia*, with the greateſt Glory; and the Reputation of a religious Prince, and an intrepid Conqueror. *Diodorus* obſerves upon this Head, that all thoſe, who had ſhared in the Profanation, and Plunder of the Temple, periſh'd miſerably, and came to a tragical End.

Philip, ſatisfy'd with having open'd himſelf a Paſſage into *Greece*, by his Seizure of the *Thermopylæ*; with having ſubjected *Phocis*; and eſtabliſh'd himſelf one of the Judges of *Greece*, by his new Dignity of *Amphyction*; and with having gain'd the Eſteem and Applauſe of all Nations, by the Zeal which he diſcover'd to revenge the Honour of the Deity; judged very prudently, that it would be proper for him to ſtop his Career, in order to prevent the ſeveral People of *Greece*, from riſing up in Arms againſt him, in caſe they ſhould diſcover, too ſoon, his ambitious Deſigns againſt that Country. In order therefore to remove all Suſpicion, and to ſooth the Diſquietudes which aroſe on that Occaſion, he turn'd his Arms againſt *Illyria*; purpoſely to extend his Frontiers on that Side, and to keep always his Troops in Exerciſe, by ſome new Expedition.

The ſame Motive prompted him afterwards to march into *Thrace*: In the very Beginning of his Reign he had diſpoſſeſs'd the *Athenians* of ſeveral ſtrong Holds in that Country; and he ſtill carry'd on his Conqueſts there. For *Suidas* obſerves, that before he took *Olynthus*, he had made himſelf Maſter of thirty-two Cities in *Chalcis*, which is Part of *Thrace*. *Cherſoneſus* alſo was ſituated very commodiouſly for him. This was a very rich Peninſula, in which there were a great Number of powerful Cities, and fine paſture Grounds. It formerly belong'd to the *Athenians*; but the Inhabitants of it put themſelves under the Protection of *Lacedæmonia*, after *Lyſander* had deſtroy'd *Athens*; though they ſubmitted again to their firſt Maſters, after *Conon*, the Father of *Timotheus*, had raiſed his afflicted Country. *Cotys*, King of *Thrace*, then diſpoſſeſs'd the *Athenians* of *Cherſoneſus*; but it was afterwards reſtor'd to them by *Cherſobleptus*, Son of *Cotys*, who finding himſelf unable to defend it againſt *Philip*, gave it up to them the fourth Year of the 106th *Olympiad*; reſerving, however, to himſelf, *Cardia*; which was the moſt conſiderable City of the *Peninſula*, and form'd, as it were, the Gate and Entrance of it. After *Philip* had deprived *Cherſobleptus* of his Kingdom, which happen'd the ſecond Year of the 109th *Olympiad*, the Inhabitants of *Cardia*, being afraid of falling into the Hands of the *Athenians*, who claim'd their City which formerly belonged to them, ſubmitted themſelves to *Philip*, who was very well pleaſed with taking them under his Protection.

Hereupon, *Diopithes*, Principal of the Colony, which the *Athenians* had ſent into *Cherſoneſus*, looking upon this Step of *Philip* as an Act of Hoſtility againſt the Commonwealth; without waiting for an Order, being fully perſuaded that it would not diſpleaſe, marches ſuddenly into the Dominions of that Prince, in the maritime Part of *Thrace*, at a Time when he was carrying on an important War in *Upper Thrace*; plunder'd them, before he had Time to return, and made Head

againſt

againſt him, and carries off a rich Booty, all which he lodg'd ſafe in *Cherſoneſus*. Whereupon, *Philip*, not being able to revenge himſelf, in the Manner he could have wiſh'd, contented himſelf with making grievous Complaints to the *Athenians*, by Letters upon that Account. Such as receiv'd Penſions from him in *Athens*, ſerv'd him but too effectually at this Juncture; thoſe venal Wretches repreſenting, in the blackeſt Colours, a Conduct, which, if not prudent, was, at leaſt, excuſable. They declaim'd againſt *Diopithes*; impeach'd him, for involving them in the War; accuſed him of Extortion and Piracy; inſiſted on his being recall'd, and purſu'd his Condemnation with the utmoſt Heat and Violence. Whereupon, *Demoſthenes*, being ſenſible, that the publick Welfare was inſeparable from that of *Diopithes*, undertook his Defence; which is the Subject of his Oration upon *Cherſonneſus*: This *Diopithes* was Father to *Menander*, the Comic Poet, whom *Terence* has copy'd ſo faithfully.

Diopithes was accuſed of oppreſſing the *Allies* by his unjuſt Exactions: However, *Demoſthenes* laid the leaſt Streſs on this, becauſe it was perſonal; he, nevertheleſs, made his Apology, *en paſſant*, from the Example of all the Generals, to whom the Iſlands, and Cities of *Aſia Minor* paid certain voluntary Contributions, by which they purchas'd Security to their Merchants, and procur'd Convoys for them, to guard them againſt the Pirates. He allow'd, that it was true, indeed, that a Man might exerciſe Oppreſſions, and exact upon *Allies* very unſeaſonably: But then, in that Caſe, a bare Decree, an Accuſation in due Form, a Galley appointed to convoy back the General, who was recall'd, was ſufficient to put a Stop to the Abuſes: But it was otherwiſe, with Regard to the Enterprizes of *Philip*: They could not be check'd, either by Decrees, or Menaces; and nothing would do it effectually, but their raiſing a Body of Men, and fitting out their Gallies.

"Your Orators (ſays he) cry out eternally to "you, that we muſt make Choice either of Peace "or War; but *Philip* does not leave this at our "Option, he, who is daily meditating ſome new "Enterprize againſt us: And, can we doubt but "it was he who broke the Peace, unleſs it is "pretended, that we ſhall have no Reaſon to "complain of him, ſo long as he ſhall forbear "making any Attempts on *Attica* and the *Piræum*? "But, it will then be too late for us to oppoſe "him; and it is now we muſt prepare ſtrong "Barriers againſt his ambitious Deſigns. You "ought to lay it down, as a certain Maxim, O "*Athenians*, that it is you he aims at; that he "looks upon you as his moſt dangerous Enemies; "that your Ruin only can make him lay down "his Arms, and ſecure his Conqueſts; and that, "whatever he is now projecting, is projected "merely in the View of falling upon you, and "of reducing *Athens* to a State of Captivity: "And indeed, can any of you be ſo vaſtly weak, "as to imagine, that *Philip* is ſo greedy of a few "very paltry Towns in *Thrace* (for, what other "Name can we beſtow on thoſe he now attacks?) "that he ſubmits to Fatigues, Seaſons, and Dan"gers, merely for the Sake of gaining them: "But that, as for the Harbours, the Arſenals, "the Gallies, the Silver Mines, and the immenſe "Revenues of the *Athenians*; that he, I ſay, "regards them with Indifference; does not covet "them in any Manner; but will ſuffer you to "remain in quiet Poſſeſſion of them?

"What Concluſion are we to draw from all that "has been ſaid? This; that ſo far from caſhiering "the Army we have in *Thrace*, it muſt be conſi"derably reinforc'd, and ſtrengthen'd by new "Levies; in order, that, as *Philip* has always "one in Readineſs, to oppreſs and enſlave the "*Greeks*, you, on the other Side, may always "have one on Foot, ready to defend, and ſave "them" There is Reaſon to believe, that the Advice of *Demoſthenes* was follow'd.

The ſame Year that this Oration was ſpoken, *Arymbas*, King of *Moloſſia*, or *Epirus*, dy'd: He was Son to *Alcetas*, and had a Brother, call'd *Neoptolemus*, whoſe Daughter *Olympias* was marry'd to *Philip*. This *Neoptolemus*, by the Credit and Authority of his Son-in-Law, had been raiſed ſo high, as to ſhare the regal Authority with his elder Brother, to whom only it lawfully belong'd. This firſt unjuſt Action was follow'd by a greater: For, after the Death of *Arymbas*, *Philip* play'd his Part ſo well, either by his Intrigues, or his Menaces, that the *Moloſſi* drove away *Æacidas*, Son, and lawful Succeſſor to *Arymbas*, and eſtabliſh'd *Alexander*, Son of *Neoptolemus*; ſole King of *Epirus*. This Prince, who was not only Brother-in-Law, but Son-in Law to *Philip*, whoſe Daughter *Cleopatra* he had marry'd, as will be obſerv'd in the Sequel, carry'd his Arms into *Italy*, and there dy'd. After this, *Æacidas* reaſcended the Throne of his Anceſtors; reign'd alone in *Epirus*, and tranſmitted the Crown to his Son, the renown'd *Pyrrhus*, ſo famous in the *Roman* Hiſtory, and ſecond Couſin to *Alexander* the *Great*, *Alcetas* being Grandfather to both thoſe Monarchs.

Philip, after his Expeditions into *Illyria*, and *Thrace*, turn'd his Views towards *Peloponneſus*. Terrible Commotions prevail'd, at that Time, in this Part of *Greece*. The *Lacedæmonians* aſſum'd the Sovereignty of it, with no other Right than of being the ſtrongeſt. *Argos*, and *Meſſene*, being oppreſſed, addreſſed *Philip*: He had juſt before concluded a Peace with the *Athenians*, who, on the Faith of their Orators, who had been brib'd by him, imagin'd he was going to break with the *Thebans*. However, he was ſo far from doing this, that, after having ſubdu'd *Phocis*, he divided the Conqueſt with them. The *Thebans* embrac'd, with Joy, the favourable Opportunity which preſented itſelf, of their opening him a Way through which he might paſs into *Peloponneſus*, in which Country, the inveterate Hatred they bore to *Sparta*, made them foment Diviſions perpetually, and continue the War. They ſollicited *Philip*, therefore, to join the *Meſſenians* and *Argives* with them, that they might, thereby, humble the Power of the *Lacedæmonians*.

This Prince liſtned willingly to an Alliance, which ſquar'd with his Views. He propoſed to the *Amphictyons*, or rather dictated to them, the Decree, whoſe Purport was, that *Lacedæmonia* ſhould permit *Argos* and *Meſſene* to enjoy an entire Independance, purſuant to the Tenor of a Treaty lately concluded; and, upon Pretence of not expoſing the Authority of the States General of *Greece* to Contempt, he order'd, at the ſame Time, a large Body of Troops to march that Way.

The *Lacedemonians*, being juſtly alarm'd, requeſted the *Athenians* to ſupport them; and, by an Embaſſy, preſſed earneſtly for the concluding of ſuch an Alliance, as their common Safety might require. The ſeveral Powers, whoſe Intereſt it was to prevent this Alliance from being concluded, uſed their utmoſt Endeavours to gain their Ends. *Philip* repreſented, by his Embaſſadors, to the *Athenians*, that it would be very wrong in them to declare War againſt him; that he did not break with the *Thebans*, there being no Article in the Treaties which oblig'd him to it; that before he could have broken his Word in that Particular, he muſt, firſt, have given it; and that the Treaties themſelves prov'd manifeſtly, that he had not made any Promiſe to that Purpoſe. *Philip*, indeed, ſaid true, with Regard to the written Articles, and the publick Stipulations, but then *Æſchines* had made this Promiſe by Word of Mouth, in his Name. On the other Side, the Embaſſadors of *Thebes*, *Argos*, and *Meſſene*, were alſo very urgent with the *Athenians*; and reproach'd them with having already ſecretly favour'd but too much the *Lacedæmonians*, who were profeſſed Enemies to the *Thebans*, and Tyrants over *Peloponneſus*.

But *Demoſthenes*, Proof againſt all theſe Sollicitations, and mindful of nothing but the real Intereſt of his Country, mounted the *Roſtra*, in order to enforce the Negotiation of the *Lacedemonians*. He there reproaches the *Athenians*, according to his uſual Cuſtom, with Supineneſs and Indolence: He expoſes the ambitious Deſigns of *Philip*, who ſtill advances forward; and declares, that theſe aim at no leſs than the Conqueſt of all *Greece*. "You excell (*ſays he to them*) both you "and he, in that Circumſtance, which is the Ob- "ject of your Application and Cares. You ſpeak "in a better Manner than he does, and he acts "better than you do. The Experience of what "you have formerly ſeen, ought, at leaſt, to "open your Eyes; it ſhould make you more ſuſ- "picious of him, and ſtand more upon your "Guard: But this ſerves to no other Purpoſe, "than to lull you aſleep. At this Time, his "Troops are marching towards *Peloponneſus*; he "is ſending Money to it, and his Arrival in Per- "ſon, at the Head of a powerful Army, is ex- "pected every Moment. Do you think that you "will be ſecure, after he ſhall have poſſeſſed "himſelf of the Territories round you? Art has "invented, for the Security of Cities, various De- "fences of all Kinds, as Ramparts, Walls, Ditches, "and ſuch like: But Nature ſurrounds the Wiſe "with a common Bulwark, which covers them "on all Sides, and provides for the Security of "States. What Bulwark is this? It is Diffidence." He concludes, with exhorting the *Athenians* to awake from their Lethargy; to ſend immediate Relief to the *Lacedæmonians*; and, above all, to punith forthwith all ſuch domeſtick Traitors, as have deceiv'd the People, and brought their preſent Calamities upon them, by ſpreading falſe Reports, and employing captious Aſſeverations.

In the mean While, the *Athenians* and *Philip* did not yet come to an open Rupture; whence we may conjecture, that the latter delay'd his Invaſion of *Peloponneſus*, in order that he might not have too many Enemies upon his Hands, at the ſame Time. However, he did not ſit ſtill, but turn'd his Views another Way. *Philip* had, at this Time, look'd upon *Eubœa* as proper, from its Situation, to favour the Deſigns he meditated againſt *Greece*; and, in the very Beginning of his Reign, he had attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of it. He, indeed, ſet every Engine at work, at that Time, in order to ſeize upon that Iſland; which he call'd the *Shackles of Greece*: But then it nearly concern'd the *Athenians*, not to ſuffer it to fall into the Hands of an Enemy; eſpecially as it might be join'd to the Continent of *Attica* by a Bridge: However, that People, according to their uſual Cuſtom, contiued indolent, whilſt *Philip* was purſuing his Conqueſts. The latter, who was ever attentive and vigilant over his Intereſt, endeavour'd to carry on an Intelligence in the Iſland; and, by Dint of Preſents, brib'd thoſe who had the greateſt Authority in it. At the Requeſt of certain of the Inhabitants, he ſent ſome Troops privately thither; poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral ſtrong Holds; diſmantled *Potamos*, a very important Fortreſs in *Eubœa*, and eſtabliſh'd three Tyrants, or Kings, over the Country. He alſo ſeiz'd upon *Oreum*, one of the ſtrongeſt Cities of *Eubœa*, and which poſſeſſed the fourth Part thereof; and eſtabliſh'd five Tyrants over it, who exerciſed an abſolute Authority there in his Name.

Upon this, *Plutarch* of *Eretria* ſent a Deputation to the *Athenians*, conjuring them to come and deliver that Iſland, every Part of which was upon the Point of ſubmitting entirely to the *Macedonian*. The *Athenians*, upon this, ſent ſome Troops under the Command of *Phocion*. This General had already acquir'd great Reputation, and we ſhall ſee him, in the Sequel of this Work, enjoy a great Share in the Adminiſtration of Affairs, both foreign and domeſtick. He had ſtudy'd in the Academy under *Plato*, and afterwards under *Zenocrates*; and in that School had form'd his Morals, and his Life, after the Model of the moſt auſtere Virtue. We are told, that no *Athenian* ever ſaw him laugh, weep, or go to the publick Baths. Whenever he went into the Country, or was in the Army, he always walk'd barefoot, and without a Cloak, unleſs the Weather happen'd to be inſupportably cold; ſo that the Soldiers uſed to ſay, laughing, *See!* Phocion's *dreſs'd*; *it is Sign of a hard Winter.*

He knew that Eloquence is a neceſſary Inſtrument to a Stateſman, in order for him to execute happily the great Deſigns he may undertake during his Adminiſtration: He, therefore, apply'd himſelf particularly to that Branch of Science, and with great Succeſs. Perſuaded, that it is with Words as with Coins, the moſt eſteem'd whereof are thoſe which, under a leſs Weight, have a greater intrinſick Value; *Phocion* had form'd himſelf to a ſprightly, cloſe, conciſe Style, which expreſſed a great many Ideas in few Words. Appearing, one Day, abſent in Mind, in an Aſſembly, where he was preparing to ſpeak, he was ask'd the Reaſon of it: *I am conſidering* (ſays he) *whether it is not poſſible for me, to retrench any Part of the Diſcourſe I am to make.* He was a ſtrong Reaſoner, and, by that Means, quite defeated the moſt ſublime Eloquence; which made *Demoſthenes*, who had often experienc'd this, whenever he appear'd, in order to harangue the Publick, ſay; *There's the Ax*, which quite cuts away the Effect *my Words* would, otherwiſe, produce.

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One would imagine, that this Kind of Eloquence is abſolutely contrary to the Genius of the Vulgar, who require the ſame Things to be repeated ſeveral Times; and that a greater Extent ſhould be given to Things, in order to make them more intelligible. But it was not ſo with the *Athenians*; for, they being ſprightly, ſagacious, and Lovers of a hidden Senſe, boaſted their underſtanding an Orator at half a Word, and they really did ſo. *Phocion* gave into their Taſte, and, in this Article, ſurpaſſed even *Demoſthenes* himſelf; which is ſaying a great deal.

Phocion obſerving, that thoſe Perſons, who, at this Time, were concern'd in the Adminiſtration, had divided it into the military and civil; that one Part, as *Eubulus*, *Ariſtophon*, *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and *Hyperides*, confin'd themſelves merely to the haranguing of the People, and the propoſing of Decrees; that the other Part, as *Diopithes*, *Leoſthenes*, and *Chares*, advanc'd themſelves by military Employments; choſe rather to imitate the Manner of Government of *Solon*, *Ariſtides*, and *Pericles*, who had join'd the two Talents, and united the Arts of Government to martial Bravery. Whilſt he was in Employment, Peace and Tranquillity were always his Object, as being the Aim of every wiſe Government; and yet he himſelf headed more Expeditions, not only than all the Generals of his Time, but even than all his Predeceſſors. He was honour'd with the ſupream Command forty-five Times, without having once ſued, or made Intereſt for it; and it was always in his Abſence, that he was appointed to command the Armies. The World was aſtoniſh'd, being of ſo ſevere a Turn of Mind, and ſo great an Enemy to Flattery of every Kind, how it was poſſible for him to fix, as it were, in his own Favour, the innate Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy of the *Athenians*; though he frequently uſed to oppoſe very ſtrenuouſly their Wills, and their Caprices, not valuing how much ſoever he might ruffle their tickliſh Tempers: But the Idea they had form'd to themſelves of his Probity and Zeal for the publick Welfare, extinguiſh'd every other Senſation; and this it was, according to *Plutarch*, which generally made his Eloquence ſo efficacious and triumphant.

We thought it neceſſary to give the Reader this Idea of *Phocion*'s Character, becauſe frequent Mention will be made of him, in the Sequel: It was to him the *Athenians* gave the Command of the Forces whom they ſent to the Succour of *Plutarch* of *Eretria*: But this Traitor repaid his Benefactors with Ingratitude; ſet up the Standard againſt them, and endeavour'd openly to repulſe the very Army he had requeſted. However, *Phocion* was not confounded by this unforeſeen Perfidy; for he purſued his Enterprize, won a Battle, and drove *Plutarch* from *Eretria*.

After this great Succeſs, *Phocion* return'd back to *Athens*; but he was no ſooner gone, than all the *Allies* regretted his Goodneſs and Juſtice. A profeſſed Enemy to every Kind of Oppreſſion and Extortion, he could inſinuate himſelf into the Minds of Men with Art; and at the ſame Time that he made others fear him, he had the uncommon Talent of making them love him ſtill the more. He, one Day, made a beautiful Anſwer to *Chabrias*, who appointed him to go, with ten light Veſſels, to raiſe the Tribute, which certain Cities, in Alliance with *Athens*, paid every Year. *To what Purpoſe* (ſays he) *is ſuch a Convoy? Too ſtrong, if I am only to viſit* Allies; *but too weak, if I am to fight againſt Enemies.* The *Athenians* knew very well, by the Conſequences, the ſignal Service, which *Phocion*'s great Capacity, Valour, and Experience had done them, in the Expedition of *Eubœa*. For, *Moloſſus*, who ſucceeded him, and who took upon himſelf the Command of the Troops, after that General, was ſo unſucceſsful, that he fell into the Hands of the Enemy.

In the mean While, *Philip*, who did not lay aſide, the Deſign he had in View, of conquering all *Greece*, changed the Attack, and ſought for an Opportunity of raiſing another Battery againſt *Athens*. He knew that this City, becauſe of the Barrenneſs of *Attica*, had greater Want of foreign Corn than any other: Wherefore, in order to get into his own Hands the ſole Tranſportation of Corn, and, by that Means, ſtarve *Athens*; he marches towards *Thrace*, whence that City drew the greateſt Part of its Proviſions, with an Intention to beſiege *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*. But, that his Subjects might not attempt an Inſurrection during his Abſence, he left his Son, *Alexander*, at Home, conferring the ſupream Power on him, in his Abſence, though he was but fifteen Years old. This young Prince gave, even at that Time, ſome Proofs of his Courage; he having defeated certain neighbouring Nations, ſubject to *Macedonia*, who had conſider'd the Abſence of the King, as a very proper Time for executing the Deſign they had form'd of rebelling. This happy Succeſs of the firſt Expedition of *Alexander* was highly agreeable to his Father; and, at the ſame Time, an Indication of what might be expected from him: But fearing, leſt, allur'd by this dangerous Bait, he ſhould abandon himſelf inconſiderately to his Vivacity and Fire, he recall'd him, in order to take upon himſelf the Inſtruction of his Son, and perfect him in the Science of War.

During theſe Tranſactions, *Demoſthenes* ſtill continued his Invectives againſt the Indolence of the *Athenians*, whom nothing could waken from their Lethargy; and alſo, againſt the Avarice of the Orators, who, brib'd by *Philip*, amuſed the People, upon the ſpecious Pretence of a Peace, that had been ſworn to with him; and which he, nevertheleſs, violated openly, every Day, by the Enterprizes he form'd againſt the Commonwealth. This is the Subject of his Orations, call'd *The Philippicks*.

" Whence comes it (ſays he) that all the *Greeks*
" formerly panted ſo ſtrongly after Liberty, and
" that now they run ſo eagerly after Servitude?
" The Reaſon is, becauſe there prevail'd, at that
" Time, among the People, what prevails no
" longer among us; that which triumph'd over
" the Riches of the *Perſians*; which maintain'd
" the Freedom of *Greece*; which never acted in-
" conſiſtently on any Occaſion, either by Sea, or
" Land; but which, being now extinguiſh'd in
" every Heart, has ruin'd our Affairs in general,
" and quite overturn'd the Conſtitution of *Greece*.
" It is that common Hatred, that general Deteſ-
" tation, in which they held every Perſon, who
" had a Soul abject enough, to ſell himſelf to
" any Man, who would enſlave *Greece*, or even
" corrupt it. In thoſe Times, to accept of a
" Preſent was a capital Crime; which never fail'd

" of

" of being puniſh'd with Death. Neither their " Orators, nor their Generals, exerciſed ſo ſcan- " dalous a Traffick, which is now become ſo com- " mon in *Athens*; where a Price is ſet upon every " Thing, and where all Things are ſold to the " higheſt Bidder.

" In thoſe happy Times, the *Greeks* were bound " by a perfect Union, founded on the Love of " the publick Welfare, and on a Deſire of pre- " ſerving and defending the common Liberty: " But, in this Age, the People break off, and " diſengage from one another, and give them- " ſelves up a Prey to reciprocal Diſtruſts and " Jealouſies. All (I don't except one) the *Ar- " gives, Thebans, Corinthians, Lacedæmonians*, and " *Arcadians*, and Ourſelves no leſs than they; " we, each of us, I ſay, form a ſeparate Intereſt; " and this it is that gives our Enemy an Oppor- " tunity of graſping ſo much Power.

" The Safety of *Greece* conſiſts, therefore, in " our uniting together againſt the common Ene- " my, if this can poſſibly be done: But, at leaſt, " as to what concerns each of us in particular, " you muſt fix deeply in your Minds the indiſ- " putable Maxim following; that *Philip* attacks " you actually at this Time; that he has infring'd " the Peace; that, by ſeizing upon all the ſtrong " Holds round about you, he hereby opens, and " prepares himſelf to attack you yourſelves; and " that he conſiders us as his mortal Enemies, " becauſe he knows, that we only are able to " oppoſe the ambitious Deſigns he entertains, of " raiſing an univerſal Monarchy.

" This is what we muſt, indeed, oppoſe with " all imaginable Vigour; and, for that Purpoſe, " muſt put on board, without Loſs of Time, the " Succour requiſite for *Cherſoneſus* and *Byzantium*; " you muſt provide, on the Spot, whatever Ne- " ceſſaries your Generals may require: In fine, " you muſt conſer together on ſuch Means, as " are proper to ſave *Greece*, which is now threat- " ned with the utmoſt Danger. Though all the " Reſt of the *Grecks*, O *Athenians*, ſhould bow " their Necks to the Yoke, yet you ought to fight " always for the Cauſe of Liberty. After ſuch " Preparations, made in the Preſence of all *Greece*, " let us excite the Reſt of the Nations to ſecond " us; let us acquaint every People with our " Reſolutions; and let us ſend Embaſſadors to " *Peloponneſus*, to *Rhodes*, to *Chio*, and eſpecially " to the King of *Perſia*; for, it is his Intereſt, " as well as ours, to check the Career of this " Man."

The Sequel will ſhew, that the Advice of *Demoſthenes* was follow'd almoſt exactly. At the Time he was declaiming in this Manner, *Philip* was marching towards *Cherſoneſus*: He open'd the Campaign with the Siege of *Perinthus*, a conſiderable City of *Thrace*. The *Athenians* having prepar'd a Body of Troops to relieve that Place, the Orators prevail'd ſo far by their Speeches, to have *Chares* appointed Commander of the Fleet. This General was univerſally deſpiſed, upon Account of the Vileneſs of his Behaviour, his Theſts, and his ſmall Capacity; but Intereſt and Credit ſupply'd the Place of Merit on this Occaſion, and Faction got the better of the Counſels, of the moſt prudent and virtuous Men, as happens but too often. The Succeſs was anſwerable to the Raſhneſs of the Choice which had been made: But, what could be expected, from a General, whoſe Abilities were as ſmall, as his Voluptuouſneſs was great; who took along with him, in his military Expeditions, a Band of Muſicians, both vocal and inſtrumental, who were in his Pay; which was levy'd out of the Monies, appointed for the Service of the Fleet! In ſhort, the Cities themſelves, to whoſe Relief he was ſent, would not ſuffer him to come into their Harbours; ſo that, his Fidelity being univerſally ſuſpected, he was oblig'd to ſail from Coaſt to Coaſt, oppreſſing the *Allies*, and contemn'd by the Enemy.

In the mean Time, *Philip* was carrying on the Siege of *Perinthus* with great Vigour. He had Thirty thouſand choſen Troops, and a numberleſs Multitude of military Engines of all Kinds: He had rais'd Towers eighty Cubits high, which far over-topp'd thoſe of the *Perinthians*; he, therefore, had a great Advantage in battering their Walls: On one Side, he ſhook the Foundations of them by ſubterraneous Mines; and on the other, he beat down whole Angles of it with his battering Rams. Nor did the Beſieg'd make a leſs vigorous Reſiſtance; for, as ſoon as one Breach was made, *Philip* was ſurpriz'd to ſee another Wall juſt rais'd behind it. The Inhabitants of *Byzantium* ſent them all the Succours neceſſary. The *Aſiatick Satrapæ*, or Governors, by Order of the King of *Perſia*, whoſe Aſſiſtance, we obſerv'd, the *Athenians* had requeſted, likewiſe threw Forces therein: Hereupon, *Philip*, in order to deprive the Beſieg'd of the Relief the *Byzantines* ſent them, went in Perſon, to form the Siege of that important City; leaving half his Army to carry on that of *Perinthus*.

In the mean While, he was deſirous to appear (in outward Shew) very tender of giving Umbrage to the *Athenians*, whoſe Power he dreaded; and whom he endeavour'd to lull aſleep by fine Speeches. Particularly, at the Time we are now ſpeaking of, to ſecure himſelf againſt any ſiniſter Deſigns from that Quarter, he wrote a Letter to them, in which he endeavours to take off the Edge of their Reſentments, by reproaching them, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, for their Infraction of the ſeveral Treaties, which he boaſts he had obſerv'd very religiouſly; and which he interſpers'd, very artfully (for he was a great Maſter of Eloquence) with ſuch Complaints and Menaces, as were beſt calculated to reſtrain Mankind, either from a Principle of Fear or Shame. This Letter is a Maſter-piece in the Original. A majeſtick, and perſuaſive Vivacity ſhines in every Part of it; a Strength, and Juſtneſs of Reaſoning, which is carry'd quite through; and a plain and unaffected Declaration of Facts, each of which is follow'd by its natural Conſequence; a delicate Irony; in fine, that noble and conciſe Style ſo proper for crown'd Heads. We might here very juſtly apply to *Philip*, what was ſaid of *Cæſar*, *That he handled the Pen as well as he did the Sword.*

This Letter is ſo long, and beſides, is fill'd with ſo great a Number of private Facts, though each of theſe are important, that we cannot here give Extracts, nor make a connected Abridgment of it. We ſhall, therefore, cite but one Paſſage, by which the Reader may form a Judgment of the Reſt.

" At the Time of our moſt open Ruptures (ſays " *Philip* to the *Athenians*) you went no farther

" than

" than to fit out Privateers againſt me; to ſeize, " and ſell ſuch Merchants, as came to trade in " my Dominions; to favour any Party ſoever " which oppos'd my Meaſures; and to infeſt the " Places ſubject to me by your Hoſtilities: But, " now you carry Hatred and Injuſtice to ſuch " prodigious Lengths, as even to ſend Embaſſadors " to the *Perſian*, in order to excite him to de- " clare War againſt me. This muſt appear a moſt " aſtoniſhing Circumſtance; for, before he had " made himſelf Maſter of *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, " you had reſolv'd, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, " that, in caſe he ſhould attempt any new Enter- " prize, you would then invite me, in common " with the Reſt of the *Greeks*, to unite our Forces " againſt him. And, nevertheleſs, you, at this " Time, carry your Hatred to ſuch a Height, as " to negotiate an Alliance with him againſt me. " I have been told, that formerly your Fathers " accus'd *Piſiſtratus*, as guilty of an unpardonable " Crime, for having requeſted the Aſſiſtance of " the *Perſian* againſt the *Greeks*; and yet you " don't bluſh to commit a Thing, which you were " perpetually condemning in the Perſon of your " Tyrants."

Philip's Letter did him as much Service as a good Manifeſto; and gave his Penſioners in *Athens* a fine Opportunity of juſtifying him in the Minds of a People, who were very deſirous of eaſing themſelves of political Troubles; and greater Enemies to Expence and Labour, than to Uſurpation and Tyranny. The boundleſs Ambition of *Philip*, and the eloquent Zeal of *Demoſthenes*, were perpetually claſhing: There was neither a Peace, nor a Truce between them. The one cover'd very induſtriouſly, with a ſpecious Pretence, his Enterprizes and Infringements; and the other endeavour'd, as ſtrongly, to reveal the true Motives of them to a People, whoſe Reſolutions had a great Influence upon the Fate of *Greece*. On this Occaſion, *Demoſthenes* was very ſenſible, how vaſtly neceſſary it was to eraze, as ſoon as poſſible, the firſt Impreſſions, which the Peruſal of this Letter might make on the Minds of the *Athenians*. Accordingly, this zealous Republican immediately aſcends the *Roſtra*: He, at firſt, ſpeaks in an affirmative Tone of Voice, which frequently makes more than half the Proof, and ſometimes the Whole, in the Eyes of the Multitude: He ſtyles the heavy Complaints of *Philip*, the Idea of an expreſs Declaration of War; then, to animate his Fellow Citizens, to fill them with Confidence in the Reſolution with which he inſpires them, he aſſures them, all Things portend the Ruin of that Prince; the *Gods*, *Greeks*, *Perſians*, *Macedonians*, and even *Philip* himſelf. *Demoſthenes* does not obſerve, in this Harangue, the exact Rules of Refutation; he avoids contraſting of the Facts, ſince they might appear in a diſadvantageous Light, ſo artfully they had been drawn up by *Philip*; and corroborated by ſuch Proofs as ſeem'd unanſwerable.

Here follows the Concluſion, which this Orator draws from all his Arguments: " Convinc'd by " theſe Truths, O *Athenians*, and ſtrongly per- " ſuaded, that we can no longer be allow'd to " affirm that we enjoy Peace (for *Philip* has juſt " now declar'd War againſt us by his Letter, and " has long done the ſame by his Conduct) you " ought not to ſpare either the publick Treaſure, " or the Poſſeſſions of private Perſons; but, when " Occaſion ſhall require, haſte to your reſpective " Standards, and ſet abler Generals at your Head " than thoſe you have hitherto employ'd: For, " no one among you ought to imagine, that the " ſame Men, who ruin'd your Affairs, will have " Abilities to reſtore them to their former happy " Situation. Think how infamous it is, that a " Man come from *Macedon*, ſhould contemn Dan- " gers ſo far, that, merely to aggrandize his " Empire, he ſhould ruſh into the Midſt of the " Combatants, and return from the Battle cover'd " with Wounds; and that *Athenians*, whoſe here- " ditary Right it is to obey no Man, but to im- " poſe a Law on others, Sword in Hand; that " *Athenians*, I ſay, merely through Dejectedneſs " and Indolence, ſhould degenerate from the Glory " of their Anceſtors, and abandon the Intereſt of " their Country."

At the very Time they were examining this Affair, News was brought of the ſhameful Reception *Chares* had met with from the *Allies*, which raiſed a general Murmur among the People, who, now fir'd with Indignation, grew [illegible] their having ſent Relief to the *Byzantines*. Upon, *Phocion* riſing up, told the People, that they ought not to be exaſperated at the Diffidence of the *Allies*, but at the Conduct of the Generals " who had occaſion'd it: " For it is they (con- " tinu'd he) who render you odious and formi- " dable even to thoſe who cannot ſave themſelves " from Deſtruction, without your Aſſiſtance." And indeed, *Chares*, as we have already obſerv'd, was faint-hearted and unſkill'd in War. His whole Merit conſiſted in his having gain'd a great Aſcendant over the People, by the haughty and bold Air he aſſum'd. His Preſumption conceal'd his Incapacity from himſelf; and a ſordid Principle of Avarice made him make as many Blunders as Enterprizes.

The People, ſtruck with this Diſcourſe, immediately chang'd their Opinion, and appointed *Phocion* himſelf to head a Body of freſh Troops, in order to relieve the *Allies* in the *Helleſpont*. This Choice contributed chiefly to the Safety of *Byzantium*. *Phocion* had already gain'd a mighty Reputation, not only for his Valour, and Skill in the Art of War, but much more for his Probity and Diſintereſtedneſs. The *Byzantines*, at his coming, open'd their Gates to him with Joy, and lodg'd his Soldiers in their Houſes, as though they had been their own Brothers and Children. The *Athenian* Officers and Soldiers, ſtruck with the Confidence which was repoſed in them, behav'd with the utmoſt Prudence and Modeſty inſomuch that their Conduct was irreproachable. Nor were they leſs admir'd for their Courage; and, in the ſeveral Attacks made by them, they diſcover'd the utmoſt Intrepidity, and ſeem'd animated at the Sight of Danger. *Phocion*'s Prudence, being ſeconded by the Bravery of his Troops, ſoon forc'd *Philip* to give over his Attempt upon *Byzantium* and *Perinthus*. He was driven from the *Helleſpont*, which very much diminiſh'd his Fame and Glory, for till then he had been look'd upon as invincible; and all Things had ſubmitted to him univerſally. *Phocion* took ſome of his Ships; recover'd many ſtrong Holds which he had garriſon'd; and having made ſeveral Deſcents into different Parts of his Territories, he plunder'd all the Villages; till a

Body of Forces aſſembling to check his Progreſs, he was obliged to retire, after having been wounded.

In Return, the *Byzantines*, and *Perinthians*, teſtify'd their Gratitude to the People of *Athens*, by a very honourable Decree, preſerved by *Demoſthenes* in one of his Orations; the Subſtance of which we will give here. "Under *Boſphoricus* "the Prieſt, *Damagetus*, after having deſired "Leave of the Senate, ſaid, in a full Aſſembly: "Inaſmuch as in Times paſt, the uninterrupted "Beneficence of the People of *Athens*, towards "the *Byzantines* and *Perinthians*, united by Al"liance and their common Origin, never ceaſed "upon any Occaſion; that this Beneficence, ſo "often ſignalized, has lately diſplay'd itſelf, "when *Philip* of *Macedon* (who had taken up "Arms to deſtroy *Byzantium* and *Perinthus*) bat"tered our Walls, burnt our Country to Aſhes, "cut down our Foreſts; that in a Seaſon of ſo "great Calamity, this beneficent People ſuccour'd "us with a Fleet of an Hundred and twenty Sail, "furniſh'd with Proviſions, Arms and Forces; "that they ſaved us from the greateſt Danger; in "fine, that they reſtored us to the quiet Poſſeſſion "of our Government, our Laws, and our Tombs: "The *Byzantines* and *Perinthians* permit, by a "Decree, the *Athenians* to ſettle in the Countries "belonging to *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*; to "marry in them, to purchaſe Lands, and to enjoy "all the Prerogatives allow'd to Citizens: They "alſo grant them a diſtinguiſh'd Place at publick "Shews, and a Seat, both in the Senate and the "Aſſembly of the People, near that of the Pon"tiff's: Requiring that every *Athenian*, who ſhall "think proper to ſettle in either of the two Cities "above-mention'd, ſhall be exempted from Taxes "of any Kind: That in the Harbours, three Sta"tues, of ſixteen Cubits each, ſhall be ſet up, "which Statues ſhall repreſent the People of "*Athens*, crown'd by thoſe of *Byzantium* and "*Perinthus*: That beſides Preſents ſhall be ſent "to the four ſolemn Games of *Greece*; and that "the Crown we have decreed to the *Athenians*, "ſhall there be proclaimed; ſo that the ſame Ce"remony may acquaint all the *Greeks*, both with "the Magnanimity of the *Athenians*, and the Gra"titude of the *Perinthians* and *Byzantines*.

The Inhabitants of *Cherſoneſus* made a like Decree, the Tenor of which was as follows. "Among "the Nations comprehended in the *Cherſoneſus*, "the Inhabitants of *Seſtos*, of *Ælia*, of *Madytis*, "and of *Alopeconneſus*, decree, and appoint for "the People and Senate of *Athens*, a Crown of "Gold, of ſixty Talents; and erect two Altars, "the one to the Goddeſs of Gratitude, and the "other to the *Athenians*; for their having, by "the moſt ſhinning Action that can be, freed "from the Yoke of *Philip*, the People of *Cher*"*ſoneſus*; and reſtored them to the Poſſeſſion of "their Country, their Laws, their Liberty, and "their Temples: An Act of Beneficence, which "they will fix eternally in their Memories, and "never ceaſe to acknowledge to the utmoſt of "their Power. All which they have reſolved in "full Senate."

After having been forced to raiſe the Siege of *Byzantium*, *Philip* turn'd his Arms againſt *Atheas* King of *Scythia*, from whom he had received ſome perſonal Cauſe of Diſſatisfaction; and took his Son with him in that Expedition: And though the *Scythians* had a very numerous Army, he defeated them without any Difficulty. He got thereby a very great Booty, which conſiſted not in Gold or Silver, the Uſe and Value of which the *Scythians* were not then ſo unhappy as to know; but in Cattle, Horſes, and a great Number of Women and Children.

At his Return from *Scythia*, the *Triballi*, a People of *Mœſia*, diſputed the Paſs with him, laying Claim to Part of the Plunder he was carrying off. *Philip* was therefore forced to come to a Battle; and a very bloody one was fought, in which great Numbers on each Side were kill'd on the Spot. The King himſelf was wounded in the Thigh, and with the ſame Thruſt had his Horſe killed under him: Whereupon, *Alexander* ran to the Relief of his Father, and, covering him with his Shield, killed, or put to Flight, all who oppoſed him.

The *Athenians* had look'd upon the Siege of *Byzantium*, as an abſolute Rupture, and an open Declaration of War. The King of *Macedon*, who was apprehenſive of the Conſequences of it, and dreaded very much the Power of the *Athenians*, whoſe Hatred he had drawn down upon himſelf, made Overtures of Peace, in order to ſoften their Reſentments. *Phocion*, being of a leſs diffident Temper from the Uncertainty of military Events, was of Opinion, that the *Athenians* ought to acquieſce with his Offers. But *Demoſthenes*, who had ſtudied, more than *Phocion*, the Genius and Turn of Mind of *Philip*; and was perſuaded, that, according to his uſual Cuſtom, his only View was to amuſe and impoſe upon the *Athenians*, prevented their liſtning to his pacific Propoſals.

'Twas very much the Intereſt of that Prince, to terminate immediately a War, which fill'd him with the moſt gloomy Reflexions; and the frequent Depredations of the *Athenian* Privateers, who infeſted the Sea bordering upon his Dominions, gave him the higheſt Uneaſineſs. For they quite put a Stop to Trade; and prevented, not only his Subjects, from exporting any of the Products of *Macedonia* into other Countries; but Foreigners, from importing into his Kingdom, the ſeveral Things that it ſtood in need of But *Philip* was ſenſible, that it would be impoſſible for him to put an End to this War, and free himſelf from the many anxious Thoughts it raiſed in his Mind, except he could excite the *Theſſalians* and *Thebans* againſt *Athens*. He could not yet attack that City, with any Advantage, either by Sea or Land: His naval Forces were, at this Time, inferior to thoſe of that Commonwealth; and the Paſſage by Land to *Attica* would have been ſhut againſt him, as long as the *Theſſalians* refuſed to join with him, and till the *Thebans* allow'd him a free Paſſage. At the ſame Time, in Caſe, with the View of prompting them to declare War againſt *Athens*, he had aſcrib'd no other Motive for it than his private Enmity, he was very ſenſible that it would not affect either of the Nations: But, in Caſe he could once prevail with them to appoint him their Chief, (upon the ſpecious Pretence of eſpouſing their Quarrel) he then hoped it would be eaſier for him to make them acquieſce with his Deſires, either by Perſuaſion or Deceit.

This was his Aim, the ſmalleſt Traces of which it highly concern'd him to conceal; in order not

to

to give the leaſt Opportunity for any one to ſuſpect the Deſign he meditated. However, as in every City, he had hired Penſioners, whe ſent him Notice of whatever paſſed, and by that Means were of great Uſe to him; (and indeed he rewarded them very liberally, (by their Machinations, he raiſed Diviſions among the *Oxolæ*, of *Locris*, otherwiſe called the *Locrenſes* of *Amphiſa*, from their capital City ſo named: Their Country was ſituated between *Ætolia* and *Phocis*; and they were accuſed of having prophaned a Spot of ſacred Ground, by ploughing up the *Cirrhæum Campum*, or the *Cirrhean* Field, which lay very near the Temple of *Delphos*. The Reader has now ſeen how ſuch a Complaint as this, gave Riſe to the firſt *ſacred War*. This Affair was to be heard before the *Amphictyons*; and had *Philip* employ'd, in his own Favour, any known or ſuſpicious Agent, he plainly ſaw that the *Thebans*, and the *Theſſalians*, would infallibly ſurmiſe ſome Deſign was hatching; in which Caſe, thoſe various Nations would not have fail'd to have ſtood upon their Guard.

But *Philip* acted ſtill more artfully; he carrying on his Deſigns by Perſons in the Dark, by which Means they were kept inviolably ſecret. By the Aſſiduity of his Penſioners in *Athens*, he had cauſed *Æſchines*, who was entirely devoted to him, to be choſen one of the *Pylagori*, by which Name thoſe were called, who were ſent by the ſeveral *Greek* Cities to the Aſſembly of the *Amphictyons*. The Inſtant he was come into it, he exerted himſelf ſo much the more ſtrenuouſly in *Philip*'s Favour, as a Citizen of *Athens*, which had declared openly againſt this Prince, was leſs ſuſpected. Upon his Remonſtrances, a Deſcent was appointed, in order to viſit the Spot of Ground, of which the *Amphiſſians* had hitherto been look'd upon as the lawful Poſſeſſors; but which they now were accuſed of uſurping, by a moſt wicked and ſacrilegious Act.

Whilſt the *Amphictyons* were viſiting the Spot of Ground in Queſtion, the *Locrenſes* fall upon them at unawares: pour in a Shower of Darts, and oblige them to fly. So open an Outrage raiſed Animoſity and War againſt theſe *Locrenſes*, and thereupon *Cottyphus*, one of the *Amyhictyons*, brought into the Field an Army, with which he intended to puniſh the Rebels; but many not coming to the Place appointed, this Army broke up without doing the leaſt Execution. In the following Aſſembly of the *Amphictyons*, the Affair was debated very ſeriouſly: 'Twas there that *Æſchines* exerted all the Powers his Eloquence, and, by a ſtudied Oration, proved to the Deputies or Repreſentatives, either that they muſt aſſeſs themſelves, to ſupport foreign Soldiers and puniſh the Rebels, or elſe elect *Philip* for their General. The Deputies, in order to ſave their Commonwealth the Expence, and ſecure them from the Dangers and Fatigues of a War, took this laſt Reſolution. Upon which, by a publick Decree, Embaſſadors were ſent to *Philip* of *Macedon*, who, in the Name of *Apollo*, and the *Amphictyons*, implore his Aſſiſtance; beſeech him not to neglect the Cauſe of that God, which the impious *Amphiſſians* make their Sport; and notify to him, that for this Purpoſe all the *Greeks*, who compoſed the *Amphictyonic* Body, elect him for their General, with full Power to act as he ſhall think proper.

This was the Honour to which *Philip* had long aſpired, the Aim of all his Views, and of the ſeveral Engines he had ſet at work till that Time. He therefore did not loſe a Moment, but immediately aſſembled his Forces, and march'd (by a Feint) towards the *Cirrhean* Field; and forgetting now both the *Cirrheans* and the *Locrenſes*, who had only ſerved as a ſpecious Pretence for his Journey, and for whom he had not the leaſt Regard; he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Elatea*, the greateſt City in *Phocis*, ſtanding on the River *Cephiſſus*; and the moſt properly ſituated for the Deſign he meditated, to bridle the *Thebans*, who now began to open their Eyes, and to perceive the Danger they were in.

This News, being brought to *Athens* in the Evening, ſpread a Terror through every Part of it. The next Morning an Aſſembly was ſummon'd, when the Herald, as was the uſual Cuſtom, cry'd with a loud Voice, *Who among you will aſcend the Roſtra?* However, no Perſon appear'd for that Purpoſe; upon which he repeated the Invitation ſeveral Times, but ſtill no one roſe up, though all the Generals and Orators were preſent; and although the common Voice of the Country, with repeated Cries, conjur'd ſome one to open with a ſalutary Counſel: For, ſays *Demoſthenes*, from whom theſe Particulars are borrow'd, whenever the Voice of the Herald ſpeaks in the Name of the Laws, it ought to be conſider'd as the Voice of the Country. During this general Silence, occaſion'd by the univerſal Alarm with which the Minds of the *Athenians* were ſeized, *Demoſthenes*, animated at the Sight of the great Danger his Fellow-Citizens were in, aſcends the *Roſtra*, whence he endeavonrs to revive the drooping *Athenians*, and inſpire them with Sentiments ſuitable to the preſent Juncture and the Neceſſities of the State. Excelling equally in Politicks and in Oratory, he, by the Extent of his ſuperior Genius, ſtrikes out a Counſel, which points out to the *Athenians* how they are to act, both at home and abroad; by Land, as well as by Sea.

The People of *Athens* were under a double Error, with Regard to the *Thebans*, which he therefore endeavour'd to diſpel: They fancy'd this People were inviolably attach'd, both from Intereſt and Inclination, to *Philip*; but he proves to them, that the Majority of the *Thebans* waited only an Opportunity to declare againſt that Monarch; and that the Conqueſt of *Elatea* points out to them what they are to expect from him. On the other Side, they look'd upon the *Thebans*, as their moſt ancient and moſt dangerous Enemies, and therefore could not prevail with themſelves to indulge them the leaſt Relief, in the Danger with which they were threatned. It muſt be confeſs'd, that there had always been an open Hatred, between the *Thebans* and *Athenians*; which was carry'd ſo far, that *Pindar* was ſentenced by the *Thebans* to pay a conſiderable Fine, for having applauded the City of *Athens* in one of his Poems. However, *Demoſthenes*, notwithſtanding that Prejudice had taken ſuch deep Root in the Minds of the People, declared in their Favour; and proved to the *Athenians*, that their own Intereſt lay at Stake; and that they could not pleaſe *Philip* more, than in leaving *Thebes* to his Mercy, the Ruin of which (he declar'd) would open him a free Paſſage to *Athens*.

Demoſthenes

Demoſthenes afterwards diſcovers to them, the Views of *Philip* in taking that City. "What "then is his Deſign, and wherefore did he poſ- "ſeſs himſelf of *Elatea*? He is deſirous, on one "Side, to encourage thoſe of his Faction in *Thebes*, "and to inſpire them with greater Boldneſs, by "appearing at the Head of his Army, and ad- "vancing the various Preparations of War round "that City. On the other Side, he would ſtrike, "unexpectedly, the oppoſite Faction, and awe "them in ſuch a Manner, as may enable him "to get the better of it, either by Terror or by "Strength. *Philip*, ſays he, preſcribes the Man- "ner in which you ought to act, by the Example "he himſelf ſets you. Aſſemble, under *Eleuſis*, "a Body of *Athenians*, of an Age fit for Service; "and ſupport them by your Cavalry: By this "Step you'll prove to all *Greece*, that you are "ready arm'd to defend yourſelves; and you'll "inſpire your Partiſans in *Thebes* with ſuch Re- "ſolution, as may enable them both to ſupport "their Reaſons, and to make Head againſt the "oppoſite Party; when they ſhall perceive, that "as thoſe, who ſell their Country to *Philip*, have "Forces in *Elatea* ready to aſſiſt them upon Oc- "caſion; in like Manner thoſe, who will fight "for the Preſervation of their own Liberties, "have you at their Gates, ready to defend them "in caſe of an Invaſion." *Demoſthenes* added, that it would be proper for them to ſend Embaſſadors immediately to the different Nations of *Greece*, and to the *Thebans* in Particular, to engage them in a common League againſt *Philip*.

This prudent and ſalutary Counſel was follow'd in every Particular; and in Conſequence thereof a Decree was form'd, in which, after relating the different Enterprizes by which *Philip* had infring'd the Peace, it continues thus: "For this Reaſon, "the Senate and People of *Athens*, ſtudiouſly re- "collecting the Magnanimity of their Anceſtors, "who preferred the Liberty of *Greece* to the Safety "of their own Country, have reſolved, that after "offering up Prayers and Sacrifices, to call down "the Aſſiſtance of the tutelar Gods, and Demi- "Gods of *Athens* and *Attica*, Two hundred Sail "of Ships ſhall be put to Sea: That the Admiral "of their Fleet ſhall go, as ſoon as poſſible, and "cruize on the on the other Side of the Paſs of "the *Thermopylæ*, at the ſame Time that the "Land Generals, at the Head of a conſiderable "Body of Horſe and Foot, ſhall march and en- "camp in the Neighbourhood of *Eleuſis*: That "Embaſſadors ſhall likewiſe be ſent to the other "*Greeks*; but firſt to the *Thebans*, as theſe are "moſt threatned by *Philip*. Let them be exhort- "ed, not to dread that Prince in any Manner; "but to maintain courageouſly their particular "Independence, and the common Liberty of all "*Greece*. And let it be declared to them, that "though formerly ſome Motives of Diſcontent "might have cool'd the reciprocal Friendſhip "between them, nevertheleſs the *Athenians*, ob- "literating the Remembrance of paſt Tranſacti- "ons, will now aſſiſt them with Men, Money, "Javelins, and all Kinds of military Weapons; "perſuaded that ſuch as are natives of *Greece*, "may, very honourably, diſpute with one ano- "ther for Pre-eminence; but that they can never, "without tarniſhing the Glory of the *Greeks*, and "derogating from the Virtue of their Anceſtors, "ſuffer a Foreigner to deprive them of this Pre- "eminence; nor conſent to ſo ignominious a "Slavery."

Demoſthenes, who was at the Head of this Embaſſy, immediately ſet out for *Thebes*; and, indeed, he had no Time to loſe, ſince *Philip* might reach *Attica* in two Days. This Prince alſo ſent Embaſſadors to *Thebes*: Among theſe *Python* was the Chief, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf greatly by his lively, perſuaſive Eloquence, which it was ſcarce poſſible to withſtand; ſo that the reſt of the Deputies were mere Novices in Compariſon to him; however, he here met with more than his Match. And, indeed, *Demoſthenes*, in an Oration where he relates the Services he had done the Commonwealth, expatiates very ſtrongly on this; and places the happy Succeſs of ſo important a Negotiation, at the Head of his political Exploits.

It was of the utmoſt Importance for the *Athenians* to draw the *Thebans* into the Alliance; they being Neighbours to *Attica*, and cover'd it; having Troops excellently well diſciplin'd, which had been look'd upon, from the Time of the famous Victories of *Leuctra* and *Mantinea*, among the different Nations of *Greece*, as thoſe who held the firſt Rank for Valour and Skill in War. To effect this was no very eaſy Matter; not only becauſe of the great Service *Philip* had lately done them, during the War of *Phocis*; but likewiſe, becauſe of the inveterate, and open Antipathy, between *Thebes* and *Athens*.

Philip's Deputies ſpoke firſt: They diſplay'd, and ſet in the ſtrongeſt Light, the Kindneſſes with which he had loaded the *Thebans*, and the innumerable Evils which the *Athenians* had made them ſuffer: They then repreſented, to the utmoſt Advantage, the great Benefit they might reap from the laying waſte of *Attica*; the Flocks, Goods, and Power of which, would be brought into their City; whereas, by joining in League with the *Athenians*, *Bœotia* would thereby become the Seat of War, and would alone ſuffer the Loſſes, Depredations, Burnings, and all other Calamities, which are the inevitable Conſequences of it; And they concluded with requeſting, either that the *Thebans* would join their Forces, to thoſe of *Philip*, againſt the *Athenians*; or, at leaſt, that they would permit him to paſs through their Territories, in order to penetrate into *Attica*.

The Love which *Demoſthenes* bore to his Country, and a juſt Indignation at the Inſincerity and Uſurpation of *Philip*, had already animated him enough; but the Sight of an Orator, who ſeem'd to diſpute with him the Superiority of Eloquence, raiſed his Zeal to a much ſtronger Pitch, and heightned his Ardour ſtill more. To the captious Arguments of *Python*, he oppoſed the Actions themſelves of *Philip*, and particularly the late taking of *Elatea*, which evidently diſcover'd his Deſigns. He repreſented him as a reſtleſs, enterpriſing, ambitious, crafty, perfidious Prince, who had form'd a Deſign to invade all *Greece*; but who, to ſucceed the better in his Schemes, was determin'd to attack the different Nations of it ſingly: A Prince, whoſe pretended Beneficence was only a Snare, laid to entrap ſuch credulous Minds as did not know him, merely to diſarm thoſe, whoſe Zeal for the publick Liberty might be an Obſtacle to his Attempts. He prov'd to them, that the Conqueſt

queſt of *Attica*, ſo far from ſatiating the immeaſurable Avidity of that Uſurper, would only give him an Opportunity of ſubjecting *Thebes*, and the reſt of the Cities of *Greece*. That therefore, the Intereſt of theſe two Commonwealths being inſeparable, they ought to quite eraze the Remembrance of their former Diviſions, and join all their Forces to repel the common Enemy.

The *Thebans* were not long in determining: The ſtrong Eloquence of *Demoſthenes*, ſays an Hiſtorian, blowing into their Soul like an impetuous Wind, there lighted up again ſo ſtrong a Zeal for their Country, and ſo mighty a Paſſion for Liberty, that, baniſhing from their Minds every Idea of Fear, of Prudence, or Gratitude, they were tranſported and inchanted by his Oration, like as with a Fit of Enthuſiaſm, and inflam'd with no other Paſſion than the Love of true Glory. Here we have a Proof, of the mighty Aſcendant, which Eloquence has over the Minds of Men; eſpecially when it is heightned by a Love and Zeal for the publick Good. One ſingle Man ſway'd all Things at his Will, in the Aſſemblies of *Athens* and *Thebes*, where he was equally loved, reſpected, and feared.

Philip, quite alarm'd, and confounded, by the Union of theſe two Nations, ſent Embaſſadors to the *Athenians*, to requeſt them not to levy an arm'd Force, but to live in Harmony with him. However, their Minds were too juſtly alarm'd and exaſperated, to liſten to any Accomodation; and they would no longer depend on the Word of a Prince, whoſe whole Aim was to deceive. Upon this, every one prepared for War, and the Soldiery diſcover'd an incredible Ardour. However, many evil-diſpoſed Perſons endeavour'd to extinguiſh or damp it, by the Account of ſeveral fatal Omens and terrible Predictions, which the Prieſteſs of *Delphos* was ſaid to have utter'd: But *Demoſthenes*, truſting firmly in the Armament of the *Greeks*, and encourag'd wonderfully by the Number and Bravery of the Troops, who panted to come in Sight of the Enemy, would not ſuffer them to be amuſed with theſe Oracles and frivolous Predictions. 'Twas on this Occaſion he ſaid, that the Prieſteſs *Philippis'd*, meaning that 'twas *Philip*'s Money which raiſed the Enthuſiaſm of the Prieſteſs; open'd her Mouth, and made the God ſpeak whatever ſhe thought proper He reminded the *Thebans* of their *Epaminondas*, and the *Athenians* of their *Pericles*; who conſider'd theſe Oracles and Predictions as idle Scare-crows, and conſulted their Reaſon only. Upon this, the *Athenian* Army ſet out immediately, and march'd to *Eleuſis*; and the *Thebans*, ſurpriz'd at the Diligence of their Confederates, join'd them, when both waited the coming up of the Enemy's Army.

On the other Side, *Philip*, not having been able to prevent the *Thebans* from uniting with thoſe of *Athens*, nor to draw the latter into an Alliance with him, aſſembled all his Forces, and enter'd *Bœotia*. This Army conſiſted of Thirty thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe; but that of the Enemy was not quite ſo numerous. It may be affirm'd, that the Courage of the Soldiers on each Side was equal; but the Merits of the Chiefs was not ſo. And, indeed, what Warrior was comparable to *Philip* at that Time? *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, *Timotheus*, all famous *Athenian* Captains, were no more. *Phocion*, indeed, might have oppoſed him; but, not to mention that this War had been undertaken againſt his Advice, the contrary Faction had excluded him the Command, and had appointed as Generals, *Chares*, who was univerſally deſpiſed, and *Lyſicles*, who was diſtinguiſh'd for nothing but his raſh and preſumptuous Boldneſs. 'Tis the Choice of ſuch Leaders as theſe (a Choice which is regulated wholly by Faction) that paves the Way to the Ruin of States.

The two Armies encamp'd near *Chæronea*, a City of *Bœotia*. *Philip* gave the Command of his Left-Wing to his Son *Alexander*, who was then but ſixteen or ſeventeen Years of Age, having poſted his ableſt Officers near him; and he himſelf took the Command of the Right-Wing. In the oppoſite Army, the *Thebans* form'd the Right-Wing, and the *Athenians* the Left.

At Sun-riſe, the Signal being given on both Sides, the Combat was bloody, and the Victory a long Time dubious: Each Party exerted itſelf in a moſt wonderful Manner. *Alexander*, at that Time, inſpired with the nobleſt Fire, and endeavouring to ſignalize himſelf, in order to anſwer the Confidence his Father had placed in him, under whoſe Eye he fought, in Quality of a Commander, (for the firſt Time) diſcover'd, in this Battle, all the Capacity which could have been expected from a Veteran, and the Intrepidity of a young Warrior. 'Twas he who broke, after a long and vigorous Reſiſtance, the *Sacred Battalion* of the *Thebans*, which was the Flower of their Army. The Reſt of the Troops, who were round *Alexander*, being encouraged by his Example, quite put them to Flight.

On the Right-Wing, *Philip*, who was determin'd not to yield to his Son, charg'd the *Athenians* with great Vigour, and began to make them retire. However, they ſoon reſum'd their Courage, and recover'd their firſt Poſt: When *Lyſicles*, one of the two Generals, having broke into ſome Troops which form'd the Centre of the *Macedonians*, fancy'd he had already gain'd the Victory; and, fill'd with a raſh Confidence, cry'd out, *Come on, my Lads, let us purſue them into* Macedon. Whereupon *Philip*, perceiving that the *Athenians*, inſtead of ſeizing the Advantage which preſented itſelf (that of falling upon his *Phalanx* in Flank) purſued his Troops too vigorouſly; cry'd out, with a calm Tone of Voice, *The* Athenians *don't know how to conquer*. Immediately he commanded his *Phalanx* to wheel about to a little Eminence; and perceiving that the *Athenians*, then in Diſorder, were wholly bent on purſuing thoſe whom they had broke through, falls upon them with his *Phalanx*, and, attacking them both in Flank and Rear, quite puts them to Flight. 'Twas at this Battle, that *Demoſthenes*, being a greater Statеſman than a Warrior, and more capable of giving wholeſome Counſel in his Harangues, than of ſupporting them by an intrepid Courage, threw down his Arms, and fled with the Reſt. 'Twas even pretended, that in his Flight, his Gown being catch'd by a Bramble, he imagin'd that ſome of the Enemy ſtopt him; upon which he cry'd aloud, *Spare my Life*. Upwards of a Thouſand *Athenians* lay dead in the Field of Battle, and above Two thouſand were taken Priſoners, among whom was *Demades* the Orator; and the Loſs was as great on the *Theban* Side. *Philip*, after having ſet up a Trophy, and offer'd to the Gods a Sacrifice

of Thanks for his Victory, distributed Rewards to the Officers and Soldiers, each according to His Merit, and the Rank he held.

His Conduct after this Victory shews, that it is much easier for a Man to overcome an Enemy, than to conquer himself, and suppress his Passions. Upon his coming from a grand Entertainment, which he had given his Officers, being equally transported with Joy, and the Fumes of Wine, he hurry'd to the Spot where the Battle had been fought, and there insulting the dead Bodies, with which the Field was strew'd, he turn'd into a Song, the Beginning of the Decree, which *Demosthenes* had publish'd to excite the *Greeks* to this War; and sung thus, himself beating Time; Demosthenes, *the* Pœonian, *Son of* Demosthenes, *has said.* Every Person was shock'd, to see the King dishonour himself by this Behaviour, and tarnish his Glory, by an Action so unworthy a King, and a Conqueror; but no one open'd his Lips about it: Insomuch that *Demades*, the Orator, who, though his Body was inslav'd, was yet free in his own Mind, was the only Person who dar'd to make him sensible of the Indecency of this Treatment, by crying aloud, *Ah, Sir, since Fortune has given you the Part of* Agamemnon, *why do you act that of* Thersites? These Words, which glow'd with so generous a Liberty, open'd his Eyes, and made him turn them inward: And, so far from being displeas'd with *Demades*, he esteem'd him the more upon that Account; indulg'd him in the greatest Civilities, and rais'd him to the highest Honours.

From this Moment *Philip* seem'd quite chang'd, both in his Disposition and Behaviour, as though, says an Historian, the Conversation of *Demades* had soften'd his Temper, and introduc'd him to the familiar Acquaintance of the *Attick* Graces. He set free all the *Athenian* Captives, without requiring any Ransom, and gave the greatest Part of them Cloaths; hoping, by this kind Treatment, to gain the Favour of a Commonwealth, which boasted so much Power, as that of the *Athenians*: By which (says *Polybius*) he gain'd a second Triumph, more glorious for himself, and even more advantageous than the first; for in the Battle, his Courage had prevail'd over none but those who were present in it; but on this Occasion, his Goodness and Clemency gain'd him a whole City, and subjected every Heart to him. He renew'd with the *Athenians* the antient Treaty of Friendship and Alliance; and granted the *Bœotians* a Peace, after having left a strong Garrison in *Thebes*.

We are told, that *Isocrates*, the most celebrated Rhetorician of that Age, who lov'd his Country with the utmost Tenderness, could not survive the Danger to which it was exposed, and Ignominy, with which it was cover'd, by the Loss of the Battle of *Chæronea*. The Instant he receiv'd the News of it, being uncertain what Use *Philip* would make of his Victory, and, determin'd to die a Freeman, he hasten'd his End, by abstaining from Food. He was ninety-four Years of Age.

Demosthenes seem'd chiefly to have occasion'd the sad Defeat, which *Athens* receiv'd at this Time, and which gave its Power such a Wound, as it never recover'd. But yet, at the very Instant that the *Athenians* heard of this bloody Overthrow, which affected so great a Number of Families; when it would have been no Wonder, had the Multitude, who were seiz'd with Terror and Alarms, given Way to an Emotion of blind Zeal, against the Man whom they might have consider'd, in some Measure, as the Author of this dreadful Calamity; even at that very Instant, the People submitted entirely to the Counsels of *Demosthenes*. The Precautions that were taken to post Guards, to raise the Walls, and repair the Moats, were all in Consequence of his Advice. He himself was appointed to furnish Provisions, and repair the Walls; which latter Commission he executed with so much Generosity, that it gain'd him the greatest Honour; and for which, at the Request of *Ctesiphon*, a Crown of Gold was decreed him, as a Reward for his having presented the Commonwealth with a Sum of Money out of his own Estate, sufficient to defray the Expence of repairing the Walls.

After the Battle of *Chæronea*, such Orators as had formerly opposed *Demosthenes*, having all rose up, in Concert, as it were, against him; and having cited him to take his Trial, according to Law; the People not only declar'd him innocent of the several Accusations they laid to his Charge, but conferr'd more Honours upon him than he had enjoy'd before; so strongly did their Veneration for his Zeal and Fidelity overbalance the Efforts of Calumny and Malice.

The *Athenians*, who were a fickle, wavering People, and apt to punish their own Errors and Omissions, in the Persons of those, whose Designs were often render'd abortive, for no other Reason than because they had been executed too slowly; in thus crowning *Demosthenes*, in the Midst of a publick Calamity, which he alone seem'd to have brought upon them, pay the most glorious Homage to his Abilities and Integrity. By this so wise, and brave a Conduct, they seem, in some Measure, to confess their own Error, in not having follow'd his Counsel, either fully or early enough; and to confess themselves alone guilty of all the Evils which had befallen them.

But the People did not stop here: The Bones of such as had been kill'd in the Battle of *Chæronea*, having been brought to *Athens* to be interr'd, they appointed *Demosthenes* to compose the *Elogium* of those brave Men; a manifest Proof that they did not ascribe to him the ill Success of the Battle, but to Providence only, who disposes of human Events at Pleasure; a Circumstance which was expresly taken Notice of, in the Inscription, engrav'd on the Monument of those illustrious deceased Warriors.

This Earth entombs those Victims to the State,
Who fell a glorious Sacrifice to Zeal.
Greece, *on the Point of wearing Tyrant-Chains;*
By the great Death of these, escap'd the Yoke.
This Jupiter *decreed: No Effort, Mortals,*
Can save you from the Will of Fate.
To Gods alone this Attribute belongs,
And to enjoy refin'd, unchanging Bliss.

This is the solid Answer, which *Demosthenes* opposes to *Æschines*, who was perpetually reproaching him with having occasion'd the Loss of the Battle in Question. "Censure me (says he) for "the Counsels I give; but, don't calumniate me "for the ill Success of them. For it is the Su-

preme

" pream Being, who conducts and terminates all " Things; whereas, it is from the Nature of the " Counsel itself that we are to judge of the In- " tention of him who offers it. If, therefore, " *Philip* has conquer'd by the Event; don't im- " pute that to me as a Crime, since it is God, and " not myself, who disposed of the Victory. But, " if you can prove that I did not exert myself " with Probity, Vigilance, and such an Activity " as was indefatigable, and superior to my " Strength: If with these I did not seek, I did " not employ every Method which human Pru- " dence could suggest; and did not inspire the " most necessary and noble Resolutions, such as " were truly worthy of *Athenians*; shew me this, " and then give what Scope you please to your " Accusations."

He afterwards employs the bold, sublime Figure following, which is look'd upon as the most beautiful Passage in his Orations, and is so highly applauded by *Longinus*. To justify his own Conduct, and prove to the *Athenians*, that they did not do Wrong in giving *Philip* Battle, he is not barely satisfy'd with exhibiting, in a jejune Manner, the Example of the great Men, who had fought for the same Cause in the Plains of *Marathon*, at *Salamis*, and before *Platææ*: No, he acts in a quite different Manner, says he; and on a sudden, as though he were inspir'd by some God, and possessed with the Spirit of *Apollo* himself, cries out, swearing by those brave Defenders of Greece: *No, O People! You have not err'd. I swear by those illustrious Men who fought on Land at* Marathon *and* Platææ; *at Sea before* Salamis *and* Artemisium; *and so many more, all who were honour'd by the Commonwealth with the solemn Rites of Burial; and not those only who were crown'd with Success, and came off victorious.* " Would " not one conclude (says *Longinus*) that, by " changing the natural Air of the Proof, in this " grand and pathetick Manner, of affirming, by " Oaths of so extraordinary a Nature, he deifies, " in some Measure, those antient Citizens; and " makes all who die thus gloriously, to be con- " sider'd as so many Gods, by whose Names we " ought to swear."

We have already observ'd in another Place, how naturally apt these Orations (spoke in a most solemn Manner, to the Glory of those who lost their Lives in fighting for the Cause of Liberty) were to inspire the *Athenian* Youth with a strong Love for their Country, and a mighty Thirst to signalize themselves in Battle.

Another Ceremony practised to the Children of those whose Fathers dy'd in the Bed of Honour, was no less efficacious to inspire them with a Love for Virtue. In a celebrated Festival, in which Shews were exhibited to all the People, an Herald came upon the Stage, and there shewing young Orphans cloath'd in a compleat Suit of Armour, he used to cry with a loud Voice: *These young Orphans, whom an immature Death, in the Midst of Dangers, has deprived of their illustrious Fathers; have found in the People a Parent, who has taken Care of them till they were come from a State of Infancy. And now they send them back, arm'd Cap-a-pe, to follow, under the most happy Auspices, their own Affairs; and invites each of them to strive for the chief Employments of the State.* By such Methods as these, martial Bravery, a Love for one's Country, and an Affection for Virtue and solid Glory, are perpetuated in a State.

It was the very Year of the Battle of *Chæronea*, and two Years before the Death of *Philip*, that *Æschines* drew up an Accusation against *Ctesiphon*, or rather against *Demosthenes*: But the Cause was not pleaded till seven or eight Years after, about the fifth or sixth Year of *Alexander*'s Reign; for which Reason, we shall not speak of it till that Period.

We may affirm, that the Battle of *Chæronea* enslav'd the *Grecians*: *Macedon*, at that Time, with no more than Thirty thousand Soldiers, gain'd a Point, which *Persia*, with Millions of Men, had attempted unsuccessfully at *Platææ*, *Salamis*, and *Marathon*. *Philip*, in the Beginning of his Reign, had repulsed, divided, and disarm'd his Enemies. In the succeeding Years, he had subjected, by Artifice, or Force, the most powerful Nations of *Greece*; and had made himself the Arbiter of that Country: But afterwards he prepar'd to revenge the Injuries which *Greece* had receiv'd from the *Barbarians*, and meditated no less a Project, than the Destruction of their Empire. The greatest Advantage he gain'd by this last Victory (and this was the Object he long had in View, and never lost Sight of) was, to get himself appointed, in the Assembly of the *Greeks*, their Generalissimo against the *Persians*. In this Quality he made Preparations, in order to invade this mighty Kingdom. He nominated, as Leaders of Part of his Forces, *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, two of his Captains, on whose Valour and Wisdom he chiefly rely'd, and made them set out for *Asia Minor*.

But, whilst every Thing Abroad smil'd upon *Philip*, he found the utmost Uneasiness at Home; Discord and Disorder reigning in every Part of his Family. The sour Temper of *Olympias*, who was naturally jealous, cholerick and vindictive, raised Dissensions perpetually in it, which made *Philip*, almost out of Love with Life. Not to mention, that as he himself had defil'd the Marriage-Bed, Historians relate, that his Consort had repaid his Infidelity. But, whether he had a just Subject of Complaint, or was grown weary of *Olympias*, it is certain, he proceeded so far as to divorce her. *Alexander*, who had been disgusted upon several other Accounts, was highly offended at this Affront, which was put upon his Mother.

Philip, after divorcing *Olympias*, had marry'd *Cleopatra*, Niece to *Attalus*, a very young Lady, whose Beauty was so exquisite, that he could not resist its Charms: And, whilst they were in the Midst of the Nuptial Solemnity, and heated with Wine, *Attalus*, who was Uncle to the new Queen, by the Mother's Side, took it into his Head to say, that the *Macedonians* would do well to beseech the Gods to give them a lawful Successor to their King. Upon this, *Alexander*, who was naturally cholerick, exasperated at these injurious Words, cry'd out, *Wretch that thou art, dost thou then take me for a Bastard?* And, at the same Time, flung a Cup at his Head. *Attalus* return'd the Compliment, upon which the Quarrel grew warmer. *Philip*, who sat at another Table, was very much offended to see the Mirth interrupted in this Man-

Manner; and not recollecting that he was lame, drew his Sword, and ran directly at his Son. Happily, the Father fell, so that the Guests had an Opportunity of stepping in between them: The greatest Difficulty was, to keep *Alexander* from rushing upon his Ruin. Exasperated at a Succession of such heinous Affronts, in Spite of all the Guests could say, concerning the Duty he ow'd *Philip*, as his Father, and his Sovereign, yet he breath'd his Resentment in the bitter Words following: *The* Macedonians, *indeed, have a Captain there, who is vastly able to cross from* Europe *into* Asia; *he, who cannot step from one Table to another, without running the Hazard of breaking his Neck.* After these Words, he left the Hall, and taking *Olympias*, his Mother, along with him, who had been so injuriously treated, he conducted her to *Epirus*, whilst himself went over to the *Illyrians*.

In the mean Time, *Demaratus* of *Corinth*, who was bound to *Philip* by the Laws of Hospitality, and was very free and familiar with him, arriv'd at his Court. After the first Compliments and Civilities were over, *Philip* ask'd him, whether the *Greeks* were in Amity; *It indeed becomes you well, Sir* (reply'd *Demaratus*) *to be concerned about* Greece; *you who have filled your own House with Feuds and Dissensions.* The Prince, sensibly affected with this Reproach, came to himself, acknowledg'd his Error, and sent *Demaratus* to *Alexander*, to persuade him to return Home.

During these Transactions, *Philip* still kept in View the Conquest of *Asia*. Swell'd with the mighty Project he revolv'd, he consults the Gods to know what would be the Event. The Priestess reply'd, *The Bullock is already crown'd, his End draws nigh, and he will soon be sacrific'd. Philip*, hearing this, did not hesitate a Moment; but interpreted, in his own Favour, the Oracle, the Ambiguity of which ought, at least, to have kept him in some Suspence. In order, therefore, that he might be in a Condition, to attend intirely to his Expedition against the *Persians*, and devote himself solely to the Conquest of *Asia*; he dispatches with all possible Diligence his domestick Affairs. After this, he offers up a solemn Sacrifice to the Gods; and prepares to celebrate, with incredible Magnificence, in *Ega*, a City of *Macedonia*, the Nuptials of *Cleopatra*, his Daughter, whom he gave in Marriage to *Alexander*, King of *Epirus*, and Brother to *Olympias*, his Queen. He had invited to it the most considerable Persons of *Greece*; and heap'd upon them Friendships, and Honours of every Kind, by Way of Gratitude, for their Favour in electing him Generalissimo of the *Greeks*. The Cities made their Court very assiduously, by sending him Gold Crowns; and *Athens* distinguish'd itself above all the Rest. *Neoptolemus*, the Poet, had written, purposely for that Festival, a Tragedy, intitled *Cinyras*, in which, under borrow'd Names, he represented that Prince, as already Victor over *Darius*, and Master of *Asia*. *Philip* listen'd to these happy Presages with Joy; and, comparing them with the Answer of the Oracle, imagin'd himself sure of the Conquest. The Day after the Nuptials, Games and Shews were solemniz'd. As these form'd Part of the religious Worship, there were carry'd in it, with great Pomp and Ceremony, twelve Statues of the Gods, carv'd with inimitable Art. A Thirteenth, which surpass'd them all in Magnificence, was that of *Philip*, which represented him as a God. The Hour was come, when he left the Palace, cloath'd in a white Robe; and advanc'd with an Air of Majesty, in the Midst of Acclamations, towards the Theatre, where a numberless Multitude of *Macedonians*, as well as Foreigners, waited his Arrival. His Guards march'd before, and behind; leaving, by his Order, a considerable Interval between themselves and him, to give the Spectators a better Opportunity of surveying him; and also to shew, that he consider'd the Affection which the *Grecians* bore him, as his safest Guard.

But, all the Mirth and Pomp of these Nuptials, ended in the Murder of the King; and it was his Refusal to do an Act of Justice, which brought him to his End. Some Time before, *Attalus*, inflam'd with Wine at an Entertainment, had insulted, in the most shocking Manner, *Pausanias*, a young *Macedonian* Nobleman. The latter had long endeavour'd to revenge the cruel Affront, and was for ever imploring the Royal Justice. But *Philip*, unwilling to disgust *Attalus*, Uncle to *Cleopatra*, whom, as was before observ'd, he had marry'd, after his divorcing *Olympias*, his first Queen, would never listen to the Complaints of *Pausanias*. However, to comfort him, in some Measure, and prove the high Esteem he had for, and the great Confidence he repos'd in him, he made him one of the chief Officers of his Life-Guard: But this was not what the young *Macedonian* requir'd; whose Anger now swelling to Fury, he accuses his Judge, and forms a Design to purge his Ignominy, by imbruing his Hands in a most horrid Murther.

When once a Man is determin'd to die, he is vastly strong and formidable. *Pausanias*, the better to put his bloody Design in Execution, made choice of the Instant in that pompous Ceremony, when the Eyes of the whole Multitude were fix'd on the Prince; doubtless, to make his Vengeance more conspicuous, and proportion it to the Injury, of which he fancy'd he might justly make the King responsible, since he had so long sought, in vain, to get proper Satisfaction from that Prince. Seeing him, therefore, alone in the great Space which they left round him, he advances forwards, stabs him with a Dagger, and lays him dead at his Feet. *Diodorus* observes, that he was assassinated the very Instant his Statue enter'd the Theatre. The Assassin had prepar'd Horses ready for his Escape; and would have got off, had not an Accident happen'd, which stopp'd him, and gave the Pursuers Time to overtake him. *Pausanias* was then immediately torn to Pieces. Thus died *Philip*, at forty-seven Years of Age, after a Reign of twenty-four Years. *Artaxerxes Ochus*, King of *Persia*, dy'd also the same Year.

Demosthenes had private Notice sent him of *Philip*'s Death, and in order to prepare the *Athenians* to resume their Courage, he went to the Council with an Air of Joy; and said, that the Night before he had been indulg'd in a Dream, which promis'd some great Felicity to the *Athenians*. A little after, Couriers arriv'd with the News of the Death of *Philip*; on which Occasion the People abandon'd themselves to the Transports of a most immoderate Delight, which far exceeded all Bounds of Decency. *Demosthenes* had particularly inspir'd them

them with these Sentiments; for he himself appear'd in publick, crown'd with a chaplet of flowers, and dress'd with the utmost Magnificence, though his Daughter had been dead but seven days; and he engag'd the *Athenians* to offer up Sacrifices, to thank the Gods for the good News; and, by a Decree, ordain'd a Crown to *Pausanias*, who had committed the Murther.

On this Occasion, *Demosthenes*, and the *Athenians* acted quite out of Character; and we can scarce conceive, how it came to pass, that, in so detestable a Crime, as is the Murther of a King, Policy, at least, did not prompt them to dissemble such Sentiments as reflected a Dishonour on them, by which they got no Advantage; and which shew'd, that Honour and Probity were quite eras'd from their Minds.

There are, in the Lives of Great Men, certain Deeds and Expressions, which often give us a better Idea of their Character, than their most shining Actions; because, in the latter they generally study themselves; act a borrow'd Part, and make themselves a mere Shew: Whereas, in the former, as they speak, and act from Nature, they exhibit themselves such as they really are, without Art and Disguise. A celebrated *French* Author has collected pretty exactly, most of the memorable Actions and Sayings of *Philip*; and he has been particularly careful to draw the Character of that Prince.

Though *Philip* lov'd Flattery, so far as to reward it in *Thrasideus*, with the Title of King in *Thessaly*, he yet, now and then, lov'd Truth. He declar'd, that he was oblig'd to the *Athenian* Orators, for having corrected him of his Errors, by frequently reproaching him with them. He kept a Man, purposely to say to him every Day, before he gave Audience, *PHILIP, remember thou art mortal.*

He discover'd great Moderation, even when he was spoken to in shocking, and injurious Terms; and likewise, which is no less worthy of Admiration, when Truth was told him; a great Quality (says *Seneca*) in Kings, and of the utmost Advantage to the Felicity of their Reign. At the Close of an Audience, which he gave to some *Athenian* Embassadors, who were come to complain of some Act of Hostility, he ask'd, whether he could do them any Service? *The greatest Service thou canst do us* (said *Democharес*) *will be to hang thy self. Philip*, though he perceiv'd all the Persons present were highly offended at these Words, made the following Answer, with the utmost Calmness of Temper: *Go, tell your Superiors, that they, who dare make Use of such insolent Language, are more haughty, and less peaceably inclin'd, than they who can forgive them.*

Being present, in an indecent Posture, at the Sale of some Captives, one of them going up to him, whisper'd in his Ear, *Let down the Lappet of your Robe*; upon which *Philip* reply'd, *Set that Man at Liberty*; *I did not know till now that he was my Friend.*

The whole Court earnestly intreating him to punish the Ingratitude of the *Peloponnesians*, who had hiss'd him publickly in the *Olympick* Games; *What won't they attempt* (reply'd *Philip*) *if I should do them any Injury; since they ridicule me, after having receiv'd so many Favours at my Hands?*

[redacted]iers advising him to drive from him a [redacted]erson, who spake ill of him: *Yes, indeed* (said he) *and so he'll go, and speak injuriously of me every-where.* Another Time, that they advis'd him to dismiss a Man of Probity, who had reproach'd him; *Let us first take Care* (said he) *that we have not given him any Reason to do so.* Hearing afterwards, that the Person in Question was but in poor Circumstances, and not favour'd, in any Manner, by the Court-Smiles, he was very bountiful to him; on which Occasion, his Reproaches were chang'd into Applauses; which gave Reason to that Prince to declare, as follows: *'Tis in the Power of all Kings, to make themselves either belov'd, or hated.*

Being urg'd to assist, with the Credit and Authority he had with the Judges, a Person, whose Reputation would be quite lost, by the Sentence which was going to be pronounc'd against him; *I had rather* (says he) *he should quite lose his Reputation, than I lose mine.*

Philip, rising from a grand Entertainment, at which he had sat several Hours, was address'd by a Woman, who begg'd him to examine her Cause, and hear several Reasons she had to alledge, which were not pleasing to him. He accordingly heard it, and gave Sentence against her; upon which she reply'd very calmly, *I appeal. How!* (says *Philip*) *from your King? To whom then? To* Philip *when fasting* (reply'd the Woman.) The Manner in which he receiv'd this Answer, would have done Honour to the most sober Prince. He afterwards gave the Cause a second Hearing; found the Injustice of his Verdict, and sentenc'd himself to repair it.

Another Woman us'd to appear often before him, to sue for Audience, and to beseech him to end her Law-Suit; but *Philip* always told her he had no Time. Exasperated at these Refusals, which had been so often repeated, she reply'd one Day with Emotion; *If you have not Time to do me Justice, be no longer King. Philip* was strongly affected with this Complaint, which a just Indignation had extorted, as it were, from this poor Woman; and far from being offended at it, he satisfy'd her that Instant, and afterwards was more exact in giving Audience. He was, indeed, sensible, that a King and a Judge is the same Thing; that the Throne is a Tribunal; that upon the sovereign Authority there was an indispensible Obligation to do Justice; that to distribute it to his Subjects, and grant them the Time necessary for that Purpose, was not a Favour, but a Duty, and a Debt; that he ought to appoint Persons to assist him in this Function, but not to discharge himself absolutely from it; and that he was no less oblig'd to be a Judge than a King. These several Particulars are comprehended in this natural, unaffected, and very judicious Expression; *Be no longer King*; and *Philip* was duly sensible of its Force.

He would listen to facetious Sayings, was very fond of them; and us'd frequently to express himself very wittily. Having receiv'd a Wound near the Throat, and his Surgeon importuning him daily with some new Request: *Take what thou*

ceit (says he) *that thou hast got me first by the Throat.*

It is also related, that, after hearing two Villains, who accus'd each other of various Crimes, he banish'd one, and sentenc'd the other to follow him.

Menecrates, the Physician, who was so mad as to fancy himself *Jupiter*, having written to *Philip*, as follows; *Menecrates* JUPITER, *to* Philip *greeting*; that Prince answer'd, Philip *to* Menecrates, *Health and good Sense*. But he did not stop here; for he bethought himself of a pleasant *Recipe*, to cure that visionary Creature. He invited him to a grand Entertainment, at which the Physician had a separate Table, where nothing was serv'd up to him but Incense and Perfumes, whilst the rest fed on most exquisite Dainties. The first Transports of his Joy with which he was seiz'd, when he found his Divinity recogniz'd, made him forget that he was a Man; but, Hunger afterwards forcing him to recollect his being so, he was quite tir'd with the Character of *Jupiter*; so took Leave of the Company in very great Haste.

Another Time, *Philip* made an Answer, which redounded highly to the Honour of his prime Minister. That Prince being one Day reproach'd, with devoting too many Hours to Sleep; *I indeed sleep* (says he) *but* Antipater *keeps himself awake.*

One Day, *Parmenio*, hearing the Embassadors of all *Greece* murmuring, because *Philip* lay too long in Bed; and therefore, did not give Audience Time enough: *Don't wonder* (says he) *if he sleeps whilst you are awake; for he has watch'd whilst you slept.* By this, he wittily reproach'd them for their Supineness, in neglecting their own Concerns; whereas, *Philip* was very vigilant over his own. This, *Demosthenes* was perpetually observing to them with his usual Freedom.

Every one of the ten Tribes of *Athens* us'd to elect a new General every Year. These did their Duty by Turns, and every General for the Day commanded as Generalissimo. But *Philip* ridiculing this Multiplicity of Chiefs, said; *In my whole Life I have been able to get but one General* (Parmenio) *whereas the* Athenians *don't fail to find, at the very Nick of Time, Ten every Year.*

The Letter, which *Philip* wrote to *Aristotle* on the Birth of his Son, proves the Regard that Prince paid to Learned Men; and at the same Time, the Taste he himself had for the polite Arts and Sciences. The other Letters of his, which are still extant, do him no less Honour. But his great Talent was that of War and Policy, in which he was equall'd by few; and it is Time we exhibit him under this double Character.

It would be difficult to determine, whether this Prince was more conspicuous as a Warrior, or a Statesman. Surrounded, from the very Beginning of his Reign, both at Home and Abroad, with powerful Enemies; he employ'd Artifice and Force alternately, to vanquish them. He us'd his Endeavours (and was successful in them) to divide such as envy'd him: To strike the surer, he eludes and diverts the Blows which were aim'd at himself; equally prudent in good and ill Fortune, he does not abuse Victory; both ready to go in Search of, or to wait for it, he either hastens his Pace, or slackens it, as Necessity requires; he leaves to the Caprice of Chance, such Things only as cannot be directed by Wisdom; in short, he is ever immoveable, ever fix'd in the just Bounds, which separate Boldness from Temerity.

In *Philip* we see a King, who commands his *Allies*, as much as his own Subjects, and is as formidable in Treaties as in Battles; a vigilant, and active Monarch, who is his own Superintendant, his own prime Minister, and Generalissimo. We see him fir'd with an insatiable Thirst of Glory, searching for it in those Places, where it is sold at the dearest Price; making Fatigue and Danger his dearest Delights; forming continually that just, that speedy Harmony of Reflexion, and Action, which military Expeditions require; and with all these Advantages, turning the Fury of his Arms against Common-wealths, wasted by long Wars, torn by intestine *Divisions*, sold by their own Citizens, serv'd by a Body of mercenary, or undisciplin'd Troops; obstinately deaf to good Advice, and seemingly determin'd to rush headlong to their Ruin.

He united in himself two Qualities, which are commonly found incompatible, *viz.* a Steadiness and Calmness of Soul, that enabled him to weigh all Things, in order to take Advantage of every Juncture, and seize the favourable Moment, without being disconcerted by Disappointments; together with a restless Activity, Ardor and Vivacity, which were regardless of the Difference of Seasons, or the greatest of Dangers. No Warrior was ever bolder, or more intrepid in Fight. *Demosthenes*, who cannot be suspected to have flatter'd him, gives a glorious Testimony of him on this Head; for which Reason, we will cite his own Words: *I saw* (says this Orator) *this very* Philip, *with whom we disputed for Sovereignty and Empire; I saw him, though cover'd with Wounds, his Eye struck out, his Channel-Bone broken, maim'd both in his Hands and Feet; still resolv'd to rush into the Midst of Dangers, and ready to deliver up to* Fortune, *any other Part of his Body she might desire, provided he might live honourably, and gloriously, with that Part which should be left him.*

Philip was not only brave himself, but he inspir'd his whole Army with the same Valour: Taught by able Masters in the Science of War, as our Readers must have seen, he had brought his Troops to the most exact and regular Discipline; andtrain'd up a Set of Men, who were able to second him in all his great Enterprizes. He had the Art, without lessening his own Authority, to familiarize himself with his Soldiers; and commanded rather as the Father of a Family, than as the General of an Army, whenever this did not interfere with the Observance of Discipline: And indeed, by his Affability (which merited so much the greater Submission and Respect, as he requir'd less, and seem'd to dispense with it) his Soldiers were ever ready to follow him to the greatest Dangers, and paid him the most implicit Obedience.

No General ever made a greater Use of military Stratagems than *Philip*: The Dangers to which he has been expos'd in his Youth, had taught him the Necessity of taking proper Precautions, and the Art of seeking Expedients. A wise Diffidence, which is of Service, as it exhibits Dangers in its true Light, made him not fear-

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ful and irresolute, but cautious and prudent. What Reason soever he might have to flatter himself with the Hope of Success, he yet never depended upon it; and thought himself superior to the Enemy in Vigilance only. Ever just in his Projects, and surprizingly successful in Expedients; his Views were unbounded; his Genius was wonderful, to fix upon proper Junctures for the executing of his Designs; and his Dexterity in acting in an imperceptible Manner, was admirable. Tenacious of his Secrets, even to his best Friends, he was capable of attempting, or concealing any Thing. The Reader may have observ'd, that he strenuously endeavour'd to lull asleep the *Athenians*, by a specious Outside of Peace; and to lay silently the Foundations of his Grandeur, in their credulous Security and blind Indolence.

But these exalted Qualities were, nevertheless, blended with some Imperfections. Not to mention his Excess in Eating and Carousing, to which he abandon'd himself with the utmost Intemperance; he also has been reproach'd with the most dissolute abandon'd Manners. We may form a Judgment of this from those who were most intimate with him, and the Company which usually frequented his Palace. A Set of Debauchees, and profligate Wretches; of Buffoons, Pantomimes, and Wretches worse than these, Flatterers we mean, whom Avarice and Ambition draw in Crowds round the Great and Powerful; such were the People, who had the greatest Share in his Confidence and Bounty. *Demosthenes* is not the only Person, who reproaches *Philip* with these Frailties; for this might be suspected in an Enemy; but *Theopompus*, a famous Historian, who had written the History of that Prince in Fifty-eight Books, of which, unhappily, a few Fragments only are extant, gives a still more disadvantagious Character of him. "*Philip* (says he) despis'd "Modesty, and Regularity of Life. He lavish'd "his Esteem and Liberality on Men plung'd in "Dissoluteness, and who had prostituted themselves to the last Excesses of Licentiousness. "He was pleas'd to see the Companions of his "Pleasures, excel no less in the abominable Arts "of Injustice and Villany, than in the Science "of Debauchery. Alas! what Species of Infamy, what Sort of Crimes did he not commit?" *&c.*

But a Circumstance, in our Opinion, which reflects the greatest Dishonour on *Philip*, is that very one, for which he is chiefly esteem'd by many Persons; we mean his Politicks. He is look'd upon as one of the most skilful Princes in this Art that ever liv'd: And, indeed, the Reader may have observ'd, by the History of his Actions, that, in the very Beginning of his Reign, he had laid down a Plan, from which he never deviated; and this was to raise himself to the Sovereignty of *Greece*. When scarce seated on his Throne, and surrounded on every Side with powerful Enemies, what Probability was there that he could form, at least, that he could execute, such a Project as this? However, he did not once lose Sight of it. Wars, Battles, Treaties of Peace, Alliances, Confederacies; in short, all Things terminated there. He was very lavish of his Gold and Silver, merely to engage a Set of Creatures in his Service. He carry'd on a private Intelligence with all the Cities of *Greece*; and, by the Assistance of Pensioners, on whom he had settled very large Stipends, he was inform'd exactly of the several Resolutions which were taken in them, and generally made them turn in his own Favour. By this Means, he impos'd on the Prudence, eluded the Efforts, and lull'd asleep the Vigilance of Nations, who, till then, had been look'd upon as the most active, the most prudent, and the most sagacious of all *Greece*. In treading these Steps, for twenty Years together, we see him proceeding with great Order, and advancing regularly towards the Mark on which his Eye was fix'd; but always by Windings and subterraneous Passages, the Outlets of which only discover his Design.

Polyænus shews us evidently the Methods whereby he subjected *Thessaly*, which was of great Advantage to the compleating of his other Designs. "He did not (says he) carry on an open War "against the *Thessalians*; but took Advantage of "the Dissensions, which divided Cities, and the "whole Country into different Factions. He "supported those who su'd for his Assistance; and "whenever he had conquer'd, he did not extirpate "the Vanquish'd, he did not disarm them, nor "raze their Walls; on the contrary, he protected "the weakest, and endeavour'd to weaken and "subject the strongest: In a Word, he rather "fomented, than soften'd the Divisions, having "in every Place Orators in his Pay, those Artificers of Discord, those Firebrands of Common-wealths. And it was by these Stratagems, not by his Arms, that *Philip* subdu'd "*Thessaly*."

All this is a Master-Piece, a Miracle in the Art of Politicks. But, to what Means has this Art Recourse? What Methods does it employ, to compass its Designs? Deceit, Craft, Fraud, Falsehood, Perfidy, and Perjury. Are these the Weapons of Virtue? We perceive in this Prince a boundless Ambition, conducted by an artful, insinuating, crafty, villanous Mind; but, we don't find him possess'd of the Qualities which form the truly great Man. *Philip* had neither Faith, nor Honour; every Thing that could contribute to the aggrandizing of his Power, appear'd to him just and lawful. He made Promises, with a firm Resolution to break them; and form'd others, which he would have been sorry to keep. He thought himself skilful, in Proportion as he was perfidious; and made his Glory consist, in deceiving all with whom he had any Engagements. He did not blush to say, *That Children were amus'd with Play-Things, and Men with Oaths.*

What Idea should we form to ourselves in social Life of a Man, who should value himself for his tricking others, and rank Insincerity and Fraud among the Virtues? Such a Character in private Life, is detested, as the Bane and Ruin of Society. How then can it become an Object of Esteem and Admiration in Princes, and Ministers of State! Persons, who are bound by stronger Ties than the Rest of Men (because of the Eminence of their Stations, and the Importance of the Employments they fill) to revere Sincerity, Justice, and above all, the Sanctity of Treaties and Oaths; to bind which, they invoke the Name, and Majesty of a God, who is an inexorable Avenger of Perfidy and Impiety. A bare Promise among private Persons ought to be sacred and inviolable, if they have the least Sentiments of Honour; but, how much

more

more ought it to be ſo among Princes? "We are "bound (ſays a celebrated Writer) to ſpeak the "Truth to our Neighbour; for the Uſe and Ap- "plication of Speech implies a tacit Promiſe of "Truth; Speech having been given us for no "other Purpoſe. It is not a common Act between "one private Man with another; 'tis a common "Compact of Mankind in general; and a Kind "of Right of Nations, or rather a Law of Na- "ture. Now, whoever tells an Untruth, violates "this Law and common Compact." How great is the Enormity of violating the Sanctity of an Oath increas'd, when we call upon the Name of God to witneſs it, as is the Cuſtom always in Treaties? *Were Sincerity and Truth baniſh'd from every other Part of the Earth* (ſaid *John* I. King of *France*, on his being ſollicited to violate a Treaty) *they ought to be found in the Heart, and in the Mouth of Kings.*

The Circumſtance which prompts Politicians to act in this Manner, is, their being perſuaded, that 'tis the only Way by which they can give Succeſs to a Negotiation. But, though this were the Caſe, yet can it ever be lawful to purchaſe the Succeſs of one, at the Expence of Probity, Honour, and Religion? *If your Father-in-Law,* (Ferdinand *the* Catholick) ſaid *Lewis* XII. to *Philip*, Archduke of *Auſtria, has acted perfidiouſly, I am determin'd not to imitate him; and I am much more pleas'd in having loſt a Kingdom* (Naples) *which I am able to recover back, than I ſhould have been, had I loſt my Honour, which can never be recover'd.*

But, thoſe Politicians, who have neither Honour, nor Religion, deceive themſelves, even in this very Particular. We ſhall not ſearch for Examples in *Chriſtian* Countries, which furniſh us with Princes and Miniſters, whoſe political Conduct was very different from thoſe here hinted at. To go no farther than our *Grecian* Hiſtory; how many great Men have been ſucceſsful in the Management of publick Affairs, in Treaties of Peace and War: In a Word, in the moſt important Negotiations, without once making Uſe of Artifice and Deceit? An *Ariſtides*, a *Cimon*, a *Phocion*, and ſo many more; ſome of whom were ſo very ſcrupulous in Matters relating to Truth, as to believe they were not allow'd to tell a Falſhood, even in jeſting, and in Sport. *Cyrus*, the moſt famous Conqueror of the *Eaſt*, thought nothing was more unworthy of a Prince, nor more capable of drawing upon him the Contempt and Hatred of his Subjects, than Lying and Deceit. It, therefore, ought to be look'd upon as a Truth, that no Succeſs, how ſhining ſoever, can, or ought to cover the Shame and Ignominy, which ariſe from Inſincerity and Perjury: Proceed we now to the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the *Great*.

The HISTORY *of* *ALEXANDER the Great.*

CHAP. III.

The Birth of Alexander; *The celebrated Temple of* Epheſus *burnt the ſame Day; The fine natural Diſpoſition of that Prince; The Obſervation of the* Perſian *Embaſſadors upon him; His great Value for, and Deſire of Learning; He breaks* Bucephalus; *He aſcends the Throne of* Macedon, *at the Age of Twenty; Reduces the Nations contiguous thereto; Advances into* Greece; *Takes* Thebes, *and deſtroys it; Pardons the* Athenians; *Is nam'd Generaliſſimo of the* Greeks, *againſt the* Perſians; *Returns to* Macedon, *and makes Preparations for carrying his Arms into* Aſia; *He ſettles the Affairs of* Macedon, *and ſets out upon that Expedition; His unparallel'd Generoſity, and noble Saying to his Friends, on that Occaſion; He arrives at* Troy, *and pays great Honours to the* Manes, *or Ghoſt, of* Achilles.

ALEXANDER came into the World, the firſt Year of the 106th *Olympiad*: And the very Day that Prince was born, the celebrated Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus* was burnt. Our Readers know, without Doubt, that it was one of the Seven Wonders of the World: It had been built in the Name, and at the Inſtance, of all *Aſia Minor*; and a great Number of Years were employ'd in building it. Its Length was Four hundred and twenty-five Foot; and its Breadth

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Two hundred and twenty. It was ſupported by One hundred and twenty-ſeven Columns, ſixty Foot high, which ſo many Kings had caus'd to be wrought at a great Expence, and by the moſt expert Artiſts, they endeavouring to rival one another on this Occaſion. The Reſt of the Temple was anſwerable to the Magnificence of the Columns.

Hegeſias of *Magneſia*, according to *Plutarch*, ſays, *That 'twas no Wonder the Temple was burnt, becauſe* Diana *was that Day employ'd at the Delivery of* Olympias, *in order to facilitate the Birth of* Alexander. A Reflexion, ſays our Author, *ſo very cold, that it might have extinguiſh'd the Fire*; though we think his own much colder. On the contrary, *Cicero*, who aſcribes this Saying to *Timæus*, who declares it *a very ſmart one*, at which we are very much ſurpriz'd. Poſſibly, his Fondneſs of Jeſts, made him not over nice in theſe Matters.

One *Heroſtratus* had fir'd that Temple on ſet Purpoſe: Being put to the Torture, in order to force him to confeſs the Motive, which had prompted him to commit ſo infamous an Action, he confeſs'd, that 'twas in the View of making himſelf known to Poſterity, and immortalize his Name, by deſtroying ſo noble a Monument of Architecture. The States-General of *Aſia* imagin'd they ſhould prevent the Succeſs of his Wiſh, by publiſhing a Decree, whereby it was forbidden to be ever utter'd. However, their Prohibition only excited a greater Curioſity; for, ſcarce one of the Hiſtorians of that Age has omitted to mention this monſtrouſly extravagant Action, and at the ſame Time, have told us the Name of the Criminal.

The Paſſion which prevail'd moſt in *Alexander*, even from his tender Years, was Ambition, and a ſtrong Thirſt for Glory; but not for every Species of Glory. *Philip*, as if he had been a *Sophiſt*, valu'd himſelf upon his Eloquence, and the Beauty of his Style; and had the Vanity to have engrav'd on his Coins the ſeveral Victories he had won at the *Olympick* Games in the Chariot-Race: But 'twas not to this Sort of Glory his Son aſpir'd. For, *Alexander*'s Friends asking him one Day, whether he would not be preſent at the Games above-mention'd, in order to diſpute the Prize beſtow'd on that Occaſion, he being very active; he anſwer'd, *That he would contend in them, provided Kings were to be his Rivals.*

Every Time News was brought him, that his Father had taken ſome City, or gain'd ſome great Battle, *Alexander*, far from joining with the common Rejoicings, us'd to ſay, in a plaintive Tone of Voice, to the young Perſons who were brought up with him; *Friends, my Father will poſſeſs himſelf of every Thing, and leave nothing for us to do.*

One Day, ſome Embaſſadors from the King of *Perſia* being arriv'd at Court, during the Abſence of *Philip*, *Alexander* gave them ſo kind, and ſo polite a Reception, and regal'd them in ſo noble, and generous a Manner, as charm'd them all; but, that which moſt ſurpriz'd them was, the good Senſe and Judgment, he diſcover'd in the ſeveral Converſations they had together. He did not propoſe to them what was trifling, and adapted to his Age; ſuch, for Inſtance, as enquiring about the ſo much boaſted *Penſile*-Gardens, the Riches, and Magnificence of the Palace, and Court of the King of *Perſia*, which excited the Admiration of the whole World; the famous Golden Plane-Tree; and that Golden Vine, the Grapes of which were of Emeralds, Carbuncles, Rubies, and all Sorts of precious Stones, under which 'twas ſaid, the *Perſian* Monarch frequently gave Audience. *Alexander* ask'd them Queſtions of a quite different Nature; enquiring which was the Road to *Upper Aſia*; the Diſtance of the ſeveral Places; what it was that form'd the Strength and Power of the King of *Perſia*, and in what Part of the Battle he fought; how he behav'd towards his Enemies, and in what Manner he govern'd his Subjects? Theſe Embaſſadors admir'd him perpetually; and judging, even at that Time, how great he might one Day become; they pointed out, in a few Words, the Difference they found between *Alexander* and *Artaxerxes*, by ſaying one to another; *This Youth is a great Prince; and ours a rich one.* That Man muſt be vaſtly inſignificant, who has no other Merit than his Riches!

So ripe a Judgment in this young Prince, was owing as much to the good Education which had been given him, as to the Happineſs of his natural Diſpoſition. Several Preceptors were appointed, to teach him all ſuch Arts and Sciences, as are worthy the Heir to a great Kingdom; and the chief of theſe was *Leonidas*, a Perſon of the moſt ſevere Morals, and a Relation to the Queen. *Alexander* himſelf tells us afterwards, that this *Leonidas*, in their Journies together, us'd frequently to look into the Trunks where his Beds and Cloaths were laid, in order to ſee if *Olympias*, his Mother, had not put into them ſome ſuperfluous Thing, which might adminiſter to Delicacy and Luxury.

But, the greateſt Service *Philip* did his Son, was appointing for his Preceptor *Ariſtotle*, the moſt famous, and the moſt learned Philoſopher of his Age, whom he intruſted with the whole Care of his Education. One of the Reaſons which prompted *Philip* to chuſe him a Maſter of ſo conſpicuous a Reputation and Merit, was, as he himſelf tells us, that his Son might avoid committing a great many Faults, which he himſelf had been guilty of.

Philip was ſenſible, how great a Treaſure he poſſeſs'd in *Ariſtotle*; for which Reaſon, he ſettled a conſiderable Stipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his Pains and Care in an infinitely more glorious Manner; for, having deſtroy'd and laid waſte the City of *Stagyra*, the native Place of that Philoſopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of Affection for him; reinſtated the Inhabitants, who had fled from it, or were made Slaves; and gave them a fine Park in the Neighbourhood, to purſue their Studies in, and hold their Aſſemblies. Even in *Plutarch*'s Time, the Stone-Banks, which *Ariſtotle* had ſet up there, were ſtanding; as alſo ſpacious Vilto's, under which People walking, were ſhaded from the Sun-Beams.

Alexander, likewiſe, diſcover'd no leſs Eſteem for his Maſter, whom he believ'd himſelf bound to love, as much as if he had been his Father; declaring, *That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well.* The Pupil made ſuch a Progreſs, as was equal to the Care and Abilities of the Preceptor. He grew very fond of Philoſophy; and learn'd the ſeveral Parts

of it, but in a Manner suitable to his exalted Birth. *Aristotle* endeavour'd to improve his Judgment, by laying down sure and certain Rules, by which he might distinguish a just and exact Argument, from another that is but speciously so; and by accustoming him to separate in a Discourse, all such Parts as only dazzle, from those which are truly solid, and intrinsically good. He also exercis'd him in Metaphysicks, which may be of great Benefit to a King, provided he applies himself to them with Moderation, since they let him into the Nature of the human Mind; how greatly it differs from Matter; in what Manner he perceives spiritual Things; how he is sensible of the Impression of such Objects as are round him, and many other Questions of the like Import. The Reader will naturally suppose, that he did not omit either the Mathematicks, which give the Mind so just a Turn of thinking; or the Wonders of Nature, the Study of which, besides a great many other Advantages, shews how very incapable the Mind of Man is of discovering the secret Principles of such Things to which he is daily an Eye-Witness. But *Alexander* apply'd chiefly to Morality, which is properly the Science of Kings, because 'tis the Knowledge of Mankind, and the whole Circle of their Duties. This he made his serious and profound Study; and consider'd it, even at that Time, as the Foundation of Prudence and wise Policy. Must not such an Education greatly enable a Prince to conduct himself with Prudence, and govern his Subjects in the most happy Manner!

Aristotle instructed *Alexander* even in Physick, and did not confine him merely to the Theory, but taught him the Practice of that Art. This Prince declar'd, in some Letters, that he had assisted several of his Friends in their Sickness, and prescrib'd proper Medicines for them.

The greatest Master of Rhetorick, that Antiquity could ever boast, and who has left so excellent a Treatise on that Subject, took Care to make that Science Part of his Pupil's Education; and we find, that *Alexander*, even in the Midst of his Conquests, was often very urgent with *Aristotle*, to write him a Treatise on that Subject. To this we owe the Work intitled, *Alexander's Rhetorick*; in the Beginning of which, *Aristotle* proves to him, the vast Advantages a Prince may reap from Eloquence, as it gives him the greatest Ascendant over the Minds of Men, whose Affections he ought also to engage by Wisdom and Authority. Some Answers, and Letters of *Alexander*, which are still extant, shew, that he was Master, in its greatest Perfection, of that strong, that masculine Eloquence, which abounds with Sense and Ideas; and which is so intirely free from superfluous Expressions, that every single Word has its Meaning; this constituting what is properly call'd the Eloquence of Kings.

His Esteem, or rather, his Passion for *Homer*, shews not only, with what Vigour and Success he apply'd himself to polite Literature, but the noble Use he made of it, and the solid Benefit he delighted to reap from thence. He was not prompted to peruse this Poet, merely out of Curiosity, or to unbend his Mind, or from a great Fondness for Poetry; but his View in studying this admirable Writer was, in order to borrow such Sentiments from him, as were worthy a great King, and a mighty Conqueror, *viz.* Courage, Intrepidity, Magnanimity, Temperance, Prudence; the Art of combating to Advantage, and governing Nations happily. And indeed, the Verse, which pleas'd him most in *Homer*, was that, where *Agamemnon* is represented as *a good King, and a brave Warrior*.

After this, 'tis no Wonder, that *Alexander* should have so high an Esteem for this Poet, that, after the Battle of *Arbela*, when the *Macedonians* had found, among the Spoils of *Darius*, a Gold Casket, inrich'd with precious Stones, in which the excellent Perfumes used by that Prince were laid; *Alexander*, who was quite cover'd with Dust, and regardless of Essences and Perfumes, order'd, that it should be employ'd for no other Use than as a Repository for the Poems of *Homer*, which he believ'd the most perfect, and the most precious Offspring of the human Mind. He admir'd particularly the *Iliad*, which he call'd, *The best Provision for a Warrior*. He always had that Edition of *Homer*, which *Aristotle* had revis'd and corrected, and to which the Title of *The Edition of the Casket* was given; and he laid it, with his Sword, every Night under his Pillow.

Greedy, even to Excess, of every Kind of Glory, he was displeased with *Aristotle*, for having publish'd, in his Absence, certain Metaphysical Pieces, which he himself desir'd to be Master of alone; and even at the Time when he was employ'd in the Conquest of *Asia*, and the Pursuit of *Darius*, he wrote a Letter to him, which is still extant; where he complains upon that very Account. *Alexander* says therein, That he had *much rather surpass the Rest of Men, in the Knowledge of sublime and excellent Things, than by the Greatness and Extent of* his *Power*. He likewise requested *Aristotle*, not to shew the Treatise of Rhetorick above-mention'd, to any Person but himself. We will confess, that there is an Excess in this strong Thirst of Glory, which prompts a Man to eclipse another's Merit, in order that *his* only may appear; but then we, at least, must confess, that it discovers such a Passion for Study, as is very laudable in a Prince; and the very Reverse of that Indifference, not to say Contempt and Aversion, which most of our young Noblemen shew for all Things that relate to Learning and Study.

Plutarch tells us in few Words, the infinite Advantage which *Alexander* reap'd from this Taste, with which his Master (than whom no Man was endu'd with greater Talents for the Education of Youth) had inspir'd him from his most tender Infancy. *He lov'd* (said that Author) *to converse with learned Men, to inlighten his own Mind, and to study*; three Sources of a Monarch's Happiness, and which enable him to secure himself from numberless Difficulties; three certain and infallible Methods, which teach him to reign without the Assistance of others. The Conversation of Persons of fine Sense, instructs a Prince, by Way, as it were, of Amusement; and informs him of a Thousand curious, and useful Particulars, without putting him to the least Trouble. The Lessons, which able Masters give him, on the most exalted Sciences, and particularly upon Politicks, improve his Mind wonderfully, and furnish him with Rules to govern his Subjects with Wisdom. In short, Study, especially that of History, crowns all the Rest, and is to him a Preceptor for all Seasons,

and for all Hours; who, without ever growing troubleſome, acquaints him with Truths, which no one elſe would dare to tell him; and, under fictitious Names, exhibits the Prince to himſelf; teaches him to know himſelf as well as Mankind, who are the ſame in all Ages. *Alexander* ow'd all theſe Advantages to the excellent Education *Ariſtotle* gave him.

He alſo had a Love for the whole Circle of Arts, but in ſuch a Manner as became a Prince; that is, he knew the Value and Uſefulneſs of them. Muſick, Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, flouriſh'd in his Reign, becauſe they found in him both a skilful Judge, and a generous Protector, who was able to diſcover, and to reward Merit. But he deſpiſed any trifling Inſtances of Dexterity, which were of no Uſe: Accordingly, ſome *Macedonians* happening to admire a Man greatly, who uſed to make it his Buſineſs, to toſs ſmall Peas through the Eye of a large Needle, ſo exactly, that, though at ſome Diſtance, he would never miſs, *Alexander*, ſeeing him at that Exerciſe, order'd him a Preſent ſuitable to his Employment, *viz.* a Basket of Peas.

He was of a ſprightly Diſpoſition; reſolute; and very tenacious of his Opinion; could never be ſubjected by Force; but, at the ſame Time, would ſubmit immediately to Reaſon and good Senſe. 'Tis very difficult to manage Perſons of this Turn of Mind: Accordingly, *Philip*, notwithſtanding his double Authority, both as a King, and a Father, believ'd it neceſſary to employ Perſuaſion to him, rather than Force; and endeavour'd to make himſelf belov'd, rather than fear'd.

An Incident which happen'd, made *Philip* entertain a very advantageous Opinion of that young Prince: A War-Horſe had been brought from *Theſſaly* to be ſold, a noble, ſtrong, fiery, generous Beaſt, call'd *Bucephalus*. The Owner demanded Thirteen Talents, or Thirteen hundred Crowns for him; and the King went into the Plains, attended by his Courtiers, in order to view the Perfections of this high-priz'd Steed; when, upon Trial, he appear'd ſo very fierce, and rear'd up in ſo furious a Manner, that no one dar'd mount him: And *Philip* utterly diſliking a Creature ſo ſeemingly unmanageable, refuſed to buy him: Hereupon, *Alexander*, who was ſtanding by, cry'd, *What a noble Horſe are they going to loſe, for want of a bold and active Rider!* Which Words, *Philip*, at firſt, look'd upon, only as the Effect of that Folly, Raſhneſs, and Preſumption, almoſt inſeparable from Youth: But, as *Alexander* inſiſted ſtill more upon what he had ſaid, and was very much vex'd, to ſee ſo noble a Creature juſt going to be ſent home again, his Father gave him Leave to try, what he could do. The young Prince, overjoy'd at this Permiſſion, goes up to *Bucephalus*, takes Hold of the Bridle, and turns his Head to the Sun; having obſerv'd, that the Thing which frighted him, was his own Shadow, he ſeeing it dance about, or ſink down, in Proportion as he mov'd: He, therefore, firſt ſtrok'd him gently with his Hand, and ſooth'd him with his Voice; then ſeeing his Mettle abate, and artfully taking his Opportunity, he ſprung nimbly upon his Back, and ſlacken'd the Rein, without once ſtriking or vexing him; and, when he perceiv'd that his Fire was cool'd, that he was no longer ſo furious and unruly, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the Rein, and ſpurring him with great Vigour, animated him with his Voice, to fly with the ſwifteſt Speed. While this was doing, *Philip*, and his whole Court, trembled for Fear, and did not once open their Lips; but, when the Prince, after having run his firſt Heat, return'd with Joy and Pride, at his having broken a Horſe, which was judg'd abſolutely ungovernable, all the Courtiers in general endeavour'd to outvie one another in their Applauſes and Congratulations; and we are told, *Philip* ſhed Tears of Joy on this Occaſion; and that, embracing *Alexander*, after he had alighted, and kiſſing his Head, he cry'd aloud; *My Son, ſeek a more worthy Kingdom, for* Macedon *is not ſufficient for thee.*

We are told a great many ſurprizing Particulars of this *Bucephalus*; for, whatever belong'd any Ways to *Alexander*, was to be of the marvellous Kind. When this Creature was ſaddled, and equipp'd for Battle, he would ſuffer no one to back him but his Maſter; nor would it have been ſafe for any other Perſon to go near him: Whenever *Alexander* wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two Fore-Feet: And, according to ſome Hiſtorians, in the Battle againſt *Porus*, where *Alexander* had plung'd too imprudently amidſt a Body of the Enemy; his Horſe, although wounded in every Part of his Body, exerted himſelf in ſo vigorous a Manner, that he ſav'd his Maſter's Life; and, notwithſtanding the deep Wounds he had receiv'd, and though he was almoſt ſpent, through the great Effuſion of Blood, he yet drew *Alexander* from among the Combatants, and carry'd him with inexpreſſible Vigour to a Place of Security; where, as if ſenſible the King was no longer in Danger, and overjoy'd, in ſome meaſure, at the Service he had done him, he expir'd. This indeed, was a very noble End for a Horſe, if true; but others ſay, that *Bucephalus*, quite worn out, dy'd at thirty Years of Age. *Alexander* bewail'd his Death bitterly, believing, that he had loſt, in him, a moſt faithful, and affectionate Friend; and afterwards built to his Honour, a City on the very Spot where he was interr'd, near the River *Hydaſpes*, and call'd it *Bucephale*.

We have obſerv'd elſewhere, that *Alexander*, at ſixteen Years of Age, was appointed Regent of the Kingdom, and inveſted with abſolute Authority during his Father's Abſence; that he behav'd with great Prudence and Bravery; and, that he afterwards exerted himſelf in a moſt ſignal Manner at the Battle of *Chæronea*.

Darius, and *Alexander*, began to reign the ſame Year; and the latter was but Twenty, when he ſucceeded to the Crown: His firſt Care, however, was to ſolemnize the Funeral Obſequies of his Father, with the utmoſt Pomp; and to revenge his Death.

Upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with extreme Dangers: The barbarous Nations, againſt whom *Philip* had fought, during his whole Reign, and from whom he had wreſted ſeveral Territories, which he had united to his Crown, after having dethron'd their natural Kings, thought proper to take Advantage of this Juncture, in which a new Prince, who was but

young,

young, had aſcended the Throne, in order to recover their Liberty, and to unite againſt the common Uſurper: Nor were the ſeveral Nations of *Greece* leſs to be apprehended. *Philip*, though he had permitted the ſeveral Cities and Commonwealths ſeemingly under their ancient Form of Government, had quite changed it in Reality, and made himſelf abſolute Maſter of it. Though he were abſent, he rul'd in all Aſſemblies; and not a ſingle Reſolution was taken, but in Subordination to his Will: But, though he had thus ſubdu'd all *Greece*, either by the Terror of his Arms, or by ſecret Intrigues, and the moſt artful Policy, he had not had Time ſufficient to ſubject and accuſtom it to his Power, but had left all Things there in a great Fermentation; the Minds of the vanquiſh'd Nations not being yet quite broken, nor inur'd to Servitude.

The *Macedonians*, reflecting on this tickliſh Situation of Affairs, adviſ'd *Alexander* to relinquiſh *Greece*, and not perſiſt in his Reſolution of ſubduing it by Force; to recover, by gentle Methods, the *Barbarians* who had taken Arms; and to ſooth, as it were, thoſe Glimmerings of Rebellion, and Love for Novelty; and gain their Affections by Softneſs, Complacency, and Inſinuations. However, *Alexander* would not liſten to theſe daſtard Counſels, but reſolv'd to ſecure the conquer'd Dominions by Boldneſs and Magnanimity; firmly perſuaded, that, ſhould he relax in any Point, at firſt, all his Neighbours would fall upon him; and that, were he to endeavour to compromiſe Matters, he ſhould be oblig'd to give up all *Philip*'s Conqueſts, and, by that Means, confine his Dominions to the narrow Limits of *Macedon*; a Thought he could not bear! He, therefore, raiſed, with all poſſible Diligence, ſuch a Force, as might check the Inſurrections of the *Barbarians*; and marching his Army immediately to the Banks of the *Danube*, croſs'd it in one Night. He then defeated, in a mighty Battle, the King of the *Triballi*; put to Flight ſuch *Getæ*, as had the Boldneſs to wait his coming up; ſubdu'd various barbarous Nations; ſome by the Terror of his Name, and others by Force of Arms; and, notwithſtanding the arrogant Anſwer of their Ambaſſadors, who, being ask'd, what they dreaded moſt? reply'd with a haughty Tone of Voice, That they were *afraid of nothing but the falling of the Sky and Stars*; he taught them to dread a Danger ſtill more imminent.

Whilſt *Alexander* was thus employ'd at a Diſtance againſt the *Barbarians*, all the Cities of *Greece*, who were animated more particularly by *Demoſthenes*, form'd a powerful Alliance againſt that Prince. A falſe Report, which prevail'd of his Death, inſpir'd the *Thebans* with a Boldneſs that prov'd their Ruin; for, thereupon, they cut in Pieces Part of the *Macedonian* Garriſon which was poſted in their Citadel. *Demoſthenes* likewiſe, was every Day haranguing the People; and fir'd with Contempt for *Alexander*, whom he call'd *a Child*, and *a ſhatter-brain'd Youth*; he aſſur'd the *Athenians*, with a deciſive Tone of Voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new King of *Macedon*, who did not dare to ſtir out of his Kingdom; but would think himſelf vaſtly happy, could he ſit peaceably on his Throne. At the ſame Time, he wrote Letters to *Attalus*, one of *Philip*'s Lieutenants in *Aſia Minor*, to excite him, to rebel. This *Attalus* (as has been ſaid before) was Uncle to *Cleopatra*, *Philip*'s ſecond Wife, and was very much diſpoſed to liſten to the Propoſals of *Demoſthenes*, having little Reaſon to hope for any Favour from his new Sovereign, whom he had groſly affronted. Nevertheleſs, as *Alexander* was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much Reaſon; to eradicate from his Mind all the Suſpicions he might entertain, and the better to ſcreen his Deſigns, he ſent all the Letters of *Demoſthenes* to that Prince. But *Alexander* ſaw through all his Artifices; and thereupon, order'd *Hecataeus*, one of his Commanders, whom he had ſent into *Aſia* for that Purpoſe, to aſſaſſinate him, which he did accordingly. The Death of *Attalus* reſtor'd Tranquility to the Army, and quite deſtroy'd the Seeds of Diſcord and Rebellion.

When *Alexander* had ſecur'd his Kingdom from the *Barbarians*, he march'd with great Speed towards *Greece*; and advancing to the Paſs of *Thermopylæ*, he ſpake, as follows, to thoſe who accompany'd him: Demoſthenes, *in his Orations, called me a* Child, *when I was in* Illyria, *and among the* Triballi; *and he called me* an hair-brain'd Youth, *when I was in* Theſſaly; *therefore, I muſt now ſhew him, before the Walls of* Athens, *that I am a Man grown.* He appear'd ſo ſuddenly in *Boeotia*, that the *Thebans* could ſcarce believe their Eyes; however, when he was willing to give them Time to repent, and only demanded to have *Phœnix* and *Prothutes*, the two chief Ringleaders of the Rebellion, deliver'd up to him; and publiſh'd by Sound of Trumpet, a general Pardon, to all who ſhould come over to him; the *Thebans*, by Way of Inſult, demanded to have *Philotas* and *Antipater* deliver'd to them; and likewiſe invited, by a Declaration, all who were ſollicitous for the Freedom of *Greece*, to unite under their Standard.

Alexander, then, finding it impoſſible, to get the Better of their Obſtinacy, by Offers of Peace, ſaw, with Grief, that he ſhould be forced to employ his Power, and decide the Affair by Force of Arms. A great Battle was, thereupon, fought, in which the *Thebans* exerted themſelves with a Bravery and Fire ſuperior to their Strength; for the Enemy exceeded them vaſtly in Numbers: But, after a long and vigorous Reſiſtance, ſuch as ſurviv'd of the *Macedonian* Garriſon in the Citadel, coming down from it, and charging the *Thebans* in the Rear; that unfortunate People being thus ſurrounded on all Sides, the greateſt Part of them were cut in Pieces, and the City was taken and plunder'd.

It would be impoſſible for Words to expreſs the dreadful Calamities, which they ſuffer'd on this Occaſion: Some *Thracians* having pull'd down the Houſe of a virtuous Lady of Quality, *Timoclea* by Name, carry'd off all her Goods and Treaſure; and their Captain having ſeiz'd the Lady, and ſatiated his brutal Luſt with her, afterwards enquir'd whether ſhe had not conceal'd ſome Gold and Silver: Whereupon *Timoclea*, animated by a ſtrong Thirſt of Revenge, declaring, that ſhe had hid ſome, took him with herſelf only into the Garden; and ſhewing him a Well, told him, that the Inſtant ſhe ſaw the Enemy enter the City, ſhe herſelf had thrown therein the moſt valuable Part of her Poſſeſſions. The Officer, overjoy'd at what

he

he heard, drew near to the Well, and ſtoop'd down to ſee its Depth; when *Timoclea*, who was behind, puſhing him with all her Strength, threw him into it, and flung ſo many Stones upon him, that ſhe kill'd him. At the ſame Time, ſhe was ſeiz'd by the *Thracians*, and being bound in Chains, was carry'd before *Alexander*; who perceiv'd immediately, by her Mien, that ſhe was a Woman of Quality and Courage; for ſhe had follow'd thoſe brutal Wretches with a very haughty Air, and without once diſcovering the leaſt Fear. Wherefore, asking her who ſhe was, and why ſhe had ſo done? *Timoclea* reply'd, "I am Siſter to *Theagenes*, who fought againſt *Philip*, to recover the "Liberty of *Greece*; and was kill'd in the Battle "of *Chæronea*, where he commanded: To re"venge my Honour, I kill'd my Raviſher, and "glory in the Deed." Whereupon, that Prince admiring the generous Anſwer of this Lady, and ſtill more the Heroiſm, by which ſhe had ſo lately ſignaliz'd herſelf, gave her Leave to retire whither ſoever ſhe pleaſed, with her Children.

Alexander then debated in Council, how he ſhould treat the *Thebans*? Whereupon the *Phocenſes*, and thoſe of *Plataæ*, *Theſpiæ*, and *Orchomenus*; who were all in Alliance with *Alexander*, and had ſhar'd in his Victory, repreſented to him the cruel Treatment they had met with from the *Thebans*, who alſo had deſtroy'd their ſeveral Cities; and reproach'd them with the Zeal, which they had always diſcover'd, in Favour of the *Perſians*, againſt the *Greeks*, who held them in the utmoſt Deteſtation; as a Proof of which, they inſtanc'd the Oath they all had taken to deſtroy *Thebes*, after they ſhould have vanquiſh'd the *Perſians*.

Cleades, one of the Priſoners, being then permitted to ſpeak, endeavour'd to excuſe, at leaſt, in ſome Meaſure, the Rebellion of the *Thebans*; a Fault, which, in his Opinion, he ſaid, ſhould be imputed to a raſh and credulous Imprudence, rather than to a deprav'd Will, and an open Perfidy. To prove this, he remonſtrated, that his Countrymen, upon a falſe Report of the Death of *Alexander*, had, indeed, too raſhly broke into Rebellion, not againſt the King, but his Succeſſors: That what Crimes ſoever they might have committed, they had been puniſh'd for them with the utmoſt Severity, by the dreadful Calamity which had befallen their City. That there now remain'd in it none but Women, Children, and old Men; from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were ſo much the greater Objects of Compaſſion, as they had been no Ways concern'd in the Rebellion. He then concluded, with reminding *Alexander*, that *Thebes*, which had given Birth to many Gods and Heroes, ſeveral of whom were that King's Anceſtors, had alſo been the Miſtreſs, which had laid the Foundation of his Father *Philip*'s riſing Glory; and like a ſecond native Country to him.

Theſe Motives which *Cleades* urg'd, were very ſtrong and powerful; nevertheleſs, the Anger of the Conqueror prevail'd, and the City was deſtroy'd. However, he ſet at Liberty the Prieſts; all ſuch as had a Right of Hoſpitality, in common, with the *Macedonians*; the Deſcendants of *Pindar*, the famous Poet, who had done ſo much Honour to *Greece*; and ſuch as had oppoſed the Rebellion: But all the Reſt, making about thirty thouſand, he ſold; and a little more than ſix thouſand were kill'd in Battle. The *Athenians* were ſo terribly afflicted at the ſad Diſaſter which had befallen *Thebes*, that, being about to ſolemnize the Feſtival of the grand Myſteries, they ſuſpended them for the Reaſon abovemention'd; receiv'd with the greateſt Humanity all thoſe who had fled from the Battle, and the Plunder of *Thebes*, and made *Athens* their *Aſylum*.

In the mean Time, the ſudden Arrival of *Alexander* in *Greece*, had very much abated the Haughtineſs of the *Athenians*, and extinguiſh'd the Vehemence and Fire of *Demoſthenes*: But the Ruin of *Thebes*, which was ſtill more ſudden, threw them into the utmoſt Conſternation. They, therefore, had Recourſe to Intreaties, and ſent a Deputation to *Alexander*, to implore his Clemency. *Demoſthenes* was among them; but he was no ſooner arriv'd upon Mount *Cytheron*, than, dreading the Anger of that Prince, he left his Embaſſy, and return'd home.

Alexander immediately ſent to *Athens*, requiring the Citizens to deliver up to him ten Orators, whom he ſuppoſed to have been chief Inſtruments in forming the Alliance, which *Philip*, his Father, had defeated at *Chæronea*. It was on this Occaſion, *Demoſthenes* recited to the People the Fable of the *Wolves* and *Dogs*, in which 'tis ſuppos'd, *That the Wolves one Day told the Sheep, that, in Caſe they deſir'd to be at Peace with them, they muſt deliver up to them their Dogs, who were their Guard.* The The Application was eaſy and natural; eſpecially with Reſpect to the Orators, who were juſtly compar'd to Dogs, whoſe Duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to ſave the Lives of the Flock.

In this prodigious Dilemma of the *Athenians*, who could not prevail with themſelves to deliver up their Orators to certain Death, and yet had no other Way to ſave their City; *Demades*, whom *Alexander* had honour'd with his Friendſhip, offer'd to undertake the Embaſſy alone, and interceed for them. The King, whether he were then ſatiated with Revenge, or endeavour'd to blot out, if poſſible, by ſome Act of Clemency, the barbarous Action he had juſt before committed; or rather, to remove the ſeveral Obſtacles, which might retard the Execution of his grand Deſign; and, by that Means, not leave, during his Abſence, the leaſt Pretence for Murmurs, wav'd his Demand, with Regard to the Delivery of the Orators; and was pacify'd, by their ſending *Caridemus* into Baniſhment, who being a Native of *Oraa*, had been preſented by the *Athenians* with his Freedom, for the Services he had done the Republick. He was Son-in-Law to *Cherſobleptus*, King of *Thrace*; had learn'd the Science of War under *Iphicrates*, and had himſelf frequently commanded the *Athenian* Armies: But, *Alexander* inſiſting upon his being baniſh'd the City, he fled to the King of *Perſia*.

As for the *Athenians*, he not only forgave them the ſeveral Injuries he pretended to have receiv'd, but was particularly kind to them, exhorting them to apply themſelves vigorouſly to Buſineſs, and keep a watchful Eye over the ſeveral Tranſactions which might happen; becauſe that, in Caſe of his Death, their City only ought to give Laws to the Reſt of *Greece*. Hiſtorians aver, that many Years after this Expedition, he was ſeiz'd with deep Remorſe for the Calamity he had brought

upon the *Thebans*, and that this made him behave with much greater Humanity towards many other Nations.

So dreadful an Example of Severity towards so powerful a City as *Thebes*, spread the Terror of his Arms through all *Greece*, and obtain'd him an universal Submission. Whereupon he summon'd, at *Corinth*, the Assembly of the several States, and free Cities of *Greece*, to obtain from them the same supreme Command against the *Persians*, as had been granted his Father, a little before his Death. No Diet ever debated on a more important Subject. 'Twas the *Western* World resolving the Ruin of that of the *East*, and the Methods how to execute an Act of Vengeance, suspended near three hundred Years. The Assembly held on this Spot, will give Rise to Events, the Relation of which will appear astonishing, and almost incredible; and to Revolutions, which will change the Disposition of most Things in the World.

To form such a Design, a Monarch was requir'd of a bold, enterprizing Character, and experienc'd in War; a Prince, who having acquir'd a mighty Name by his Exploits, was not to be intimidated by Dangers, nor check'd by Obstacles; but, above all, a Monarch, who had a supreme Authority over all the States of *Greece*, none of which singly was powerful enough to make so arduous an Attempt; and which requir'd, in order for their acting in Concert, to be subject to one Chief, who might give Motion to the several Parts of that great Body, by making them all concur to the same End. Such a Prince was *Alexander*. It was not difficult for him to recal to the Memory of the People, the Hatred they formerly had entertain'd against the *Persians*, their perpetual and irreconcileable Enemies; whose Destruction they had more than once sworn, and whom they had determin'd to extirpate, in Case an Opportunity should present itself for that Purpose; an Hatred, which the intestine Feuds of the *Greeks* might, indeed, have suspended, but could never extinguish. The immortal Retreat of the *Ten Thousand GREEKS*, in Spite of the vigorous Opposition of the prodigious Army of the *Persians*; the Terror, which *Agesilaus*, with but a Handful of Men, had struck even as far as *Susa*; evidently shew'd what great Things might be expected from an Army, composed of the Flower of the Forces of all *Greece*, and those of *Macedon*, commanded by general Officers, who had been train'd up under *Philip*; and, to say all in one Word, were headed by *Alexander*. The Deliberations of the Assembly were, therefore, very short, and that Prince was unanimously appointed Generalissimo against the *Persians*.

Immediately a great Number of Officers, and Governors of Cities, with several Philosophers, waited upon *Alexander*, to congratulate him upon his Election. He flatter'd himself, that *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, who was then at *Corinth*, would also come, like the Rest, and pay his Compliments. This Philosopher, who entertain'd a very mean Idea of Grandeur, thought it was not a proper Season to congratulate Men just upon their Exaltation; but, that Mankind ought to wait till such Time as those Persons had perform'd Actions worthy of their high Stations. *Diogenes*, therefore, did not once come out of his House; upon which, *Alexander*, attended by all his Courtiers, made him a Visit. The Philosopher was, at that Time, basking in the Sun; but, seeing so great a Crowd of People advancing towards him, he sat down, and fix'd his Eyes upon *Alexander*. That Prince, surpriz'd to see so famous a Philosopher reduc'd to such extreme Poverty, after saluting him in the kindest Manner, ask'd, whether he wanted any Thing? To which *Diogenes* abruptly reply'd, *Yes; I want you to get out of my Sunshine.* This Answer raised the Contempt and Indignation of all the Courtiers; but the Monarch, struck with the Philosopher's Greatness of Soul, *Were I not* Alexander (says he) *I could wish to be* Diogenes. A very deep Thought is conceal'd under this Expression, and it shews perfectly the Bent and Disposition of the Heart of Man. *Alexander* is sensible that he is form'd to possess all Things; such is his Destiny, and therein he makes his Happiness consist: But then, in Case he should not be able to compass his Ends, he also is sensible, that, to attain Happiness, he must endeavour to bring his Mind to such a Frame, as to live contented without Possessions. In a Word, *all or nothing* presents us with the true Image of *Alexander* and *Diogenes*. How great and how powerful soever that Prince might think himself, he yet must have seen, that, on this Occasion, he was inferior to a Man, on whom he could not confer any Benefit; and from whom he could not take any Thing.

Before he set out for *Asia*, *Alexander* was determin'd to consult the Oracle of *Apollo*; wherefore, he went to *Delphos*; but happen'd to arrive there on those Days which were call'd the *unlucky*; a Season, in which People were forbid consulting the Oracle; and accordingly, the Priestess refused to go to the Temple: But *Alexander*, who could not bear any Contradiction, took her forcibly by the Arm; and, as he was leading her to the Temple, she cry'd out; *My Son, thou art irresistible.* This was all he desir'd; wherefore, catching these Words, which he look'd upon as spoken by the Oracle, he set out for *Macedon*, in order to make Preparations for that important Expedition.

About the Time we are now speaking of, the famous Suit between *Æschines* and *Demosthenes* was ended: The latter having rebuilt, at his own Expence, the Walls of *Athens*; the Citizens, out of Gratitude, honour'd him with a Golden Crown, in Pursuance of the Decree, which *Ctesiphon* had made for that Purpose: Whereupon, *Æschines*, exasperated at the Glory which his Rival thereby obtain'd, censur'd this Decree of *Ctesiphon*. This Suit commenc'd the very Year, and a little before the Battle of *Chæronea*; however, it was not determin'd till eight Years afterwards. No Cause ever excited so much Curiosity, nor was pleaded with so much Pomp. "People flock'd to it from "all Parts (says *Cicero*) and they had great Rea- "son for so doing; for, what Sight could be "nobler, than a Struggle between two Orators, "each of them excellent in his Way; both form'd "by Nature; improv'd by Art; and animated "by perpetual Feuds, and an implacable Ani- "mosity."

These two Orations have always been look'd upon as the Master-Pieces of Antiquity; especially that of *Demosthenes*; *Cicero* had translated the latter, a shining Proof of the high Opinion he entertain'd of it: Unfortunately for us, the Pre-

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amble only to that Performance is now extant, which alone is ſufficient, to make us very much regret the Loſs of the Reſt.

Amongſt the numberleſs Beauties, which are conſpicuous in every Part of theſe two Orations, methinks, there appears, if we may be allow'd to cenſure the Writings of ſuch great Men, a conſiderable Error, that very much leſſens their Perfections, and which appears to us directly repugnant to the Rules of ſolid, juſt Eloquence; which is, the groſs, injurious Terms in which theſe two Orators reproach one another. The ſame Objection has been made to *Tully*'s Orations againſt *Anthony*. We have already declar'd, that this Manner of Writing, theſe groſs, opprobrious Expreſſions, are the very Reverſe of ſolid Eloquence; and indeed, every Speech, which is dictated by Paſſion and Revenge, never fails to be ſuſpected by thoſe who judge of it; whereas, an Oration, whoſe Reaſons and Arguments are ſtrong and invincible; and which, at the ſame Time, is deliver'd with Reſervedneſs and Moderation, gains the Heart, whilſt it informs the Underſtanding; and perſuades no leſs, from the Eſteem it inſpires for the Orator, than from the Force of the Arguments he employs.

The Juncture ſeem'd to favour *Æſchines* very much; for, the *Macedonian* Party, whom he had always befriended, was very powerful in *Athens*; eſpecially after the Ruin of *Thebes*. Nevertheleſs, *Æſchines* loſt his Cauſe, and was juſtly ſentenc'd to Baniſhment, for his raſh Accuſation. He, thereupon, went and ſettled in *Rhodes*, and there open'd a School of Eloquence, the Fame and Glory of which continued for many Ages. He open'd his Lectures with the two Orations that had occaſion'd his Baniſhment. Great Encomiums were given to that of *Æſchines*; but, when they heard that of *Demoſthenes*, the Praiſes and Acclamations were redoubled: And it was then he ſpoke theſe Words, ſo greatly laudable, in the Mouth of an Enemy, and a Rival; *But, what Applauſes would you have beſtow'd, had you heard* Demoſthenes *himſelf pronounce it!*

To conclude; the Victor made a good Uſe of his Conqueſt: For, the Inſtant *Æſchines* left *Athens*, in order to ſail to *Rhodes*, *Demoſthenes* ran after him, and forc'd him to accept of a Purſe of Money; which muſt have oblig'd him ſo much the more, as he had leſs Room to expect ſuch an Offer. On this Occaſion, *Æſchines* is ſaid to have cry'd out: *How will it be poſſible for me not to regret a Country, in which I leave an Enemy, who is ſo vaſtly generous, that I deſpair of ever meeting in any other with Friends, who reſemble him!*

To return to *Alexander*, being arriv'd in his Kingdom, held a Council with the chief Officers of his Army, and the Grandees of his Court, on the Expedition he meditated againſt *Perſia*, and the Meaſures he ſhould take, in order to ſucceed in it. The whole Aſſembly were unanimous, except on one Article. *Antipater* and *Parmenio* were of Opinion, that the King, before he engag'd in an Enterprize, which muſt neceſſarily be a long one, ought to make Choice of a Conſort, in order to ſecure himſelf a Succeſſor to his Throne. But *Alexander*, who was of a violent, fiery Temper, did not approve of this Advice; and believ'd, that, after he had been nominated Generaliſſimo of the *Greeks*, and that his Father had left him an invincible Army, it would be a Shame for him to loſe his Time in ſolemnizing his Nuptials, and waiting for the Fruits of it; for which Reaſon he was determin'd to ſet out immediately.

Accordingly he offer'd up very ſplendid Sacrifices to the Gods, and cauſed to be celebrated at *Lia*, a City of *Macedon*, the Scenical Games, that had been inſtituted by one of his Anceſtors, in Honour of *Jupiter*, and the *Muſes*. This Feſtival continued nine Days, agreeable to the Number of the latter Divinities. He had a Tent raiſed large enough to hold an hundred Tables, on which, conſequently, nine hundred Covers might be laid. To this Feaſt, the ſeveral Princes of his Family, all the Embaſſadors, Generals and Officers, were invited. He alſo treated his whole Army. It was then he had a famous Viſion, in which he was exhorted to march ſpeedily into *Aſia*; whereof Mention ſhall be made hereafter.

Before he ſet out upon this Expedition, he ſettled the Affairs of *Macedon*, over which he appointed *Antipater* Viceroy, with twelve thouſand Foot, and near the ſame Number of Horſe.

He alſo enquir'd into the domeſtick Affairs of his Friends, giving to one a Piece of Ground, to another a Village, to a third the Revenues of a Town, to a fourth the Toll of a Harbour. And, as all the Revenues of his Demeſns were already employ'd and exhauſted by his Liberalities; *Perdiccas* ſaid to him, *My Lord, what is it you reſerve for yourſelf?* To which *Alexander* replying, *Hope. Then* (ſaid *Perdiccas*) *the ſame Hope ought to ſatisfy us*; and ſo refuſed very generouſly to accept of what the King had appointed him.

The Knowledge of the human Heart, and the Art of governing it, is of great Importance to a Prince. Now *Alexander* was ſenſible, that this Secret conſiſts in making it the Intereſt of every Individual, to concur to a King's Exaltation; and to govern his Subjects in ſuch a Manner, that they may feel his Power by no other Marks than his Bounty. It is then that the Intereſt of every Perſon is blended in that of the Prince. They are one's own Poſſeſſions, one's own Happineſs, which we love in his perſon; and we are ſo many Times attach'd to him, and by as cloſe Ties, as there are Things we love, and receive from him. All the Sequel of this Hiſtory will ſhew, that no Perſon ever made a more happy Uſe of this Maxim than *Alexander*, who thought himſelf raiſed to the Throne, merely that he might do Good; and indeed, his Liberality, which was truly royal, was not ſatisfy'd, or exhauſted, by the nobleſt Acts of Beneficence.

Alexander, after having compleatly ſettled Affairs in *Macedon*, and uſed all the Precautions imaginable, to prevent any Troubles from ariſing in it, during his Abſence, ſet out for *Aſia*, in the Beginning of the Spring. His Army conſiſted of little more than thirty thouſand Foot, and four or five thouſand Horſe; but then they were all brave Men; well diſciplin'd, and inur'd to Fatigues; had made ſeveral Campaigns under *Philip*; and each of them, in a Caſe of Neceſſity, was able to command. Moſt of the Officers were near ſixty Years of Age; and when they were either aſſembled, or poſted at the Head of a Camp, they had the Air of a venerable Senate. *Parmenio* commanded the Infantry; *Philotas*, his Son, had one thouſand, eight hundred Horſe under him, all

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Macedonians; and *Callas*, the Son of *Harpalus*, the ſame Number of *Theſſalian* Cavalry. The Reſt of the Horſe, who were taken from the different Nations of *Greece*, and amounted to ſix hundred, had their particular Commanders. The *Thracians*, and *Paonians*, who always led the Van, were headed by *Caſſander*: *Alexander* took his March along the Lake *Cercinum*, towards *Amphipolis*; croſs'd the River *Strymon*, near its Mouth; afterwards the *Hebrus*, and arriv'd at *Seſtos*, after twenty Days March. He then commanded *Parmenio* to croſs over from *Seſtos* to *Abydos*, with all the Horſe, and Part of the Foot; which he accordingly did, by the Aſſiſtance of an hundred and ſixty Gallies, and ſeveral flat-bottom'd Veſſels. As for *Alexander*, he went from *Eleus* to the Port of the *Achaians*, himſelf ſteering his own Galley; and being got to the Middle of the *Helleſpont*, he ſacrific'd a Bull to *Neptune*, and the *Nereides*; and made Libations in the Sea from a Golden Cup. 'Tis alſo related, that, after having hurl'd a Javelin at the Ground, as though he thereby took Poſſeſſion of it, he landed firſt in *Aſia*; and leaping from the Ship, completely arm'd, and in the higheſt Tranſports of Joy, he erected Altars on the Shore to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*, for having favour'd him with ſo propitious a Deſcent: He had done the ſame at his leaving *Europe*.

He depended ſo entirely on the happy Succeſs of his Arms, and the rich Spoils he ſhould meet with in *Aſia*, that he had made very little Proviſion for ſo great an Expedition; firmly perſuaded, that War, when carry'd on well, will ſupply all Things neceſſary for itſelf. He had but ſeventy Talents in Money to pay his Army, and Proviſions only for a Month. We obſerv'd before, that he had divided his Patrimony among his Generals, and Officers; and a Circumſtance of great Importance, is, that he had inſpir'd his Soldiers with ſo much Courage and Security, that they fancy'd they march'd, not to doubtful War, but to certain Victory.

Being arriv'd at the City of *Lampſacus*, which he was determin'd to deſtroy, in order to puniſh the Rebellion of its Inhabitants; *Anaximenes*, a Native of that Place, came to meet him. He was a famous Hiſtorian, and had been very intimate with *Philip*, his Father; and *Alexander* himſelf had a great Eſteem for him, he having been his Pupil. However, the King ſuſpecting the Buſineſs he was come upon, got the Start of him, and ſwore in expreſs Terms; that he would never grant his Requeſt. *Whereupon, the Favour I have to deſire of you*, ſays the Hiſtorian, *is, that you would deſtroy* Lampſacus, *my native City*. By which witty Turn, and Preſence of Mind, he ſav'd his Country.

From thence *Alexander* arriv'd at *Ilion*, where he paid great Honours to the *Manes* of *Achilles*, and cauſed Games to be celebrated round his Tomb. He admir'd, and envy'd the double Felicity of that renown'd *Grecian*, in having found, during his Life-Time, a faithful Friend in *Patroclus*; and, after his Death, a Herald in *Homer*, worthy of the great Actions he had atchiev'd. And indeed, had it not been for the *Iliad*, the Name of *Achilles* would have been bury'd in the ſame Grave with his Body.

CHAP. IV.

The Battle of Granicus; Alexander *in great Danger there, but obtains a ſignal Victory*; Sardis *ſurrenders, and* Epheſus; *He takes* Miletus, *and* Halicarnaſſus; *A Conſpiracy form'd againſt him, but diſcover'd*; *He cuts the* Gordian *Knot*; *He bathes in the River* Cydnus, *which almoſt coſts him his Life*; *The noble Confidence he repos'd in* Philip, *his Phyſician*; Caridemus *put to Death by* Darius, *for giving him good Counſel*; *The Battle of* Iſſus, *where* Darius *is defeated*; *The Conſequences thereof*; Alexander's *noble Uſage of the Captive Princeſſes, the Mother, Wife, and Daughters of* Darius.

AT laſt, *Alexander* arriv'd on the Banks of the *Granicus*, a River of *Phrygia*. The *Satrapæ*, or Lieutenant-Generals, waited his coming on the other Side of it, firmly reſolv'd to diſpute the Paſſage with him. Their Army conſiſted of One hundred thouſand Foot, and upwards of Ten thouſand Horſe. *Memnon*, who was a *Rhodian*, and commanded, under *Darius*, over all the Coaſt of *Aſia*, had adviſed the Generals not to venture a Battle; but to lay waſte the Plains, and even the Cities, thereby to ſtarve *Alexander*'s Army, and oblige him to return back into *Europe*. *Memnon* was the beſt of all the Generals of *Darius*, and had made greater Conqueſts than any of them. 'Tis not eaſy to determine, which we ought to admire moſt in him; his great Wiſdom in Council; his Courage and Capacity in the Field; or his Zeal and Attachment to his Sovereign. The Counſel he gave, on this Occaſion, was excellent, when we conſider, that his Enemy was fiery and impetuous; unpoſſeſs'd of a ſingle Town, or Magazine, and had no Place to retire to; that he was coming into a Country, to which he was abſolutely a Stranger; and the Inhabitants whereof were his Enemies; that nothing but Delays could weaken, and ruin him; and, that his only Hopes lay in giving Battle immediately. But *Arſites*, a *Phrygian Satrapa*, oppoſed the Opinion of *Memnon*; and proteſted, he would never ſuffer the *Grecians* to make ſuch Havock in the Territories he govern'd. This weak Counſel prevail'd over that of the Foreigner *Memnon*; whom the

Perſians, to their great Prejudice, ſuſpected of a Deſign to ſpin out the War, and, by that Means, to make himſelf neceſſary to *Darius*.

In the mean Time, *Alexander* march'd on, with his Infantry, who were heavily arm'd, and drawn up in two Lines, having the Cavalry in the Wings: The Baggage follow'd in the Rear. Being arriv'd upon the Banks of the *Granicus*, *Parmenio* adviſed him to encamp there in Battle-Array, in order that his Forces might have Time to reſt themſelves; and not croſs over the River till very early next Morning, becauſe the Enemy would then be leſs able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous, to attempt croſſing a River, in Sight of an Enemy, eſpecially, as that before them was deep, and its Banks very ſteep; ſo that the *Perſian* Cavalry, who waited their coming, in Battle Array, on the other Side, might eaſily defeat them, *before they were drawn up*. That, beſides the Loſs, which would be ſuſtain'd on this Occaſion; this Enterprize, in Caſe it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, would be of dangerous Conſequence to their future Succeſs; the Fame and Glory of Arms depending on the firſt Exploits.

However, theſe ſeveral Reaſons were not able to make the leaſt Impreſſion on *Alexander*; who declar'd, that it would be a Shame, ſhould he, after croſſing the *Helleſpont*, ſuffer his Progreſs to be retarded by a Rivulet; for, ſo he call'd the *Granicus*, out of Contempt. That they ought to take Advantage of the Terror, which the Suddenneſs of his Arrival, and the Boldneſs of his Attempt, had ſtruck into the *Perſians*; and anſwer the high Opinion that Nation entertain'd of his Courage, and the Valour of the *Macedonians*. In the mean While, the Enemy's Horſe, which was very numerous, lin'd the whole Shore, and form'd a large Front, in order to oppoſe *Alexander*, wherever he ſhould endeavour to croſs: And the Foot, which conſiſted chiefly of *Greeks*, in the Service of *Darius*, were poſted behind, upon an eaſy Aſcent.

The two Armies continued a long Time in Sight of each other, on the Banks of the River, as though they dreaded the Event: The *Perſians* waited for the *Macedonians* entering the River, in order to charge them to Advantage upon their landing; and the latter ſeem'd to be making Choice of a Place proper for croſſing, and to ſurvey the Countenance of their Enemies. Upon this, *Alexander* having order'd his Horſe to be brought, enjoin'd the Noblemen of the Court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He commanded the Right Wing himſelf, and *Parmenio* the Left. The King firſt cauſed a ſtrong Detachment to march into the River, himſelf following after with the Reſt of the Forces, the Trumpets ſounding, and the whole Army making the moſt joyful Acclamations: *Parmenio* advanc'd afterwards with the Left Wing.

The *Perſians*, at the Sight of this Detachment, advance forward; begin to let fly their Arrows, and march to a Place where the Declivity was not ſo great, in order to keep the *Macedonians* from landing. The Horſe then engag'd with great Fury; one Part endeavouring to land, and the other ſtriving to prevent them. The *Macedonians*, whoſe Cavalry was vaſtly inferior in Number, beſides the Advantage of the Ground, were gall'd terribly with the Darts that were ſhot from the Eminence: Not to mention, that the Flower of the *Perſian* Horſe were drawn together in that Place; and that *Memnon*, with his Sons, commanded there. The *Macedonians*, therefore, at firſt, gave Ground, after having loſt the firſt Ranks, which made a vigorous Defence. *Alexander*, who had follow'd them cloſe, and reinforc'd them with his beſt Troops, heads them himſelf, animates them by his Preſence, overthrows the *Perſians*, and routs them: Upon which, the whole Army follow after, croſs the River, and attack the Enemy on all Sides.

Alexander, in Perſon, firſt charg'd the thickeſt Part of the Enemy's Horſe, in which the Generals fought; and was particularly conſpicuous, by his Shield, and the Plume of Feathers, that overſhadow'd his Helmet; on the two Sides of which there roſe two Wings, as it were, of a great Length; and ſo very white, that they dazzled the Eyes of the Beholder. The Onſet was very furious about his Perſon; and though the Horſe only were then engag'd, they fought without once flinching, Man againſt Man, like the Foot; every one ſtriving to repulſe his Adverſary, and gain Ground of him: Particularly *Spithridates*, Lieutenant-Governor of *Ionia*, and Son-in-Law to *Darius*, diſtinguiſh'd himſelf above the Reſt of the Generals, by his ſuperior Bravery. Being ſurrounded by forty *Perſian* Lords, all of them his Relations, and renown'd for their Valour, who never mov'd from his Side, he ſtruck a Terror whitherſoever he rode. Hereupon, *Alexander* obſerving in how gallant a Manner he ſignaliz'd himſelf, clapp'd Spurs to his Horſe, and advanc'd towards him. Immediately they engage, and each hurling a Javelin, they wounded one another ſlightly. *Spithridates* then glowing with Rage, flies, Sword in Hand, upon *Alexander*; who being prepar'd for him, thruſt his Pike into his Face, and laid him dead at his Feet; when *Rhoſaces*, Brother to this *Satrapa*, charging him on the Side, gives him ſo furious a Blow on the Head with his Battle-Ax, that he beat off his Plume, but went no deeper than the Hair. As he was going to give him a ſecond Blow on the Head, which now appear'd through his fractur'd Helmet; *Clitus* cuts off the Head of *Rhoſaces* with one Stroke of his Scimitar, and, by that Means, ſav'd his Sovereign's Life. Mean While, the Danger to which *Alexander* had been expoſed, greatly animating the Courage of his Soldiers, they perform'd Wonders; inſomuch, that the *Perſians*, who were in the Centre of the Horſe, overwhelm'd with the numberleſs Showers of Darts ſhot by the Soldiers lightly arm'd, who had been incorporated with the Horſe; and being unable to ſuſtain any longer the Attack of the *Macedonians*, who aim'd all at the Face, their two Wings had immediately broke, upon which they fled: The Enemy loſt but a thouſand Horſe; who were not purſu'd, becauſe *Alexander* charg'd the Foot a little after; who, ſays the Hiſtorian, at firſt ſtood their Ground; which was owing to the Surprize they were ſeiz'd with, rather than to Bravery: But, when they ſaw themſelves attack'd, at the ſame Time, by the Cavalry, and by the *Macedonian Phalanx*, which had croſſed the River, and that the Battalions were engag'd; did not make either a long, or a vigorous Reſiſtance; and were all ſoon put to Flight, except the *Grecian* Infantry, in the Service of *Darius*. This Body of Foot retiring to a Hill, requir'd a Promiſe from *Alexander*, to let them march away unmoleſted; but that

Prince, following the Inſpirations of his Wrath, rather than thoſe of Reaſon and good Senſe, ruſh'd into the Midſt of this Body of Foot, and preſently loſt his Horſe (not *Bucephalus*) who was kill'd with the Thruſt of a Sword. The Battle then grew ſo fierce round him, that all the *Macedonians*, who loſt their Lives on this Occaſion, were kill'd in this Part of it; for, they fought againſt a Body of Men, who were well diſciplin'd; had been inur'd to the Fatigues of War; and fought like Deſperadoes: Nevertheleſs, they were all cut in Pieces, Two thouſand excepted, who were taken Priſoners.

A great Number of the chief *Perſian* Commanders lay dead on the Spot: *Arſites* fled into *Phrygia*, where, we are told, he laid violent Hands upon himſelf, for having been the Cauſe of venturing a Battle: 'T ould have been more glorious for him, had he loſt his Life in the Field. There were kill'd in this Engagement, on the Side of the *Barbarians*, Twenty thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand five hundred Horſe; and of the *Macedonians*, Twenty-five Cavalry of the Royal Companies, were kill'd at the firſt Onſet. To reward their Bravery, *Alexander* order'd *Lyſippus* to carve Brazen Statues to their Honour, all which were ſet up in a City of *Macedon*, call'd *Dia*, whence they were, many Years after, carry'd to *Rome*, by *Q. Metellus*. About Sixty of the other Horſe were kill'd; and near Thirty Foot; who were all laid, with their Arms and Equipage, in one Grave, the next Day; and the King exempted their Fathers and Children from every Kind of Tribute and Service.

He alſo took the utmoſt Care of the Wounded; viſiting them, and ſeeing their Wounds dreſs'd: He enquir'd very particularly into their Adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his Actions, and boaſt his Bravery: A Prince gains many Advantages, by ſuch a Familiarity and Condeſcenſion. He alſo gave the Rites of Sepulture to the Grandees of *Perſia*, and did not even refuſe it to ſuch *Greeks* as dy'd in the *Perſian* Service; but all thoſe whom he took Priſoners, he threw into Chains, and ſent them to hard Labour in *Macedonia*; for, having fought under the *Barbarian* Standards againſt their Country; contrary to the expreſs Prohibition made in *Greece* for that Purpoſe.

Beſides this, *Alexander*, prompted by an unuſual Greatneſs of Mind, affected to let the *Greeks* ſhare in the Honour of his Victory; and ſent, particularly to the *Athenians*, Three hundred Shields, being Part of the Plunder taken from the Enemy; and had the glorious Inſcription following, inſcrib'd on the Reſt of the Spoils: *Alexander*, *Son of* Philip, *with all the* Greeks (*except the* Lacedæmonians) *won theſe Spoils from the* Barbarians, *who inhabit* Aſia. The greateſt Part of the Gold and Silver Plate, the Purple Carpets, and other Furniture belonging to the luxurious *Perſians*, he ſent to his Mother.

The Succeſs with which the Battle of the *Granicus* was crown'd, had all the happy Conſequences that could naturally be expected from it. *Sardis*, which was, as it were, the Bulwark of the *Barbarian* Empire to the Sea-ward, ſurrender'd to *Alexander*, who, thereupon, gave the Citizens their Liberty, and permitted them to live after their own Laws. Four Days after, he arriv'd at *Epheſus*; carrying back with him thoſe who had been baniſh'd from thence, for adhering to him; and reſtor'd its popular Form of Government. He alſo aſſign'd to the Temple of *Diana*, the Tribute which were paid to the Kings of *Perſia*; and offer'd a great Number of Sacrifices to this Goddeſs; ſolemnizing her Myſteries with the utmoſt Pomp, and conducting the Ceremony with his whole Army drawn up in Battle-Array. The *Epheſians* had begun to rebuild the Temple of *Diana*, which had been burn'd the Night of *Alexander*'s Birth, as was before obſerv'd; and the Work was then very forward: *Dinocrates*, a famous Architect, who had the Direction of this Building, was afterwards employ'd by *Alexander*, to build *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. That Prince alſo offer'd to pay the *Epheſians* the ſeveral Expences they had already been at; and to furniſh the Remainder, provided they would inſcribe the Temple with his Name, and do him the Honour of it; for he was greedy, or rather, inſatiable of every Kind of Glory: But, how advantageous ſoever this Offer might be, the *Epheſians* refus'd it. Before he left *Epheſus*, the Deputies of *Tralles* and *Magneſia*, waited upon him with the Keys of their Cities.

He afterwards march'd to *Miletus*, which City, flatter'd with the Hopes of a ſudden, and powerful Reinforcement, ſhut their Gates againſt him: And indeed, the *Perſian* Fleet, which was very conſiderable, made a Shew, as if they would have reliev'd it; but, after having made various fruitleſs Attempts to engage that of the Enemy, they were forc'd to ſail away. *Memnon* had ſhut himſelf up in this ſtrong Hold, with a great Number of his Soldiers, who had eſcap'd from the Battle; and was determin'd to make a ſtout Reſiſtance: However, *Alexander*, who could not bear to loſe a Moment's Time, attack'd it, and planted Scaling-Ladders on all Sides. The Aſſailants mounted them with great Vigour, and were oppoſed with no leſs Intrepidity; although *Alexander* ſent freſh Troops to it, who ſucceeded one another, without the leaſt Intermiſſion: And this laſted ſeveral Days. At laſt, finding his Soldiers were every-where repulſed, and that the City was ſtor'd with Ammunition, and Proviſions, for a long Siege, he ſet all his Engines at Work; ſo that he made a great Number of Breaches; which, whenever they attack'd, they likewiſe attempted to ſcale the Walls. At laſt, the Beſieged, after ſuſtaining all theſe Efforts, with prodigious Bravery, capitulated, for Fear of being taken by Storm; and *Alexander* treated all the *Mileſians* with the utmoſt Humanity; but ſold for Slaves, all the Foreigners who were found in it: The Hiſtorians don't make any Mention of *Memnon*, but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe, that he march'd out with the Garriſon.

Alexander, ſeeing that the Enemy's Fleet was ſail'd away, reſolv'd to lay up his own, the Expence of it being too great; not to mention that he wanted Money for Things of greater Importance. Some Hiſtorians are even of Opinion, that, as he was upon the Point of coming to a Battle with *Darius*, which was to determine the Fate of the two Empires; he was reſolv'd to deprive his Soldiers of all Hopes of Retreat, and to leave them no other Refuge than what they could find in Victory. He, therefore, retain'd ſuch Veſſels only

only of his Fleet, as were abſolutely neceſſary for tranſporting the military Engines, and a ſmall Number of other Gallies.

After poſſeſſing himſelf of *Miletus*, he march'd into *Caria*, in order to lay Siege to *Halicarnaſſus*: This City was of prodigious difficult Acceſs, from its happy Situation, and had been ſtrongly fortify'd. Beſides, *Memnon*, the ableſt, as well as the moſt valiant of all the Generals of *Darius*, had got into that City with a Body of choice Soldiers, there to ſignalize his Courage and Fidelity for his Sovereign. He accordingly made a very noble Defence, in which he was ſeconded, by another General of great Merit, *Ephialtes* by Name. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid Bravery, and the moſt conſummate Knowledge in the Science of War, was conſpicuous on both Sides, on this Occaſion. After the Beſiegers had, with incredible Labour, fill'd up Part of the Ditches, and brought their Engines pretty near the Walls; they had the Grief to ſee their Works demoliſh'd in an Inſtant, and their Engines ſet on Fire, by the frequent vigorous Sallies of the Beſieged. Frequently, after beating down Part of a Wall with their Battering-Rams, they were aſtoniſh'd to ſee a new one behind it; which was rais'd ſo ſuddenly, that it ſeem'd to riſe out of the Ground. The Attack of theſe Walls, which were built in a ſemi-circular Form, deſtroy'd a prodigious Number of Men; becauſe the Beſieg'd, from the Top of the Towers that were rais'd on the ſeveral Sides, gall'd the Enemy terribly in Flank. 'Twas evidently ſeen at this Siege, that the ſtrongeſt Fortifications of a City, are the Valour and Courage of its Defenders. The Siege was held out ſo long, and attended with ſuch ſurprizing Difficulties, that any Warrior, but an *Alexander*, would have been diſheartned at it; yet his Troops were animated by the View of Dangers, and their Patience was, at laſt, ſucceſsful. *Memnon*, finding it impoſſible for him to hold out any longer, was forc'd to abandon the City. As the Sea was open to him, after having put a ſtrong Garriſon into the Citadel, which was well ſtor'd with Proviſions; he took with him the ſurviving Inhabitants, with all their Riches, and convey'd them into the Iſland of *Cos*, which was not far from *Halicarnaſſus*. *Alexander* did not think proper to beſiege the Citadel, it being of little Importance, ſince the City was deſtroy'd, he razing it to the very Foundations: He quitted it, therefore, after having encompaſs'd it with ſtrong Walls, and left ſome good Troops in the Country.

After the Death of *Artemiſia*, Queen of *Caria*, *Idrieus*, her Brother, reign'd in her Stead; and, after his Deceaſe, the Sceptre devolv'd upon *Ada*, Siſter, and Wife of *Idrieus*, according to the Cuſtom of the Country; but ſhe was dethron'd by *Pexodorus*, to whom ſucceeded, by the Command of *Darius*, *Orontabates*, his Son-in-Law, *Ada*, however, was ſtill poſſeſs'd of a ſtrong Hold, call'd *Alinda*; the Keys of which ſhe carry'd to *Alexander*, the Inſtant ſhe heard of his Arrival in *Caria*, and had adopted him for her Son. The King was ſo far from contemning this Honour, that he left her the quiet Poſſeſſion of her own City; and, after having taken *Halicarnaſſus*, as he, by that Means, was Maſter of the whole Country, he reſtor'd the Government of it to *Ada*.

Hereupon, this Lady, as a Teſtimony of the deep Senſe ſhe had of the Favours receiv'd from *Alexander*, ſent him, every Day, Viands dreſs'd in the moſt exquiſite Manner; delicate Pies of all Sorts, and the moſt excellent Cooks of every Kind. *Alexander* anſwer'd the Queen, on this Occaſion: *That all this was of no Service to him; for that he was poſſeſſed of much better Cooks, whom* Leonidas, *his Governor, had preſented him with, one whereof, prepared him a good Dinner, and that was his walking a great deal in the Morning by Day-break; and the other prepared him an excellent Supper, and that was his dining very moderately.*

Several Kings alſo of *Aſia Minor*, ſubmitted voluntarily to *Alexander*: *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, was one of theſe, who afterwards adher'd to this Prince, and follow'd him in his Expeditions. He was Son to *Ariobarzanes*, Lieutenant-General of *Phrygia*, and King of *Pontus*, of whom Mention has been made elſewhere. He is reckon'd to be the Sixteenth King from *Artabazus*, who is look'd upon as the Founder of that Kingdom, of which he was put in Poſſeſſion by *Darius*, Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, his Father. The famous *Mithridates*, who defended himſelf ſo glorioufly againſt the *Roman* Armies, was one of his Succeſſors.

Before he went into Winter-Quarters, *Alexander* permitted all his Soldiers, who had marry'd that Year, to return to *Macedon*, there to ſpend the Winter with their Wives, upon Condition, that they would return in the Spring. He appointed Three Officers to march them thither, and back again. This agrees exactly with the Law of *Moſes*; and, as we don't find, that this Law, or Cuſtom, was us'd by any other Nation; 'tis very probable, that *Ariſtotle* had learn'd it from ſome *Jew*, with whom he became acquainted in *Aſia*; and that, approving it as a very wiſe, and juſt Cuſtom, he, therefore, had inculcated it into his Pupil, who remember'd it on this Occaſion.

The next Year, *Alexander* began the Campaign very early: He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly againſt *Darius*, or ſhould firſt ſubdue the Reſt of the Maritime Provinces. The latter Opinion appear'd to him the ſafeſt, ſince he thereby would not be moleſted by ſuch Nations, as he ſhould leave behind him. This Progreſs was a little interrupted at firſt: Near *Phaſelis*, a City ſituated between *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, is a narrow Paſſage along the Sea-ſhore, which is always dry at low Water, ſo that Travellers may walk over it; but, when the Sea riſes, 'tis all under Water. As it was Winter, *Alexander*, whom nothing could daunt, was deſirous of paſſing through it before the Waters fell: His Forces were, therefore, oblig'd to march a whole Day in the Water, which came up to their Waiſt. Some Hiſtorians, purely to embelliſh this Incident, aver, that the Sea, by the Divine Command, had ſubmitted ſpontaneouſly to *Alexander*; and had open'd a Way to him, contrary to the uſual Courſe of Nature; among theſe Writers is *Quintus Curtius*. But it is very ſurprizing, that *Joſephus*, the Hiſtorian, ſhould weaken the Authority of the Miracle, of the *Jews* paſſing through the *Red Sea*, as on dry Land, by citing this Incident, as an Example, the Falſity of which *Alexander* himſelf has refuted; for, *Plutarch* affirms, that he wrote only, as follows, in one of his Letters, *That, ſetting out from the City of* Phaſelis, *he went on Foot, through the Paſs of the Mountain called* Climax: And

And 'tis very well known, that this Prince, who was vaſtly fond of the Marvellous, never let ſlip any Opportunity of perſuading the People, that the Gods protected him in a very ſingular Manner.

During his being in the Neighbourhood of *Phaſelis*, he diſcover'd a Conſpiracy, which was carrying on by *Alexander*, Son of *Lycopus*; whom he had, a little before, appointed General of the *Theſſalian* Cavalry, in the Room of *Calas*, whom he had made Governor of a Province. *Darius*, upon the Receipt of a Letter, which this Traitor had ſent him, promis'd him a Reward of a Thouſand Talents of Gold, with the Kingdom of *Macedonia*, in Caſe he could murder *Alexander*; believing this was not paying too dear for a Crime, which would rid him of ſo formidable an Enemy: But, the Meſſenger, who carry'd the King's Anſwer, being ſeiz'd, made a full Confeſſion; by which Means the Traitor was brought to condign Puniſhment.

After having ſettled Affairs in *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia*, *Alexander* march'd his Army to *Celænæ*, a City of *Phrygia*, water'd by the River *Marſyas*, which the Fictions of Poets have made ſo famous. There he ſummon'd the Garriſon of the Citadel, whither the Inhabitants were retir'd, to ſurrender; but they believing it impregnable, anſwer'd haughtily, *That they would firſt die*. However, finding the Attack carry'd on with great Vigour; they deſir'd a Sixty Days Truce, at the Expiration of which, they promiſed to open their Gates, in Caſe they were not reliev'd; and indeed, being afterwards diſappointed of Relief, they ſurrender'd the Day which had been agreed upon.

From thence, *Alexander* march'd into *Phrygia*, the Capital of which was call'd *Gordion*, the antient, and famous Reſidence of King *Midas*, and ſituated on the River *Sangarius*. Having taken this City, he was deſirous of ſeeing the famous Chariot, to which the *Gordian* Knot was ty'd. This Knot, which faſten'd the Yoke to the Beam, was ty'd with ſo much Art, and the Strings were twiſted in ſo wonderful a Manner, that 'twas impoſſible to diſcover where it began, or ended. According to an antient Tradition of the Country, an Oracle had foretold, *That the Man, who could looſe it, ſhould poſſeſs the Empire of* Aſia: And *Alexander* was firmly perſuaded, that this Promiſe related to himſelf; whereupon, after many fruitleſs Trials, he cry'd; *'Tis no Matter, which Way it is looſ'd*; and cut it to Pieces with his Sword; and by that Means, ſays the Hiſtorian, either eluded, or fulfill'd the Oracle.

In the mean Time, *Darius* was ſetting every Engine at Work, in order to make a vigorous Defence: And *Memnon*, the *Rhodian*, adviſed him to carry the War into *Macedon*, which Counſel ſeem'd the moſt proper, to extricate him from the impending Danger; for, the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſeveral other *Greek* Nations, who had no Affection for the *Macedonians*, would have been ready to join him; by which Means, *Alexander* muſt have been forc'd to leave *Aſia*, and return ſuddenly over Sea, to defend his own Country. *Darius* approv'd this Counſel, and, having determin'd to follow it, charg'd *Memnon* to put it in Execution: Accordingly, he was declar'd Admiral of the Fleet, and Captain General of all the Forces deſign'd for that Expedition.

That Prince could not poſſibly have made a better Choice: *Memnon* was the ableſt General in his Service; had fought a great many Years under the *Perſian* Standards, with the utmoſt Fidelity, and had not abandon'd his Sovereign, when his Arms were unſucceſsful. Accordingly, he had aſſembled the ſcatter'd Remains of the Army, and immediately went, firſt, to *Miletus*; from thence to *Halicarnaſſus*; and laſtly, into the Iſland of *Cos*, where he was when he receiv'd his new Commiſſion. This Place was the Rendezvous for the Fleet; and *Memnon*'s whole Thoughts were bent upon the Manner how to put his Deſign in Execution. He made himſelf Maſter of the Iſland of *Chios*, and all *Lesbos*, the City of *Mitylene* excepted. From thence he was preparing to paſs over into *Eubœa*, and to make *Greece* and *Macedonia* the Seat of the War; but dy'd before *Mitylene*, which City, he had been forc'd to beſiege. His Death was the greateſt Misfortune, that could poſſibly have happen'd to *Perſia*. We ſee, on this Occaſion, the ineſtimable Worth of a Man of Merit, whoſe Death is ſometimes the Ruin of a State. The Loſs of *Memnon* quite defeated the Execution of the Plan he had form'd; for *Darius*, not having one General in his Army, who was able to ſupply *Memnon*'s Place, abandon'd entirely an Enterprize, which only could have ſav'd his Empire. His whole Refuge, therefore, then lay in the *Eaſtern* Armies; which *Darius*, diſſatisfy'd with all his Generals, reſolv'd to command in Perſon; and appointed *Babylon* the Rendezvous of this Army: He there computed their Number, which amounted to Four, Five, or Six hundred thouſand Men; for Hiſtorians differ very much on this Head.

In the mean While, *Alexander*, having left *Gordion*, march'd into *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*, which he ſubdued: It was there he heard of the Death of *Memnon*; the News whereof, confirm'd him in the Reſolution he had taken, of marching immediately into the Provinces of *Upper Aſia*: Accordingly, he advanc'd, by haſty Marches, into *Cilicia*, and arriv'd in the Country, call'd *the Camp of Cyrus*. From thence there is no more than Fifty *Stadia* (two Leagues and half) to the Paſs of *Cilicia*, which is a very narrow Streight, through which Travellers are oblig'd to go from *Cappadocia* to *Tarſus*. The Officer, who guarded it in the Name of *Darius*, had left but few Soldiers in it; and they fled the Inſtant they heard of the Enemy. Upon this, *Alexander* enter'd the Paſs; and, after viewing very attentively the Situation of the Place, he admir'd his own good Fortune; and confeſs'd, that he might have been very eaſily ſtopp'd, and defeated there, merely by the throwing of Stones: For, not to mention that this Paſs was ſo narrow, that Four Men, compleatly arm'd, could ſcarcely walk a-breaſt; the Top of the Mountain hung over the Road, which was not only ſtrait, but broken in ſeveral Places, by the Fall of the Floods that came ruſhing from the Mountains.

Alexander then march'd his whole Army to the City of *Tarſus*, where it arriv'd the Inſtant the *Perſians* were ſetting Fire to that Place, to prevent his plundering the great Riches of ſo flouriſhing a City: But *Parmenio*, whom the King had ſent thither with a Detachment of Horſe, arriv'd very ſeaſonably to ſtop the Progreſs of the Fire, and march'd into the City, which he ſav'd; the *Barbarians* having fled the Moment they heard of their Arrival.

Through

Through this City the *Cydnus* runs, a River, not ſo remarkable for the Breadth of its Channel, as for the Beauty of its Waters, which are vaſtly limpid; but, at the ſame Time, exceſſively cold, becauſe of the tufted Trees with which its Banks are over-ſhadow'd. It was then about the End of Summer, which is exceſſively hot in *Cilicia*, and in the hotteſt Part of the Day, when the King, who was quite cover'd with Sweat and Dirt, arriving on its Banks, had a Mind to bathe in that River; invited by the Beauty and Clearneſs of the Stream. However, the Inſtant he plung'd into it, he was ſeiz'd with ſo violent a Shivering, that all the Standers-by fancy'd he was dying. Upon this, he was carry'd to his Tent, after fainting away. The News of this ſad Diſaſter threw the whole Army into the utmoſt Conſternation. They all burſt into Tears, and breath'd out their Complaints in the following Words. "The greateſt Prince "that ever lived is torn from us in the Midſt of "his Proſperity and Conqueſts, not in a Battle, "or at the ſtorming of a City; but dies by his "bathing in a River. *Darius*, who is coming "up with us, will conquer before he has ſeen his "Enemy. We ſhall be forced to retire, like ſo "many Fugitives, through thoſe very Countries "which we enter'd with Triumph; and as the "Places through which we muſt paſs, are either "deſart or depopulated, Hunger only, ſhould we "meet no other Enemy, will itſelf deſtroy us. "But who ſhall guide us in our Flight, or dare "to ſet himſelf up in *Alexander*'s Stead? Yet "though we ſhould be ſo happy as to arrive at "the *Helleſpont*, how ſhall we furniſh ourſelves "with Veſſels to croſs it?" After this, directing their whole Thoughts to the Prince, and forgetting themſelves, they cried aloud: "Alas! how ſad is "it that he, who was our King, and the Compa-"nion of our Toils; a Prince in the Flower of his "Youth, and in the Courſe of his greateſt Pro-"ſperity, ſhould be torn out of our Arms, as it "were!"

At laſt the King reviv'd by inſenſible Degrees, and began to know the Perſons who ſtood round him; though the only Symptoms he gave of his Recovery was, his being ſenſible of his Illneſs. But he was more indiſpoſed in Mind than in Body, for News was brought that *Darius* might be ſoon here. *Alexander* bewail'd perpetually his hard Fate, in being thus expos'd, naked and defenceleſs, to his Enemy, and robb'd of ſo noble a Victory, ſince he was now reduc'd to the melancholy Condition of dying obſcurely in his Tent, far different from that Glory he had hoped to gain. Having order'd his Confidents and Phyſicians to come into his Tent, "You ſee (ſaid he) my Friends, "the ſad Extremity to which Fortune reduces "me. Methinks I already hear the Sound of "the Enemy's Arms, and ſee *Darius* advancing. "He undoubtedly held Intelligence with my "*evil Genius*, when he wrote Letters to his Lieu-"tenants, in ſo lofty and contemptuous a Strain; "ordering them to ſend me to him Captive, and "bound Hand and Foot: However, he ſhall not "obtain his Deſire, provided ſuch a Cure as I "want is attempted. The preſent Condition of "my Affairs will not admit either of ſlow Re-"medies, or timerous Preſcribers. A ſpeedy "Death is more eligible to me, than a ſlow Cure: "In caſe the Phyſicians think it is in their Power "to do me any Good, they are to know, that *I* "don't ſo much wiſh to live, as to fight."

This ſudden Impatience of the King ſpread an univerſal Alarm: The Phyſicians, who were ſenſible they ſhould be anſwerable for the Event, did not dare to hazard a violent and extraordinary Cure, eſpecially as *Darius* had publiſh'd, that he would reward with a thouſand Talents, the Man who would kill *Alexander*. However *Philip*, an *Acarnanian*, one of his Phyſicians, who had always attended upon him from his Youth, loved him with the utmoſt Tenderneſs, not only as his Soveraign, but his Child; raiſing himſelf (merely out of Affection to *Alexander*) above all prudential Conſiderations, offer'd to give him a Doſe; which, though not very violent, would nevertheleſs be ſpeedy in its Effects; and deſired three Days to prepare it. At this Propoſal every one trembled, but him only whom it moſt concern'd; *Alexander* being afflicted upon no other Account, than becauſe it would keep him three Days from appearing at the Head of his Army.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Alexander* receiv'd a Letter from *Parmenio*, who was left behind in *Cappadocia*, and in whom he put greater Confidence than in any other of his Courtiers; the Purport of which was, to bid him beware of *Philip*; for that *Darius* had brib'd him, by the Promiſe of a thouſand Talents, and his Siſter in Marriage. This Letter made him vaſtly uneaſy, he being then at full Leiſure, to weigh all the Reaſons he might have to hope or to fear. But his Confidence in a Phyſician, whoſe ſincere Attachment and Fidelity he had prov'd from his Infancy, ſoon prevail'd, and removed all his Doubts. Upon this, he folded up the Letter, and put it under his Bolſter, without acquainting any one with the Contents of it.

The Day being come, *Philip* enter'd the Tent with his Medicine, when *Alexander* taking the Letter from under the Bolſter, gave it *Philip* to read: At the ſame Time, he took the Cup, and fixing his Eyes on the Phyſician, ſwallow'd the Draught without the leaſt Heſitation, or without diſcovering the leaſt Suſpicion or Uneaſineſs. *Philip*, as he peruſed the Letter, had ſhew'd greater Signs of Indignation, than of Fear or Surprize; and accordingly, when he had done, throwing himſelf upon the King's Bed: *Royal Sir*, ſays he, with a reſolute Tone of Voice, *your Recovery will ſoon clear me of the Guilt of Murder with which I am charged: The only Favour I beg is, that you would be eaſy in your own Mind; and ſuffer the Draught to operate, and not regard the Intelligence you have received from Servants, who, indeed, have ſhewn their Zeal for your Welfare; which Zeal, however, is very indiſcreet and unſeaſonable.* Theſe Words did not only revive the King, but filled him with Hope and Joy; ſo taking *Philip* by the Hand: *Be you eaſy yourſelf*, ſays he to him, *for I believe you are diſquieted upon a double Account; firſt for my Recovery, and ſecondly for your own Juſtification.*

In the mean Time, the Phyſick work'd ſo violently, that the Accidents which attended it, ſtrengthned *Parmenio*'s Accuſation; for the King loſt his Speech, and was ſeized with ſuch ſtrong fainting fits, that he had hardly any Pulſe left, or the leaſt Symptoms of Life. In the mean while, *Philip* employ'd all the Powers of his Art to re-

cover him, and in every lucid Interval, diverted him with agreeable Subjects; discoursing one Moment about his Mother and his Sisters, and another, about the mighty Victory which was advancing, with hasty Steps, to crown his past Triumphs. At last the Physician's Skill having gain'd the Ascendant, and diffused through every Vein a salutary and vivific Virtue; his Mind first began to resume its former Vigour, and afterwards his Body, much sooner than had been expected. Three Days after he shew'd himself to the Army, who were never satisfy'd with gazing upon him, and could scarce believe their Eyes; so much the greatness of the Danger had surprized and dejected them. Every Expression of Kindness was used towards the Physician; every one embracing him with the utmost Tenderness, and thanking him, as though he were a God, who had saved the Life of their Sovereign.

Besides the Respect which these People had naturally for their Kings, Words can never express how greatly they venerated this Monarch more than any other, and the strong Affection they bore him. They were persuaded, that he did not undertake any Thing but by the immediate Assistance of the Gods; and as the Success correlponded always to his Designs, his Rashness became glorious in him, and seemed to have something inexpressibly divine in it. His Youth, which one would have concluded incapable of such mighty Enterprizes, and which yet conquer'd every Difficulty, gave a fresh Merit, and a brighter Lustre to his Actions. Besides, certain Advantages which are little regarded, and which yet engage, in a wonderful Manner, the Hearts of the Soldiery, greatly increased the Merit of *Alexander*; such as his taking Delight in bodily Exercises; his discovering a Skill and Excellency in them; his going cloathed like the common Soldiers, and knowing the Art of familiarizing himself with Inferiors, without lessening his Dignity; his sharing in Toils and Dangers with the most laborious and intrepid; Qualities, which whether *Alexander* ow'd them to Nature or had acquir'd them by Reflexion, made him be equally belov'd and respected by his Soldiers.

During this Interval, *Darius* was set forward on his March; puffed up in a vain Security, in the numberless Multitude of his Troops, and forming a Judgment of the two Armies, merely from their Disparity in Number. The Plains of *Assyria*, in which he was encamp'd, gave him an Opportunity of extending his Horse as he pleased, and of taking the Advantage, which the great Difference between the Number of Soldiers in each Army, presented him with; but instead of this, he resolves to march to narrow Passes, where his Cavalry, and the Multitude of his Troops, so far from doing him any Service, would only incumber one another: And accordingly he advances towards the Enemy, for whom he should have waited; and runs visibly to his own Destruction. Nevertheless, the Grandees of his Court, whose Custom it was to flatter and applaud his every Action, congratulated him, beforehand, on the Victory he would soon obtain, as though they had been sure of it. However, there was in the Army of *Darius*, one *Caridemus*, an *Athenian*; a Man greatly skill'd in War, and who bore a personal Hatred to *Alexander*, for having caused him to be baniſh'd from *Athens*: And *Darius* having turn'd to this *Athenian*, and asked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his Enemy? *Caridemus*, who had been brought up in a City which boasted the greatest Freedom and Liberty; forgetting that he was in a Country of Slavery, where to oppose the Inclination of a Prince is of the most dangerous Consequence, reply'd as follows: "Pos-
" sibly, Sir, you may not be pleased with my
" telling you the Truth; but in case I don't do it
" now, it will be afterwards too late. This mighty
" Parade of War, this prodigious Number of
" Men, which has drain'd all the *East*, might
" indeed be formidable to your Neighbours. Gold
" and Purple shine in every Part of your Army,
" which is so prodigiously splendid, that those
" who have not seen it, could never form an Idea
" of its Magnificence: But the Soldiers who com-
" pose the *Macedonian* Army, so dreadful to be-
" hold, and bristling in every Part with military
" Weapons, don't amuse themselves with such
" idle Shew: Their only Care is to discipline, in
" a regular Manner, their Battalions, and to co-
" ver themselves close with their Bucklers and
" Pikes. Their *Phalanx* is a Body of Infantry,
" which engages without once flinching; and
" keeps so close in their Ranks, that the Soldiers
" and their Arms form a kind of military Hedge.
" In short, every single Man among them, the
" Officers as well as Soldiers, are so well train'd
" up, so attentive to the Command of their
" Leaders, that, whether they are to assemble un-
" der their respective Standards; to turn to the
" Right or Left; to double their Ranks, and face
" about to the Enemy on all Sides, we then see
" them, at the least Signal, make the various
" Motions and Evolutions of the military Science.
" But that you may be persuaded, these *Macedo-*
" *nians* are not invited hither, from the Hopes of
" gaining Gold and Silver; know, that this ex-
" cellent Discipline has subsisted hitherto, by the
" sole Aid and Precepts of Poverty. Are they
" hungry? they satisfy the Cravings of it with
" any kind of Food: Are they weary? they re-
" pose themselves on the bare Ground, and in the
" Day-time are always seen upon their Feet. Do
" you imagine that the *Thessalian* Cavalry, and
" that of *Acarnania* and *Ætolia*, who are all arm'd
" *Cap a-pee*, are to be repulsed by Stones hurl'd
" from Slings, and with Sticks burnt at the End?
" Such Troops only as are like themselves, will
" be able to check their Career; and Succours
" must be procured from their Country, to oppose
" their Bravery and Experience. Send, therefore
" thither, all the useless Gold and Silver, which
" I see here, and with these purchase formidable
" Forces." *Darius* was naturally of a mild, tractable Temper; but good Fortune will corrupt the most happy Dispositions: Few Monarchs are resolute, and courageous enough, to resist their own Power; to repulse the Flattery of a Set of People, who are perpetually fomenting their Passions; and to esteem a Man, who loves them so well, that he dares contradict and displease them, in telling them the genuine Truth. Accordingly, *Darius*, not having Strength of Mind sufficient for this, gives Orders for the dragging to Execution, a Man who had fled to him for Protection; was at that Time his Guest, and gave the best Counsel that could have been offer'd. However, as this

cruel

cruel Treatment could not ſilence *Caridemus*, he cried aloud, with his uſual Freedom; "My A-"venger is at Hand; the very Man, in Oppoſi-"tion to whom, I gave you good Counſel; and "he will ſoon puniſh you for deſpiſing it. As "for you, *Darius*, in whom ſoveraign Power "has wrought ſo ſudden a Change, you will teach "Poſterity the following Leſſon; That when Men "once make themſelves the Slaves of Fortune, "ſhe eraſes from their Minds all Senſations of "Goodneſs and Humanity." In Effect, that Prince ſoon repented his having put to Death ſo valuable a Perſon; and experienced, but too late, the ſeveral Truths he had told him.

Soon after that Monarch march'd his Troops towards the *Euphrates*: It had been a Cuſtom long uſed by the *Perſians*, never to ſet out upon a March till after Sun-riſe; at which Time the Trumpet was ſounded, for that Purpoſe, from the King's Tent. Over the Tent there was exhibited, to the View of the whole Army, the Image of the Sun ſet in Chryſtal: And the Order they obſerved in their March, was as follows.

Firſt, they carried ſilver Altars, on which they lay Fire, call'd by them, ſacred and eternal; and theſe were follow'd by the *Magi*, ſinging Hymns after the Manner of their Country: They were accompany'd by three hundred and ſixty-five Youths (agreeable to the Number of Days in a Year) cloath'd in purple Robes. Afterwards came a Chariot, conſecrated to *Jupiter*; drawn by white Horſes, and follow'd by a Courſer, of a prodigious Size, to whom they gave the Name of the *Sun's* Steed, and the Equeries were dreſs'd in White, each having a golden Rod in his Hand.

Ten Chariots, adorn'd with Sculptures in Gold and Silver, follow'd after. Then march'd a Body of Horſe, compoſed of twelve Nations, whoſe Manners and Cuſtoms were various, and all arm'd in a different Manner. Next advanced thoſe whom the *Perſians* called *The Immortals*, amounting to Ten thouſand, who ſurpaſs'd the Reſt of the *Barbarians* in the Sumptuouſneſs of the Apparel. They all wore golden Collars; were cloath'd in Robes of gold Tiſſue, with Surtoots (having Sleeves to them) quite cover'd with precious Stones.

Thirty Paces from them, follow'd thoſe call'd the King's Couſins or Relations, to the Number of Fifteen thouſand, in Habits very much reſembling thoſe of Women, and more remarkable for the vain Pomp of their Dreſs, than the Brightneſs of their Arms.

Thoſe call'd the *Doryphori* came after: They carry'd the King's Cloak, and walk'd before his Chariot, in which he ſeem'd to ſit as high as on a Throne. This Chariot was enrich'd, on both Sides, with Images of the Gods in Gold and Silver; and from the Middle of the Yoke, which was cover'd with Jewels, there roſe two Statues, a Cubit in Height, the one repreſenting *War*, the other *Peace*, having a golden Eagle between them, with Wings extended, as ready to take its Flight.

But nothing could equal the Magnificence of the King. He was cloath'd in a purple Tunick, ſtriped with Silver, and over it a long Robe, dazling with Gold and precious Stones; where two Hawks ſeem'd to ruſh from the Clouds, and peck at one another. He was girt with a golden Girdle, after the Manner of Women, whence his Scymitar hung; the Scabbard of which was made of one ſingle precious Stone. On his Head he wore a *Tiara* or Mitre, round which was a Fillet of Blue, mix'd with White.

On each Side of him walk'd two hundred of his neareſt Relations, and he was follow'd by ten thouſand Pikemen, whoſe Pikes were adorn'd with Silver, and tipt with Gold; and laſtly, thirty thouſand Infantry, who compoſed the Rear-Guard. Theſe were follow'd by the King's Horſes, four hundred in Number, which were all led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty Paces from thence, came *Syſigambis*, Mother of *Darius*, ſeated on a Chariot, and his Conſort on another, with the ſeveral female Attendants of both Queens, riding on Horſeback. Afterwards came fifteen large Chariots, in which were the King's Children, and thoſe who ſuperintended their Education, with a Band of Eunuchs, who were greatly eſteem'd by the *Perſians*, and are ſtill. Then march'd the Concubines, making three hundred and ſixty, all dreſs'd like ſo many Queens; follow'd by ſix hundred Mules, and three hundred Camels, which carry'd the King's Treaſure, and were guarded by a great Body of Bow-men.

After theſe came the Wives of the Crown-Officers, and of the greateſt Lords of the Court; then the Sutlers, and ſuch like, ſeated alſo in Chariots.

In the Rear were ſome Companies lightly arm'd, with their Commanders, who cloſed the whole March.

Would not the Reader believe, he had been reading the Deſcription of a Turnament, not the March of an Army? Could he imagine that Princes of the leaſt good Senſe, would have been ſo injudicious, as to incorporate with their Forces ſo cumberſome a Train of Princeſſes, Concubines, Eunuchs, and Domeſticks of both Sexes? Unleſs this was the Cuſtom of the Country, it was Reaſon ſufficient. *Darius*, at the Head of Six hundred thouſand Men, and ſurrounded with this mighty Pomp, which was prepared for himſelf only, fancied he was a great Man; and this outward vain Parade, heighten'd the Idea, he had before form'd of himſelf. Yet ſhould we reduce him to his juſt Proportion, and his perſonal Worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only Man, who has had this Way of thinking, and of whom we may form the ſame Judgment: It is now time for us to bring the two Monarchs together in Battle.

For the clearer underſtanding of *Alexander's* March, and that of *Darius*, and the better fixing the Situation of the Spot where the ſecond Battle was fought, we muſt diſtinguiſh three Straits or Paſſes. The firſt of theſe, is immediately at the Deſcent from *Mount Taurus*, in the Way to the City of *Tarſus*; through which, as has been already ſeen, *Alexander* march'd, from *Cappadocia* into *Cilicia*. The ſecond, is the Paſs of *Cilicia*, or *Syria*, leading from *Cilicia* into *Syria*; and the third, is the *Amanic Paſs*, ſo called from *Mount Amanus*. This Paſs, which leads into *Cilicia* from *Aſſyria*, is much higher than the Paſs of *Syria*, *Northward*.

Alexander had detach'd *Parmenio*, with Part of the Army, to ſeize upon the Paſs of *Syria*, in order to procure an Outlet, through which his Forces might ſecurely march. As for himſelf, after marching from *Tarſus*, he arrived the next Day at *Anchiala*,

Anchiala, a City which *Sardanapalus* is ſaid to have built. His Tomb was ſtill exiſting in that City, over which this Inſcription was engrav'd: SARDANAPALUS *built* Anchiala *and* Tarſus *in one Day*; GO PASSENGER; EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE; FOR THE REST IS NOTHING. Thence he came to *Soli*, where he offered Sacrifices to *Æſculapius*, in Gratitude for the Recovery of his Health. *Alexander* himſelf headed the Ceremony, with lighted Tapers, follow'd by the whole Army, and he there ſolemnized Games; after which he return'd to *Tarſus*. Having commanded *Philotas* to march the Cavalry through the Plains of *Aleius*, towards the River *Pyramus*, he himſelf went with the Infantry, and the Company of his Life-guard, to *Magarſus*, whence he arrived at *Malles*, and afterwards at *Caſtabala*. Advice had been brought him, that *Darius*, with his whole Army, was encamp'd at *Sochus* in *Aſſyria*, two Days Journey from *Cilicia*. There *Alexander* held a Council of War, upon the News above-mention'd; when all his Generals and Officers entreating him to march towards *Darius*, he ſet out to meet him. *Parmenio* had taken the little City of *Iſſus*, and, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the Paſs of *Syria*, had left a Body of Forces to ſecure it. The King left the Sick in *Iſſus*, march'd his whole Army through the Paſs, and encamp'd near the City of *Myriandrus*, where the Badneſs of the Weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean Time, *Darius* was in an *Aſſyrian* Plain of great Extent: The *Grecian* Commanders who were in his Service, and form'd the chief Strength of his Army, adviſed him to wait there the coming up of the Enemy. For, beſides that this Spot was open on all Sides, and very advantageous for his Horſe; it was ſpacious enough to contain his vaſtly-numerous Hoſt, with all the Baggage, and other Things belonging to the Army. However, if he ſhould not approve of their Counſel, they then adviſed him to ſeparate this Multitude, and ſelect ſuch only as were the Flower of his Troops, and conſequently not venture his whole Army upon a ſingle Battle, which perhaps might be deciſive. However, the Courtiers, with whom the Courts of Monarchs, as *Arian* obſerves, for ever abound, called theſe *Greeks* a treacherous Nation, and a Company of venal Wretches: And hinted to *Darius*, that the only Motive of their counſelling the King to divide his Troops, was, that after they ſhould be once ſeparated from the Reſt, they then might have an eaſier Opportunity of delivering up into the Enemy's Hands, whatever might be in their Power; but that the ſafeſt Way would be, to ſurround them with the whole Army, and cut them to Pieces, as an illuſtrious Example of the Puniſhment due to Traitors. This Propoſal was vaſtly ſhocking to *Darius*, who was naturally of a very ſoft, human Diſpoſition. He therefore anſwer'd, "That he was far from ever "deſigning to commit ſo horrible a Crime; that "ſhould he be guilty of it, no Nation would "afterwards give the leaſt Credit to his Promiſes; "that it was never known that a Perſon had been "put to Death for giving imprudent Counſel; "that no Man would ever venture to give his "Opinion, if it were liable to ſuch a Riſk, a "Circumſtance that would be of the moſt fatal "Conſequence to Princes." He then thank'd the *Greeks* for their Zeal and Good will, and condeſcended to lay before them the Reaſons which prompted him not to follow their Advice.

The Courtiers had perſuaded *Darius*, that *Alexander*'s ſo long Delay in coming up with them, was a Proof, and an Effect, of the Terror with which the Approach of the *Perſian* Army had fill'd him (for they had not heard a Word of his Indiſpoſition;) that Fortune, merely for their their Sake, had led *Alexander* into Straits and narrow Paſſes, whence it would be impoſſible for him to get out, in caſe they ſhould fall upon him immediately; that they ought to ſeize this happy Opportunity, for fear the Enemy ſhould fly, by which Means *Alexander* would eſcape them. Upon this, it was agreed in Council, that the Army ſhould march in Search of him; the Gods, ſays an Hiſtorian, blinding the Eyes of that Prince, purpoſely that he might ruſh down the Precipice which he had dug himſelf; thus paving a Way for the Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Monarchy.

Darius, having ſent his Treaſure, with his moſt precious Moveables, to *Damaſcus*, a City of *Syria*, under a ſmall Convoy, march'd the main Body of his Army towards *Cilicia*, and enter'd it by the *Amanic* Paſs, which lies far above the *Syrian* Paſſes. His Queen, and Mother, with the Princeſſes his Daughters, and the little Prince his Son, follow'd the Army, according to the Cuſtom of the *Perſians*, but were in the Camp during the Battle. When he had advanced a little Way into *Cilicia* (*Weſtward*) he turned ſhort towards *Iſſus*, not knowing that *Alexander* was behind; for he had been aſſur'd, that He fled before him, and was retir'd in great Diſorder into *Syria*; and therefore *Darius* was then conſidering, how he might beſt purſue him. At the ſame Time, he barbarouſly put to Death all the Sick, who were then in the City of *Iſſus*; a few Soldiers excepted, whom he diſmiſſed, after making them view every Part of his Camp, in order that they might be Spectators of the prodigious Multitude of his Forces. Theſe Soldiers accordingly brought *Alexander* Word of the Approach of *Darius*; which he could ſcarce believe, from its great Improbability, though there was nothing he deſired more earneſtly. But he himſelf was ſoon an Eye-witneſs to the Truth of it, upon which he began to think ſeriouſly of preparing for Battle.

Alexander then fearing, as the *Barbarians* were ſo numerous, that they would attack him in his Camp, fortify'd it with Ditches and Palliſadoes; diſcovering an incredible Joy to ſee his Deſire fulfilled, which was, to engage in thoſe Paſſes, whither the Gods ſeemed to have led *Darius*, purpoſely to deliver himſelf into his Hands. And indeed, this Spot of Ground, which was but wide enough for a ſmall Army to act, and move at Liberty in, reduced, in ſome Meaſure, the two Armies to a Level. By this Means the *Macedonians* had Space ſufficient to employ their whole Army; whereas the *Perſians* had not Room for the twentieth Part of theirs.

Nevertheleſs, *Alexander*, as frequently happens to the greateſt Warriors, felt ſome Emotion when he ſaw that he was going to hazard all at one Blow. The more Fortune had favour'd him till then, the more he then dreaded her Frowns; the Moment drawing near, which was to determine his Fate. But, then again, he rouzed his Courage from the Reflection, that the Reward of his Toils

exceeded

exceeded the Dangers of them; and, though he might be doubtful, with Regard to the Victory, he hop'd to die gloriously, and like an *Alexander*. However, he did not divulge these Thoughts to any one; well knowing, that, upon the Approach of a Battle, a General ought not to discover the least Marks of Terror, or Perplexity; and, that Soldiers should see nothing but Resolution and Intrepidity in the Countenance of their Commander.

Having given his Soldiers a Repast, and order'd them to be ready against the third Watch of the Night, which began at Twelve, he went to the Top of a Mountain, and there, by Torch-Light, sacrific'd, after the Manner of his Country, to the Gods of the Place. As soon as the Signal was given, his Army, which was ready both to march, and to fight, being commanded to make greater Speed, arriv'd, by Day-break, at the several Posts assign'd them; when the Couriers bringing Word, that *Darius* was not above Thirty Furlongs from them, the King caus'd his Army to halt, and drew it up in Battle-Array. The Peasants, in the greatest Terror, ran also, and acquainted *Darius* with the Arrival of the Enemy; which he would not, at first, believe; imagining, as we have observ'd, that *Alexander* fled before him, and endeavour'd to escape: This News threw his Troops into the utmost Confusion, and being surpriz'd in this Manner, they ran to Arms with great Precipitation and Disorder.

The Spot, where the Battle was fought, lay near the City of *Issus*, which the Mountains bounded on one Side, and the Sea on the other: The Plain, that was situated between them both, must have been considerably broad, since the two Armies encamp'd in it; and we have before observ'd, that that of *Darius* was vastly numerous. The River *Pinarius* ran through the Middle of this Plain, from the Mountain to the Sea, and divided it, very near, into two equal Parts; the Mountain forming an Hollow, like a Gulph, the Extremity of which surrounded Part of the Plain.

Alexander drew up his Army in the following Order: He posted at the Point of the Right Wing, which stood near the Mountains, the *Argyraspides*, commanded by *Nicanor*; then the *Phalanx* of *Cœnus*, and afterwards that of *Perdiccas*, which terminated in the Centre of the main Body. At the Point of the Left Wing, he posted the *Phalanx* of *Amyntas*; then that of *Ptolomy*; and lastly, that of *Meleager*. It was this form'd the famous *Macedonian Phalanx*, which, we find, was here compos'd of Six distinguished Corps, or Brigades. Each of these Bodies was headed by able Generals; but *Alexander* being always Generalissimo, had, consequently, the Command of the whole Army. The Horse were plac'd on the Two Wings; the *Macedonians*, with the *Thessalians*, on the Right; and those of *Peloponnesus*, with the other *Allies*, on the Left. *Craterus* commanded all the Foot, which compos'd the Left Wing, and *Parmenio* the whole Wing: *Alexander* had reserv'd to himself the Command of the Right. He had desir'd *Parmenio* to march as near the Sea as possible, to prevent the *Barbarians* from surrounding him; and *Nicanor*, on the contrary, was commanded, to keep at some Distance from the Mountains; in order to be out of the Reach, of the Arrows, which might be shot by those who were posted on them. He cover'd the Horse of his Right Wing with the Racers of *Protomachus*, and the *Pæonians*; and his Foot with the Bowmen of *Antiochus*; reserving the *Agriæ* (commanded by *Attalus*) who were greatly esteem'd, and some Forces newly arriv'd from *Greece*, to engage those, whom *Darius* had posted on the Mountains.

As for the Army of *Darius*, this was the Order of it: Having heard that *Alexander* was marching towards him in Battle-Array, he commanded Thirty thousand Horse, and Twenty thousand Bowmen, to cross the River *Pinarius*, that he might have an Opportunity to draw up his Army in a commodious Manner on the other Side. In the Centre, he posted the Thirty thousand *Grecks* in his Service; who, doubtless, were the Flower, and chief Strength of his Army; and were not at all inferior, in Bravery, to the *Macedonian Phalanx*; with Thirty thousand *Cardanians* on their Right, and as many on their Left; the Field of Battle not being able to contain a greater Number. These were all heavily arm'd. The Rest of the Infantry, distinguish'd by their several Nations, were rang'd behind the first Line. 'Tis Pity, *Arrian* does not tell us the Depth of each of those two Lines; but it must have been prodigious, if we consider the vast Narrowness of the Pass, and the prodigious Multitude of the *Persian* Forces. On the Mountain, which lay to their Left, against *Alexander*'s Right Wing, *Darius* posted Twenty thousand Men, who were so rang'd (in the several Windings of the Mountain) that some were behind *Alexander*'s Army, and others before it.

After having set his Army in Battle-Array, *Darius* made his Horse cross the River again, and dispatch'd the greatest Part of them towards the Sea, against *Parmenio*, because they could fight on that Spot with the greatest Advantage: The Rest of his Cavalry he sent to the Left, towards the Mountain: However, finding that these would be of no Service, on that Side, because of the too great Narrowness of the Spot, he then caused a great Part of them to wheel to the Left: As for himself, he took his Post in the Centre of his Army, pursuant to the Custom of the *Persian* Monarchs.

In the mean While, *Alexander*, observing, that most of the Enemy's Horse were to oppose his Left Wing, which consisted only of those of *Peloponnesus*, and of some other *Allies*, detach'd immediately thither the *Thessalian* Cavalry, making them wheel round behind his Battalions, to prevent their being seen by the *Barbarians*. On the same Side he posted, before his Foot, the *Cretan* Bowmen, and the *Thracians* of King *Sitalces*, who were cover'd by the Horse. The Foreigners in his Service, were in the Rear of all.

At the same Time, perceiving that his Right Wing did not extend so far as the Left of the *Persians*, which might surround, and attack it in Flank, he drew from the Centre of his Army Two Regiments of Foot, which he detach'd thither, with Orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being seen by the Enemy: He also reinforc'd that Wing of his Forces, which he had oppos'd to the *Barbarians* of the Mountains; for, seeing they did not come down, he made the *Agriæ*, and some other Bowmen, attack them, and drive them towards the Summit of it; and sent the Rest, as we

obſerv'd, to reinforce his Right Wing, which, by this Means, extended farther than that of the *Perſians*.

The Two Armies being thus drawn up in Order of Battle, *Alexander* march'd very ſlow, that his Soldiers might take a little Breath; ſo that it was ſuppos'd they would not engage till very late: For *Darius* ſtill continued with his Army on the Side of the River, in order not to loſe the advantageous Situation of his Poſt; and he even caus'd ſuch Parts of the Shore, as were not ſteep, to be ſecur'd with Palliſades, whence the *Macedonians* concluded, that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two Armies being come in Sight, *Alexander*, riding along the Ranks, call'd, by their ſeveral Names, the chief Captains, both of he *Macedonians* and Foreigners; and exhorted the Soldiers to ſignalize themſelves, ſpeaking to each Nation, according to the Genius and Temper of it. To the *Macedonians*, he repreſented, "The "Victories they had formerly gain'd in *Europe*, "the ſtill recent Glory of the Battle of the *Gra-* "*nicus*; the great Number of Cities and Pro- "vinces they had left behind them, all which "they had ſubdu'd." He added; that "by one "ſingle Victory, they would poſſeſs themſelves of "the *Perſian* Empire; and that the Spoils of the "*Eaſt* would be the Reward of their Bravery and "Toils." The *Greeks* he animated, "by the "very Remembrance, of the many Calamities, "which the *Perſians* (thoſe irreconcileable Ene- "mies to *Greece*) had brought upon them;" and reminded them of "the famous Battle of *Mara-* "*thon*, of *Thermopylæ*, of *Salamis*, of *Platæa*, "and ſo many Others, by which they had ac- "quir'd immortal Glory." He bid the *Illyrians*, and *Thracians*, Nations, who us'd to ſubſiſt by Plunder, and Rapine, "view the Enemy's Army, "every Part of which ſhone with Gold and Pur- "ple, and was not loaded ſo much with Arms as "with Booty. That they, therefore, ſhould puſh "forward (they who were Men) and ſtrip all "thoſe Women of their Ornaments; and exchange "their Mountains, which were cover'd perpetu- "ally with Ice and Snow, for the ſmiling Plains, "and rich Fields of *Perſia*." The Moment he had ended, the whole Army ſet up a Shout, and was very eager for the Onſet.

Alexander had advanc'd, at firſt, very ſlowly, to prevent the Ranks, or the Front of his *Phalanx*, from breaking, and halted, by Intervals: But, when he was got within Bow-ſhot, he commanded all his Right Wing to plunge impetuouſly into the River, purpoſely that they might ſurprize the *Barbarians*; come ſooner to a cloſe Engagement, and be leſs expos'd to the Enemy's Arrows; in all which he was very ſucceſsful. Both Sides fought with the utmoſt Bravery and Reſolution; and being forc'd to engage cloſe, they all drew their Swords, on which Occaſion, a dreadful Slaughter enſu'd, for they fought Man to Man, and each aim'd the Point of his Sword at the Face of his Opponent. As for *Alexander*, who perform'd the Duty both of a private Soldier, and of a Commander, he wiſh'd for nothing ſo eagerly, as the Glory of killing *Darius* with his own Hand; who, being ſeated on a high Chariot, was conſpicuous to the whole Army; and, by that Means, was a powerful Incitement, both to his own Soldiers to defend, and the Enemy to attack him. The Battle then grew more furious and bloody than before; ſo that a great Number of *Perſian* Noblemen were kill'd. Each Side fought with incredible Bravery. *Oxathres*, Brother to *Darius*, obſerving, that *Alexander* was going to charge that Monarch, with the utmoſt Vigour, ruſh'd before his Chariot, with the Horſe under his Command, and diſtinguiſh'd himſelf above the Reſt. The Horſes, which drew the Chariot of *Darius*, being quite cover'd with Wounds, began to rear up; and ſhook the Yoke ſo forcibly, that they were upon the Point of overturning the King, who, ſeeing himſelf ready to fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies, leap'd down, and mounted another Chariot. His Guard obſerving this, fled as faſt as poſſible, and, throwing down their Arms, made the beſt of their Way: *Alexander* receiv'd a ſlight Wound in his Thigh; but, happily, it was not attended with any ill Conſequences.

Whilſt Part of the *Macedonian* Infantry, poſted to the Right, were improving the Advantage they had gain'd againſt the *Perſians*; the Remainder of them, who engag'd the *Greeks*, met with greater Reſiſtance. Theſe obſerving, that the Body of Infantry were no longer kept in Awe, by the Right Wing of *Alexander*'s Army, which was purſuing the Enemy, advanc'd, and attack'd him in Flank. The Engagement was very bloody, and Victory a long Time doubtful. The *Greeks* endeavour'd to puſh the *Macedonians* into the River, and to recover the Diſorder into which the Left Wing had been thrown: The *Macedonians*, alſo, ſignaliz'd themſelves with the utmoſt Bravery, in order to preſerve the Advantage which *Alexander* had juſt before gain'd; and to maintain the Honour of their *Phalanx*, which had always been look'd upon as invincible. There was alſo a perpetual Jealouſy between theſe two Nations, which increas'd their Courage, and made the Reſiſtance on each Side very vigorous. On *Alexander*'s Side, *Ptolomy*, the Son of *Seleucus* loſt his Life, with One hundred and twenty more conſiderable Officers, who had all behav'd with the utmoſt Gallantry.

In the mean Time, the Right Wing, which was victorious under its Monarch, after defeating all who oppos'd it, wheel'd to the Left, againſt thoſe *Greeks*, who were engag'd with the Reſt of the *Macedonian Phalanx*, whom they charg'd very vigorouſly; and attacking them in Flank, quite routed them.

At the very Beginning of the Engagement, the *Perſian* Cavalry, which was in the Right Wing (without waiting for their being attack'd by the *Macedonians*) had croſs'd the River, and ruſh'd upon the *Theſſalian* Horſe, ſeveral of whoſe Squadrons were broken by them. Upon this, the Remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the Impetuoſity of the firſt Onſet, and oblige the *Perſians* to break their Ranks, made a Feint to retire, as though they had been terrify'd, at the prodigious Numbers of the Enemy. The *Perſians* ſeeing this, were ſwell'd with Boldneſs and Confidence; and, thereupon, the greateſt Part of them, marching forward careleſly, and in Diſorder, as though they had been advancing to certain Conqueſt, thought of nothing but how they might

beſt

beſt purſue the Enemy. The *Theſſalians* ſeeing them in ſuch Confuſion, fac'd about on a ſudden, and renew'd the Fight with freſh Ardour: However, the *Perſians* made a brave Defence, till they ſaw *Darius* put to Flight, and the *Greeks* cut in Pieces by the *Phalanx*.

The routing of the *Perſian* Cavalry, compleated the Defeat of the Army. The Horſes ſuffer'd very much in the Retreat, from the great Weight of the Arms of their Riders; not to mention, that, as they retir'd in Diſorder, and crowded in great Numbers through Paſſes, they, by that Means, bruis'd, and unhors'd one another; and were more annoy'd by their own Soldiers, than by the Enemy: Beſides, the *Theſſalian* Cavalry purſu'd them with ſo much Fury, that they were as much broken, and diſpers'd, as the Infantry, and loſt as many Men.

As for *Darius*, as we before obſerv'd, the Inſtant he ſaw his Left Wing broke, he was one of the firſt who fled in his Chariot; but getting afterwards into ſteep, rugged Places, he mounted on Horſeback, throwing down his Bow, Shield, and Royal Mantle. *Alexander*, however, did not attempt to purſue him, till he ſaw his *Phalanx* had conquer'd the *Greeks*, and the *Perſian* Horſe put to Flight; which was of great Advantage to the fugitive Prince.

About Eight thouſand of the *Greeks*, who were in the Service of *Darius*, headed by their Officers, who were very brave, retir'd over the Mountains, towards *Tripoli* in *Syria*, where, finding the Tranſports, which had convey'd them from *Lesbos*, upon dry Ground, they fitted out as many of them, as ſuited their Purpoſe, and burnt the Reſt, to prevent their being purſu'd.

As for the *Barbarians*: Having exerted themſelves with Bravery enough in the firſt Attack, they afterwards gave Way in the moſt ſhameful Manner; and, being intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they took different Ways Some ſtruck into the High Road, which led directly to *Perſia*, others ran into Woods, and lonely Mountains; and a ſmall Number return'd to their Camp, which the victorious Enemy had already taken, and plunder'd.

Syſigambis, Mother to *Darius*, with his Queen, who alſo was his Siſter, remain'd therein; as alſo two of the King's Daughters, a Son of his (a Child) and ſome *Perſian* Ladies. The Reſt had been carry'd to *Damaſcus*, with Part of the Treaſure of *Darius*, and all ſuch Things, as contributed only to the Luxury and Magnificence of his Court: No more than Three thouſand Talents were found in his Camp; but the Reſt of the Treaſure fell afterwards into the Hands of *Parmenio*, at his Taking the City of *Damaſcus*.

In the mean While, *Alexander*, weary of purſuing *Darius*, ſeeing Night drew on, and that it would be impoſſible to overtake that Monarch, return'd to the Enemy's Camp, which his Soldiers had not before plunder'd. Such was the End of this memorable Battle, fought, the Fourth Year of *Alexander*'s Reign; wherein the *Perſians*, either in the Engagement, or the Rout, loſt a great Number of their Forces, both Horſe and Foot; whilſt but very few were kill'd on *Alexander*'s Side.

That very Evening, he invited the Grandees of his Court, and his chief Officers to a Feaſt; at which he himſelf was preſent, notwithſtanding the Wound he had receiv'd, it having only graz'd the Skin. But they were no ſooner ſate down at Table, than they heard a great Noiſe from a neighbouring Tent, intermix'd with Groans, which frightned all the Company; inſomuch, that the Soldiers, who were upon Guard before the King's Tent, ran to their Arms, being afraid of an Inſurrection. But, it was ſoon found, that the Perſons who made this Clamour, were the Mother and Wife of *Darius*, and the Reſt of the captive Ladies, who ſuppoſing that Prince dead, bewail'd his Loſs, according to the Cuſtom of the *Barbarians*, with dreadful Cries and Howlings. An Eunuch, who had ſeen the Mantle of *Darius* in the Hands of a Soldier, imagining he had kill'd him, and afterwards ſtripp'd him of that Garment, had occaſion'd this falſe Report.

We are told, that *Alexander*, upon being inform'd of the Reaſon of this falſe Alarm, could not refrain from Tears; eſpecially, when he conſider'd the ſad Calamity of *Darius*, and the tender Diſpoſition of thoſe Princeſſes, whom his Misfortunes only affected: Accordingly, he ſent *Leonatus*, one of his chief Courtiers, to aſſure them, That the Man, whoſe Death they bewail'd, was alive Thereupon, *Leonatus*, taking ſome Soldiers with him, went to the Tent of the Princeſſes, and ſent Word, that he was come to pay them a Viſit in the King's Name: But the Perſons, who were at the Entrance of the Tent, ſeeing a Band of arm'd Men, imagin'd, that their Miſtreſſes were undone; and accordingly, ran into the Tent, crying aloud, That their laſt Hour was come, and that Soldiers were diſpatch'd to murder them; ſo that theſe Princeſſes, being ſeiz'd with the utmoſt Terror and Diſtraction, did not make the leaſt Anſwer, but waited, in deep Silence, for the Orders of the Conqueror. At laſt, *Leonatus*, having ſtaid a long Time, and ſeeing no one appear, left his Soldiers at the Door, and went into the Tent; which did but increaſe their Terror, as they ſaw a Man enter among them, without being introduc'd; a Piece of Preſumption, which, whilſt in their Proſperity, would have been puniſh'd with the moſt exquiſite Tortures! They, thereupon, threw themſelves at his Feet; and intreated, that "before he put them to Death, "they might be allow'd to bury *Darius*, after "the Manner of their Country; and that, when "they had paid this laſt Duty to their King, "they ſhould then die contented." *Leonatus* anſwer'd, "That *Darius* was living; and that, ſo "far from their meeting with ſevere Uſage, they "ſhould be treated as Queens, and live in their "former Splendor." *Syſigambis* hearing this, began to recover her Spirits, and permitted *Leonatus* to give her his Hand, to raiſe her from the Ground.

The next Day, *Alexander*, after viſiting the Wounded, cau'd the laſt Honours to be paid to the Dead, in Preſence of the whole Army, which was drawn up in Battle-Array, ſo that the Whole made a very pompous Appearance. He had the ſame Honours paid to the *Perſian* Quality; and permitted the Mother of *Darius* to bury whatever Perſons ſhe pleas'd, agreeably to the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies practis'd in her Country. However, this prudent Princeſs us'd that Permiſſion for a few only, who were her near Relations; and that with

with ſuch a Modeſty, and Reſerve, as ſhe thought ſuited her Condition. The King, then, teſtify'd his Joy, and Gratitude to the whole Army; eſpecially to the chief Officers, whoſe Actions he applauded in the ſtrongeſt Terms; both thoſe to which he himſelf had been an Eye-Witneſs, and thoſe as had been only related to him; and he made Royal Preſents to all, according to their Merit and Station.

After having perform'd theſe ſeveral Duties, truly worthy a great Monarch, *Alexander* ſent a Meſſage to the Queens, to inform them, that he was coming to pay them a Viſit; and accordingly, commanding all his Train to withdraw, he enter'd the Tent, accompany'd only by *Hephæſtion*. He was his Favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the King reveal'd his Secrets to him, and no one beſides dar'd to reprove him; but even *Hephæſtion* made ſo cautious and diſcreet an Uſe of this Liberty, that he ſeem'd to take it, not ſo much out of Inclination, as from a Deſire to obey the King, who would have it ſo. They were of the ſame Age, but *Hephæſtion* was talleſt; ſo that the Queens took him, at firſt, for the King, and paid him their Reſpects as ſuch: Till ſome captive Eunuchs informing them better, *Syſigambis* fell proſtrate before him, and begg'd his Pardon; declaring, that, as ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe hop'd that Conſideration would plead her Apology. Whereupon, the King, raiſing her from the Ground, ſaid; *Dear Mother, you are not miſtaken, for he is my Second Self:* Beautiful Words, which do Honour to both! Had *Alexander* always thought, and acted in this Manner, he would have juſtly merited the Title of *Great*; but Fortune had not yet gain'd an Aſcendant over his Soul. He bore the Infancy of it with Moderation and Wiſdom; but, at laſt, ſhe overpower'd him, and he was unable to reſiſt her.

Syſigambis, ſtrongly affected with theſe Teſtimonies of Goodneſs and Humanity, could not forbear teſtifying her Gratitude upon that Account. *Great Prince* (ſaid ſhe to him) *what Words ſhall I find to expreſs my Thanks, in ſuch a Manner as may anſwer your Generoſity! You call me your Mother, and honour me ſtill with the Title of Queen; whereas, I confeſs myſelf your Captive. I know what I have been, and what I now am. I know the whole Extent of my paſt Grandeur, and find I can ſupport all the Weight of my preſent ill Fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you now have an abſolute Power over us, to make us feel it by your Clemency only, and not by ill Treatment.*

After comforting the Princeſſes, *Alexander* took the Son of *Darius* in his Arms; which little *Prince*, without diſcovering the leaſt Terror, embrac'd *Alexander*; who, being affected with his Confidence, and turning about to *Hephæſtion*, ſaid to him: *O that* Darius *had had ſome Portion of this tender Diſpoſition.*

'Tis certain, that *Darius*, in the Beginning of his Reign, behav'd in ſuch a Manner, that he ſurpaſs, in Clemency and Goodneſs, all the Kings his Predeceſſors; and was ſuperior to a Paſſion, which conquers and enſlaves the ſtrongeſt. The Conſort of *Darius* was the moſt lovely Princeſs in the World; as he himſelf was the moſt beautiful of Princes, and of a very tall, and moſt majeſtick Shape; and the Princeſſes, their Daughters, reſembled them. "They were (ſays *Plu-*
"*tarch*) in *Alexander*'s Camp, not as in that of
"an Enemy, but as in a holy Temple; and a
"ſacred Place, deſign'd for the *Aſylum* of Chaſti
"ty; in which all the Princeſſes liv'd ſo re-
"tir'd, that they were not ſeen by any Perſon,
"nor did any one dare to approach their Apart-
"ments."

We are even told, that *Alexander*, after the firſt Viſit abovemention'd, which was only out of Reſpect, and Ceremony, that he might not expoſe himſelf to too powerful a Temptation, took a ſolemn Reſolution, never to viſit the Conſort of *Darius* any more. He himſelf informs us of this memorable Circumſtance, in a Letter wrote by him to *Parmenio*, in which he commanded him to put to Death certain *Macedonians*, who had forc'd the Wives of ſome *foreign Soldiers*. In this Letter were the following Words; *For, as to Myſelf, it will be found, that I neither ſaw, nor would ſee the Wife of* Darius; *and did not ſuffer any Perſon to ſpeak of her Beauty before me.* We are to remember, that *Alexander* was young, victorious, and free; that is, was not link'd in the Bonds of Marriage; as has been obſerv'd of the firſt *Scipio*, on a like Occaſion. *Et Juvenis, & Cælebs, & Victor.*

To conclude, he us'd theſe Princeſſes with ſo much Humanity, that nothing but the Remembrance, that they were Captives, could have made them ſenſible of their Calamity; and they enjoy'd under *Alexander*, all the Advantages they did before; nothing being wanting, but that Truſt and Confidence, which no Man can repoſe in an Enemy, how kindly ſoever he may treat him.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Alexander *marches into* Syria; *The Treaſures of* Darius, *and City of* Damaſcus *betray'd into his Hands*; Darius *imprudently ſends him a haughty Letter; which he anſwers in the ſame Manner*; Sidon *delivered up to him*; Abdolonymus *made King thereof againſt his Will*; *His noble Speech on being raiſed to that Dignity*; Tyre *beſieged, and taken by Storm, after a long and vigorous Reſiſtance*; *Obſervation on the fulfilling of all the Prophecies relating to that celebrated City*; Alexander *marches to* Jeruſalem, *with Intent to deſtroy it*; *Is met on the Way by the High-prieſt, with a ſolemn Proceſſion*; Alexander, *inſtead of hurting him, ſhews him the utmoſt Honour, and adores the Name of* God, *engraven on a golden Plate upon his Mitre*; *He is ſhown the Prophecies of* Daniel, *relating to his Conqueſts*; *He offers Sacrifices in the Temple, and grants the* Jews *great Privileges.*

AFTER having conſecrated three Altars, on the River *Pinarius*, one to *Jupiter*, another to *Hercules*, and the third to *Minerva*, as ſo many Monuments of his Victory, *Alexander* ſet out for *Syria*. He had ſent *Parmenio* to *Damaſcus*, in which the Treaſure of *Darius* was depoſited; the Governor of that City, betraying his Soveraign, from whom he had no farther Expectations, having ſent Word that he was ready to deliver up into their Hands, all the Treaſure and Furniture belonging to that unfortunate Prince. But being deſirous of giving a ſpecious Pretext to his Treaſon, he pretended that he was not ſecure in the City; ſo cauſed, by Day-break, all the Money, and the richeſt Things in it, to be put on Mens Backs, and fled away with the whole; ſeemingly, as though he intended to ſecure them, but, in Reality, to deliver them up to the Enemy; as he had agreed with *Parmenio*, who had opened the Letter that was written to the King. At the firſt Sight of the Forces, which this General headed, thoſe who carried the Burthens being frighted, threw them down, and fled away, as did the Soldiers who convoy'd them, and the Governor himſelf, who ſeem'd the moſt terrified. On this Occaſion, immenſe Riches were ſeen ſcatter'd up and down the Fields; all the Gold and Silver, deſign'd to pay ſo great an Army; the ſplendid Equipages, of ſo many great Lords and Ladies; the golden Veſſels and Bridles, the magnificent Tents, and the Chariots abandon'd by their Drivers. In ſhort, whatever the long Proſperity and Frugality, of ſo many Kings, had amaſs'd during many Ages, was abandon'd to the Conqueror.

But the moſt moving Part of this ſad Scene was, to ſee the Wives of the Lieutenant-Governors, and Grandees of *Perſia*, moſt of whom dragg'd their little Children after them, who were ſo much the greater Objects of Compaſſion, as they were the leſs ſenſible of their Misfortune. Among theſe, were three young Princeſſes, Daughters of *Ochus*, who had reigned before *Darius*; with the Widow of this *Ochus*; the Daughter of *Oxathres*, Brother to *Darius*; the Wife of *Artabazus*, the greateſt Lord of the Court; and his Son *Ilioneus*. There, alſo, were taken Priſoners, the Wife and Son of *Pharnabaſus*, whom *Darius* had appointed Admiral of all the Coaſts; three Daughters of *Mentor*; and the Wife and Son of *Memnon*, that illuſtrious Warrior: Inſomuch that there was ſcarce one noble Family, in all *Perſia*, but ſhar'd in this Calamity.

There was alſo found in *Damaſcus*, the Embaſſadors of the *Grecian* Cities, particularly thoſe of *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*; whom *Darius* thought he had lodg'd in a ſafe *Aſylum*, when he put them under the Protection of the traiterous Governor above-mention'd.

There was in Caſh, Two hundred thouſand ſix hundred Talents; and in Plate, which was afterwards coin'd, Five hundred thouſand; likewiſe Thirty thouſand Men, and Seven thouſand Beaſts loaded with Baggage, were taken. We find alſo, by the Letter of *Parmenio* to *Alexander*, that he found in *Damaſcus*, Three hundred and twenty-nine Concubines of *Darius*, all admirably well skill'd in Muſick; and alſo a Multitude of Officers, whoſe Buſineſs was to regulate and prepare every Thing relating to Entertainments; ſuch as to make Crowns, to prepare Perfumes and Eſſences, to dreſs Viands, to make Pies, and all Things in the Paſtry Way; to look after the Wine-cellars, to give out the Wine, *&c.* There were four hundred and ninety-two of theſe Officers; a Train worthy a Prince who ran to his Deſtruction!

In the mean while, *Darius*, who, a few Days before, was at the Head of ſo mighty, and pompous an Army; and who came into the Field mounted on a Chariot, with the Pride of a Conqueror, rather than the Equipage of a Warrior, was flying over the Plains, which, being before cover'd with the numberleſs Multitude of his Forces, now appear'd like a Deſart, and wide-extended Solitude. This ill-fated Prince rode ſwiftly the whole Night, accompanied by a very few Attendants; for all had not taken the ſame Road, and moſt of thoſe who accompanied him, could not keep Pace, by his changing Horſes ſo often. At laſt he arrived at *Sochus*, where he aſſembled the Remains of his Army, which amount-

ed only to Four thouſand Men, including *Perſians* as well as Foreigners; and from thence he made all poſſible Haſte to *Thapſacus*, in order that the *Euphrates* might be between him and *Alexander*.

During thoſe Tranſactions, moſt of the Cities of *Syria* ſurrender'd at the firſt Approaches of the Conqueror; who being arrived at *Marathes*, received a Letter from *Darius*, in which he ſtyl'd himſelf King, without beſtowing the ſame Title on *Alexander*. Beſides this, he commanded, rather than intreated him, "to ask any Sum of "Money he ſhould think proper, upon Condition "that he would deliver up to him his Mother, his "Wife and Children. That as to their Diſpute "for Empire, he might, if he thought proper, "decide it in one general Battle, to which both "Parties ſhould bring an equal Number of Troops: "But that, in caſe he were ſtill capable of good "Counſel, he would adviſe him to reſt contented "with the Kingdom of his Anceſtors, and not "invade that of another; that they ſhould thence-"forward live as good Friends, and faithful *Al-*"*lies*; that he himſelf was ready to ſwear to the "Obſervance of theſe Articles; and to receive "*Alexander*'s Oath, if he was inclined to agree "thereto."

This Letter, which breath'd ſo unſeaſonable a Pride and Haughtineſs, exaſperated the *Macedonian* Monarch; he therefore wrote the following Anſwer: "*Alexander* the King, to *Darius*: The "antient *Darius*, whoſe Name you aſſume, in "former Times quite ruin'd the *Greeks* who in-"habit the Coaſts of the *Helleſpont*, and the *Ioni-*"*ans*, our antient Colonies. He, next, croſs'd "the Sea at the Head of a powerful Army, and "carried the War into the very Heart of *Mace-*"*donia* and *Greece*. After him, *Xerxes* made an-"other Deſcent, with a dreadful Number of *Bar-*"*barians*, in order to fight us; and having been "overcome in a naval Engagement, he left, at "his retiring, *Mardonius*, who plunder'd our "Cities, and laid waſte our Plains. But who has "not heard that *Philip*, my Father, was aſſaſſi-"nated by Wretches, ſuborn'd thereto by your "Partizans, in Hopes of a great Reward? For "'tis cuſtomary with the *Perſians* to undertake "impious Wars; and, Sword-in-Hand, to ſet a "Price upon the Heads of their Enemies. And "even you yourſelf, though at the Head of a "prodigious Army, promiſed a thouſand Talents "to any Perſon who ſhould kill me. I therefore "only defend myſelf, and conſequently am not "the Aggreſſor. And indeed the Gods, who al-"ways declare for the juſt Cauſe, have favour'd "my Arms; and, aided by their Protection, I "have ſubjected a great Part of *Aſia*, and defeat-"ed you, *Darius*, in a pitch'd Battle. However, "though I ought not to grant any Requeſt you "make, ſince you have not acted candidly, and "openly in this War; nevertheleſs, in caſe you "will appear before me, in a ſupplicating Po-"ſture, I give you my Word, that I will reſtore "to you, without any Ranſom, your Mother, "your Wife, and Children. If you are afraid of "ſurrendering yourſelf to me, I now aſſure you, "upon my Honour, that you may do it without "the leaſt Danger: But remember, when you "next write to me, that you write not only to "*A* King, but to *Your* King." *Therſippus* was order'd to carry this Letter.

This done, *Alexander*, marching from thence into *Phœnicia*, the Citizens of *Byblos* open'd their Gates to him. Every one ſubmitted as he advanced; but no People did this with greater Pleaſure than the *Sidonians*. We have ſeen in what Manner *Ochus* had deſtroy'd their City eighteen Years before, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword: After he was return'd into *Perſia*, ſuch of the Citizens, who upon Account of their Traffick, or for ſome other Cauſe, had been abſent, and, by that Means, had eſcaped the Maſſacre, return'd thither, and re-built their City. But from that Time, they had harbour'd ſo violent a Hatred againſt the *Perſians*, that they were overjoy'd at this Opportunity to throw off their Yoke; and indeed they were the firſt in that Country who ſubmitted by their Deputies, in Oppoſition to *Strato* their King, who had declar'd in Favour of *Darius*. *Alexander*, therefore, dethron'd him, and permitted *Hephæſtion*, to elect, in his Stead, whomſoever of the *Sidonians* he ſhould judge worthy of ſo exalted a Station.

This Favourite was quarter'd at the Houſe of two Brothers, who were young, and of the moſt conſiderable Family in the City; to theſe, therefore, he offer'd the Crown: But they refuſed it, telling him, that according to the Laws of their Country, no Perſon could aſcend the Throne, unleſs he were of the Blood Royal. Hereupon, *Hephæſtion*, admiring this Greatneſs of Soul, which could contemn, what others ſtrive to obtain by Fire and Sword, ſaid to them; "Continue in this "Way of thinking; you, who firſt are ſenſible, "that 'tis much more glorious to refuſe a Diadem, "than to accept it. However, name me ſome "Perſon of the Royal Family, who may remem-"ber, when he is King, that it was you ſet the "Crown upon his Head." Accordingly, the Brothers, obſerving that ſeveral, who were tortured with Ambition, aſpired to this high Station; and, to obtain it, paid a ſervile Court to *Alexander*'s Favourites; declared, that they did not know any Perſon more worthy of the Diadem, than one *Abdolonymus*, deſcended, though at a great Diſtance, from the Royal Stock; but who, at the ſame Time was ſo poor, that he was obliged to get his Bread, by Day-labour in a Garden, without the City. His Honeſty and Integrity had reduced him, as well as many more, to this extreme Poverty: Employ'd wholly in his Labour, he did not hear the Claſhing of Arms, which had ſhaken all *Aſia*.

Immediately the two Brothers went in Search of him, with the royal Garments; and found him weeding his Grden: Notwithſtanding this, they ſaluted him as King, and one of them addreſs'd him thus; *You muſt now change your Tatters, for the Dreſs I have brought you: Put off the mean and contemptible Habit, which you have worn to this old Age; inform your Breaſt with a kingly Heart; but when you are ſeated on the Throne, preſerve for ever the Virtue which made you worthy of it. And when you ſhall have aſcended it, and, by that Means, become the ſupreme Diſpoſer of Life and Death, over all your Citizens, be ſure never to forget the Condition in which, or rather for which, you was elected.* *Abdolonymus* look'd upon the whole as a Dream; unable to gueſs the Meaning of it, ask'd, if they were not aſham'd to ridicule him in this Manner? But, as he made a greater Reſiſtance, than

than ſuited their Inclinations, they themſelves waſh'd him, and threw over his Shoulders a purple Robe, richly embroider'd with Gold; then, after repeated Oaths of their being in Earneſt, they conducted him to the Palace.

The News of this being immediately ſpread over the whole City, moſt of the Inhabitants were overjoy'd thereat; but ſome murmured, eſpecially the Rich, who, deſpiſing his former abject State, could not forbear ſhewing their Reſentments upon that Account, in the King's Court. However, *Alexander* commanded the new-elected Prince to be ſent for; and, after ſurveying him attentively a long Time, ſpoke thus: *Thy Air and Mein do not contradict what is related of thy Extraction; but I ſhould be glad to know, with what Frame of Mind thou didſt bear thy Poverty* —— *Would to the Gods*, reply'd he, *that I may bear the Crown as patiently. Theſe hands have procured me all I deſired; and whilſt I poſſeſs'd nothing, I wanted nothing.* The Thought was beautiful and juſt; he look'd upon the regal Power, as a Burthen, more difficult to be born than Poverty: And ſo it is, to a Prince, who deſigns to diſcharge all the Duties of that high Office. This Anſwer gave *Alexander* a high Idea of the Virtue of *Abdolonymus*; ſo that he preſented him, not only with all the rich Furniture which had belong'd to *Strato*, and Part of the *Perſian* Plunder, but, likewiſe, annexed one of the neighbouring Territories to his Dominions.

All *Syria* and *Phœnicia* were already ſubdued by the *Macedonians*, the City of *Tyre* excepted; which was juſtly entitled the *Queen of the Sea*, that Element bringing to it the Tribute of all Nations. She boaſted her having firſt invented Navigation, and taught Mankind the Art, of braving the Wind and Waves, by the Aſſiſtance of a frail Bark. The happy Situation of *Tyre*; the Conveniency, and Extent of its Ports; the Character of its Inhabitants, who were induſtrious, laborious, patient; and extremely courteous to Strangers; invited thither Merchants from all Parts of the Globe; ſo that it might be looked upon, not ſo much as a City belonging to any particular Nation, as the common City of all Nations, and the Center of their Commerce.

Upon *Alexander*'s advancing towards it, the *Tyrians* ſent him an Embaſſy, with Preſents for himſelf, and Refreſhments for his Army; being willing to have him for their Friend, but not for their Maſter; for, when he diſcover'd a Deſire of entering their City, in order to offer up in it a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, its tutelar God, they refus'd him Admiſſion. But this Conqueror, after gaining ſo many Victories, had too mighty a Soul, to put up ſuch an Affront; and thereupon, was reſolv'd to force them to it by a Siege; which they, on the other Side, were determin'd to ſuſtain with the utmoſt Vigour. The Spring was then coming on: *Tyre* was at that Time ſeated in an Iſland of the Sea, about a Quarter of a League from the Continent. It was ſurrounded with a ſtrong Wall, an hundred and fifty Foot high, which the Waves of the Sea waſhed; and the *Carthaginians* (a Colony from *Tyre*) a mighty People, and Sovereigns of the Ocean, whoſe Embaſſadors were at that Time in the City, to offer up to *Hercules*, according to antient Cuſtom, an annual Sacrifice, had engaged themſelves to relieve the *Tyrians*. 'Twas this made them ſo haughty: Firmly determin'd not to ſurrender, they fix'd Machines on the Ramparts, and on the Towers; arm'd their young Men, and built Work-houſes for the Artificers, of whom there were great Numbers in the City; ſo that every Part reſounded with the Noiſe of warlike Preparations. They likewiſe made iron Grapplings, to throw on the Enemy's Works, and tear them away; as alſo Cramp-irons, and ſuch-like Inſtruments, invented for the Defence of Cities.

On the other Hand, *Alexander* imagin'd, that there were eſſential Reaſons why he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of *Tyre*: He was ſenſible that he could not invade *Egypt* eaſily, ſo long as the *Perſians* ſhould be Maſters of the Sea; nor purſue *Darius* with Safety, in caſe he ſhould leave behind him ſo large an Extent of Country, the Inhabitants of which were either Enemies, or ſuſpected to be ſo. He, likewiſe, was afraid, leſt ſome Inſurrection ſhould break out in *Greece*; and that his Enemies, after having re-taken, in his Abſence, the maritime Cities of *Aſia-Minor*, and increas'd their Fleet, would make his Country the Seat of War, during his being employ'd in purſuing *Darius* in the Plains of *Babylon*. Theſe Apprehenſions were the more juſtly grounded, as the *Lacedæmonians* had declared openly againſt him; and the *Athenians* ſided with him, more out of Fear, than Affection. But, that in caſe he ſhould conquer *Tyre*, all *Phœnicia* being then ſubject to him, he ſhould be able to diſpoſſeſs the *Perſians* of half their naval Forces, which conſiſted of the Fleet of that Province; and ſhould ſoon make himſelf Maſter of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and of *Egypt*, which could not reſiſt him, the Inſtant he was become Sovereign of the Seas.

On the other Side, one would have imagin'd, that, according to all the Rules of War, *Alexander*, after the Battle of *Iſſus*, ought to have purſued *Darius* vigorouſly, and neither have given him an Opportunity of recovering from the Terrour into which his Defeat had thrown him, nor allow him Time to raiſe a new Army; the Succeſs of the Enterprize, which appear'd infallible, being the only Thing, that could make him formidable and ſuperior to all his Enemies. Add to this, that in caſe he ſhould not be able to take this City (which was not very unlikely) he would diſcredit his own Arms; would loſe the Fruit of his Victories, and prove to the Enemy that he was not invincible. But *God*, who had appointed this Monarch, to chaſtiſe the Pride of *Tyre*, as will be ſeen hereafter, did not once permit thoſe Thoughts to enter his Mind; but determin'd him to lay Siege to that City, in Spite of all the Difficulties, which oppoſed ſo hazardous a Deſign; and the many Reaſons, which ſhould have prompted him to purſue quite different Meaſures.

It was impoſſible to come near this City, in order to ſtorm it, without making a Bank which ſhould reach from the Continent to the Iſland; and an Attempt of this Kind, could not but be attended with Difficulties, that were ſeemingly inſurmountable. The little Arm of the Sea, which ſeparated the Iſland from the Continent, was expoſed to the *Weſt*-Wind; which often raiſed ſuch dreadful Storms there, that the Waves would, in an Inſtant, ſweep away all the Works. Beſides, as the City was ſurrounded on all Sides by the Sea, there was no fixing ſcaling Ladders, nor throw-

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ing up Batteries, but at a Diſtance, in the Ships; and the Wall, which advanced into the Sea towards the lower Part, prevented People from landing: Not to mention, that the military Engines which might have been put on Board the Gallies, could not do much Execution, the Waves were ſo very boiſterous.

But nothing was capable of checking, or vanquiſhing the Reſolution of *Alexander*, who was determin'd to win the City at any Rate: However, as the few Veſſels he poſſeſs'd, lay at a great Diſtance from him; and that the Siege, of ſo ſtrong a City, might poſſibly laſt a long Time, and ſo retard his other Enterprizes, he thought proper to endeavour at an Accommodation. Accordingly, he ſent Heralds, who propoſed a Peace, between him and their City; but the *Tyrians* kill'd them, contrary to the Law of Nations, and threw them from the Top of the Walls into the Sea: Exaſperated at ſo cruel an Outrage, he form'd a Reſolution at once, and employ'd his whole Attention in raiſing a Dike. He found, in the Ruins of old *Tyre*, which ſtood on the Continent, and was called *Palæ-Tyros*, Materials to make Piers; taking all the Stones and Rubbiſh from it: *Mount Libanus*, which was not far diſtant from it, ſo famous in Scripture for its Cedars, furniſh'd him with Wood for Piles, and other Timber-work.

The Soldiers began the Pier with great Alacrity, being animated by the Preſence of their Sovereign, who himſelf gave out all the Orders; and who, knowing perfectly how to inſinuate himſelf into, and gain the Affections of his Army, excited ſome by Praiſes, and others by ſlight Reprimands, which were intermix'd with kind Expreſſions, and ſoften'd by Promiſes. At firſt, they advanced with pretty great Speed, the Piles being eaſily driven into the Slime, which ſerved as Mortar for the Stones; and, as the Place where theſe Works were carrying on, was at ſome Diſtance from the City, they went on without Interruption. But, the farther they went from the Shore, the greater Difficulties they met with; becauſe the Sea was deeper, and the Workmen were very much annoy'd, by the Arrows ſhot from the Tops of the Walls. The Enemy, who were Maſters of the Sea, coming forward in great Boats, and razing every Part of the Dike, prevented the *Macedonians* from carrying it on with Vigour: Then adding Inſults to their Attacks, they cried aloud to *Alexander*'s Soldiers, "That it was a noble Sight to ſee theſe Conquerors, whoſe Names "were ſo renown'd all the World over, carrying "Burthens on their Backs, like ſo many Beaſts." And they would afterwards ask them, in a contemptuous Tone of Voice, "Whether *Alexander* "were greater than *Neptune*; and if they pretend"ed to be greater than that God?"

But theſe Taunts did but inflame the Courage of the Soldiers; for, at laſt, the Bank appear'd above Water; began to ſhew a Level of a conſiderable Breadth, and to draw near the City. Then the Beſieged, perceiving with Terror, the Vaſtneſs of the Work, which the Sea had, till then, kept from their Sight, approach'd in their Ship-Boats, in order to view the Bank, which was not yet very firm. Theſe Boats were full of Slingers, Bow-men, and others who hurl'd Javelins, and ever fire; and being diſperſed to the Right and Left, about the Bank, they ſhot, on all Sides, upon the Workmen, and wounded ſeveral; it not being poſſible for them to ward off the Blows; becauſe of the great Eaſe, and Swiftneſs with which the Boats moved backwards and forwards; ſo that they were obliged to leave the Work to defend themſelves. It was, therefore, reſolved, that Skins and Sails ſhould be ſpread to cover the Workmen; and that two wooden Towers ſhould be raiſed, at the Head of the Bank, to prevent the Approaches of the Enemy.

On the other Side, the *Tyrians* made a Deſcent on the Shore, out of the View of the Camp; where they landed ſome Soldiers, who cut to Pieces thoſe that carried the Stones: And on *Mount Libanus*, there alſo were ſome *Arabian* Peaſants, who meeting the *Macedonians*, ſtraggling up and down, kill'd near thirty of them, and took very near the ſame Number: Theſe ſmall Loſſes, obliged *Alexander* to ſeparate his Troops, into different Bodies.

In the mean Time, the Beſieged employ'd every Invention, every Stratagem that could be found, to ruin the Enemy's Works. They took a Tranſport-Veſſel, and, filling it with Bruſhes, and ſuch-like dry Materials, made a large Incloſure near the Prow, wherein they threw all thoſe Things, with Sulphur and Pitch, and other cumbuſtible Matter. In the Middle of this Incloſure, they ſet up two Maſts, to each of which they fixed two Sail yards, on which were hung Kettles full of Oil, and ſuch-like unctuous Subſtances. They, afterwards, loaded the hinder-part of the Veſſel with Stones and Sand, in order to raiſe the Prow; and, taking Advantage of a favourable Wind, they towed it to Sea, by the Aſſiſtance of their Gallies. Then, as ſoon as they were come near the Towers, they ſet Fire to this Veſſel, and drew it towards the Point or Extremity of the Bank: In the mean Time, the Sailors who were therein, leap'd into the Sea, and ſwam away. Immediately the Fire caught the Towers, with great Violence; and the reſt of the Works, which were at the Head of the Bank; and then the Sail-yards, being driven to and fro, threw Oil upon the Fire, which very much increaſed the Flame. At the ſame Time, to prevent the *Macedonians* extinguiſhing it, the *Tyrians*, who were in their Gallies, were perpetually hurling at the Towers, fiery Darts, and burning Torches, inſomuch that there was no approaching them. Several *Macedonians* loſt their Lives, in a miſerable Manner, on the Bank; being either ſhot through with Arrows, or burnt to Death; whilſt others, throwing down their Arms, leap'd into the Sea. But, as they were ſwimming away, the *Tyrians*, wiſhing to take them alive, rather than kill them, maim'd their Hands with Clubs and Stones; and, after diſabling them, carried them off: At the ſame Time, others of the Beſieg'd, coming out of the City in little Boats, beat down the Edges of the Bank, tore up its Stakes, and burnt the Reſt of the Engines.

Alexander, though he ſaw moſt of his Deſigns defeated, and his Works demoliſh'd, was not at all dejected; his Soldiers alſo endeavour'd, with redoubled Vigour, to repair the Ruins of the Bank; and they raiſ'd new Engines, with ſo prodigious a Speed, as quite aſtoniſh'd the Enemy: *Alexander* himſelf being preſent, on all Occaſions, and overſeeing every Part of the Works. His Preſence, and great Abilities, advanc'd them ſtill

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more, than the Multitude of Hands employ'd in them. The Whole was near finiſh'd, and brought almoſt to the Wall of the City, when there aroſe, on a ſudden, an impetuous Wind, which drove the Waves, with ſo much Fury againſt the Bank, that the Cement, and other Things that bound it, gave Way; when the Waves ruſhing through the Stones, broke it in the Middle; and as ſoon as the great Heap of Stones, which ſupported the Earth, was thrown down, the Whole ſunk at once, as into a deep Pit.

Any Warrior but *Alexander* would, that Inſtant, have quite laid aſide his Enterprize; and indeed, he himſelf debated, whether he ſhould not raiſe the Siege. But, a ſuperior Power, who had foretold, and ſwore to ruin *Tyre*, and whoſe Orders this Prince only executed, prompted him to continue the Siege; and diſpelling all his Fears, inſpir'd him with Courage and Confidence, and fir'd the Breaſts of his whole Army, with the ſame Sentiments: For, the Soldiers, as though they had been but that Moment arriv'd before the City, forgetting the ſeveral Evils they had undergone, began to raiſe a new Mole, and work'd at it continually.

In the mean Time, *Alexander*, being ſenſible, it would not be poſſible for him, either to compleat the Bank, or take the City, as long as the *Tyrians* ſhould continue Maſters of the Sea, reſolv'd to aſſemble, before *Sidon*, his few remaining Gallies: At the ſame Time, the Kings of *Aradus* and *Byblos*, hearing that *Alexander* had conquer'd their Cities, abandon'd the *Perſian* Fleet; join'd him with theirs, and that of the *Sidonians*, which made in all Eighty Sail. There arriv'd alſo, much about the ſame Time, Ten Gallies from *Rhodes*, Three from *Solæ* and *Mallos*, Ten from *Lycia*, and One from *Macedonia*, having Fifty Oars. A little after, the Kings of *Cyprus*, hearing that the *Perſian* Army had been defeated, near the City of *Iſſus*, and that *Alexander* had poſſeſs'd himſelf of *Phœnicia*, brought him a Reinforcement, of above an Hundred and twenty Gallies.

Whilſt his Soldiers were preparing the Ships and Engines, the King took ſome Troops of Horſe, with his own Regiment of Guards, and march'd towards a Mountain of *Arabia*, call'd *Antilibanus*: There the tender Regard he had for an old Gentleman, formerly his Tutor, who was abſolutely reſolv'd to follow his Pupil, expos'd *Alexander* to very great Danger: This was *Lyſimachus*, who gave the Name of *Achilles* to his Scholar, and call'd himſelf *Phœnix*. When the King was got to the Foot of the Mountain, he leap'd from his Horſe, and began to walk; during which, his Troops got a conſiderable Way before him. In the mean Time, it grew late; notwithſtanding which, *Alexander*, not being willing to leave his Preceptor, who was very corpulent, and ſcarce able to walk, was ſeparated from his little Army, accompany'd only by very few Soldiers; and, in this Manner, ſpent the whole Night, very near the Enemy, who were ſo numerous, that they might eaſily have overpower'd him. However, his uſual good Fortune and Courage extricated him from this Danger; ſo that, coming up afterwards with his Forces, he advanc'd forward into the Countiy, won all the ſtrong Holds, either by Force, or Capitulation, and return'd, the 11th Day, to *Sidon*; where he found *Alexander*, Son of *Polemocrates*, who had brought him a Reinforcement of Four Thouſand *Greeks* from *Peloponneſus*.

The Fleet being ready, *Alexander* took ſome Soldiers from among his Guards, whom he embark'd with him, in order to employ them, in cloſe Fight, with the Enemy; and then ſet Sail towards *Tyre*, in Battle-Array. He himſelf was at the Extremity of the Right Wing, which ſpread itſelf in the main Ocean, being accompany'd by the Kings of *Cyprus*, and *Phœnicia*; the Left was commanded by *Craterus*. The *Tyrians* were, at firſt, determin'd to give Battle; but, after they heard of the uniting of theſe Forces, and ſaw the Army advance, with mighty Parade (for *Alexander* had halted to wait the coming up of his Left Wing) they kept all their Gallies in the Harbours, to prevent the Enemy from entring them. Hereupon, when the King ſaw no one appear, he advanc'd nearer the City; and, finding it would be impoſſible for him, to force the Port, which lay towards *Sidon*, becauſe of the great Narrowneſs of the Entrance, and its being defended by a large Number of Gallies, all whoſe Prows were turn'd towards the main Ocean, he only ſunk Three of them, which lay without; and afterwards caſt Anchor, with his whole Fleet, pretty near the Bank, along the Shore, where his Ships were ſhelter'd.

Whilſt all theſe Things were doing, the new Bank was carry'd on with great Vigour: The Workmen threw into the Sea whole Trees, with all their Branches on them; and laid great Stones over them, on which they put other Trees, which they cover'd with Clay, that ſerv'd inſtead of Mortar: Afterwards, heaping more Trees and Stones on theſe, the Whole, thus join'd together, form'd one entire Body. This Bank was made wider than the former, in order that the Towers, which were built in the Middle, might be out of the Reach of ſuch Arrows, as ſhould be ſhot from thoſe Ships, which might attempt to break down the Edges of the Bank. The Beſieg'd, on the other Hand, exerted themſelves with extraordinary Bravery, and did all that lay in their Power, to ſtop the Progreſs of the Work. But, nothing was of ſo much Service to them as their Divers, who, ſwimming under Water, came unperceiv'd quite up to the Bank, and with Hooks drew all ſuch Branches forward, as projected beyond the Work; and, pulling forward with great Strength, forc'd every Thing that was over them. This was one *Remora* to the carrying on of the Work; however, after many Delays, the Patience of the Workmen ſurmounting every Obſtacle, it was at laſt finiſh'd, in its utmoſt Perfection. This done, the *Macedonians* plac'd military Engines of all Kinds on the Bank, in order to ſhake the Walls with Battering-Rams, and hurl on the Beſieged, Arrows, Stones, and burning Torches.

At the ſame Time, *Alexander* order'd the *Cyprian* Fleet, commanded by *Andromachus*, to take its Station before the Harbour, which lay towards *Sidon*; and that of *Phœnicia*, before the Harbour, which was on the other Side of the Bank, facing *Egypt*, towards that Part where his own Tent was pitch'd; and enabled him to attack the City on every Side. The *Tyrians*, in their Turn, prepar'd for a vigorous Defence: On that Side, which lay

towards the Bank, they had erected Towers on the Wall, which was of a prodigious Height, and of a proportionable Breadth; the Whole built with great Stones, cemented together with Mortar. The Acceſs to any other Part was almoſt as difficult, the Enemy having fenc'd the Foot of the Wall, with great Stones, to keep the *Greeks* from approaching it. The Buſineſs, then, was, firſt, to draw theſe away; which could not be done, but with the utmoſt Difficulty; becauſe, as the Soldiers ſtood in Ships, they could not keep very firm on their Legs. Beſides, the *Tyrians* advanc'd with cover'd Gallies, and cut the Cables which held the Ships at Anchor; ſo that *Alexander* was oblig'd to cover, in like Manner, ſeveral Veſſels of Thirty Oars each; and to ſtation them Croſs-wiſe, to ſecure the Anchors from the Attacks of the *Tyrian* Gallies: But ſtill Men div'd, and cut them unperceiv'd; ſo that they were, at laſt, forc'd to fix them with Iron Chains. After this, they drew the Stones with Cable-Ropes, and carrying them off with Engines, threw them to the Bottom of the Sea, where it was not poſſible for them to do any farther Miſchief. The Foot of the Wall being thus clear'd, the Veſſels had very eaſy Acceſs thereto; inſomuch, that the *Tyrians* were inveſted on all Sides, and attack'd, at the ſame Time, both by Sea and Land. The *Macedonians* then join'd Gallies (Two and Two) with Four Men chain'd to each Oar, in ſuch a Manner, that the Prows were faſten'd together; and the Sterns ſo far diſtant one from the other, as was neceſſary for the Pieces of Timber between them to be of a proper Length. After this, they threw, from one Stern, to the other, Sail-Yards, which were faſten'd together by Planks, laid Croſs-wiſe, in order for the Soldiers to ſtand faſt thereon. The Gallies being thus equipp'd, they row'd towards the City; and ſhot (under Covert) againſt thoſe who defended the Walls; the Prows ſerving them as ſo many Parapets. The King, then, caus'd them to advance about Midnight, in order to ſurround the Walls, and make a general Aſſault. The *Tyrians* then gave themſelves for loſt; when, on a ſudden, the Sky was overſpread with ſuch thick Clouds, as quite took away the faint Glimmerings of Light, which before darted through the Gloom. The Sea roſe, by inſenſible Degrees; and the Billows, being ſwell'd by the Fury of the Winds, riſe to a dreadful Storm. The Veſſels daſh one againſt the other with ſo much Violence, that the Cables, which before faſten'd them together, are either looſen'd, or break to Pieces; the Planks ſplit, and, making an horrible Craſh, carry off the Soldiers with them: For, the Tempeſt was ſo furious, that it was not poſſible either to manage, or ſteer, Gallies thus faſtned together. The Soldier was a Lett and Hindrance to the Sailor, and the Sailor to the Soldier; and, as happens on ſuch Occaſions, that Man obey'd, whoſe Buſineſs it was to command; Fear and Anxiety throwing all Things into Confuſion. But then the Rowers exerted themſelves with ſo much Vigour, that they got the Better of the Sea, and ſeem'd to tear their Ships out of the Waves: At laſt, they brought them near the Shore; but, the greateſt Part, in a ſhatter'd Condition.

At the ſame Time, there arriv'd at *Tyre* Thirty Embaſſadors from *Carthage*, who did not bring the leaſt Relief, though they had promis'd mighty Things: Inſtead thereof, they only made Excuſes, declaring, that, it was with the greateſt Grief, the *Carthaginians* found themſelves, abſolutely unable to aſſiſt the *Tyrians*, in any Manner; becauſe they themſelves were oblig'd to take up Arms, not as before for Empire, but to ſave their Country. And indeed, the *Syracuſans* were laying waſte all *Africa*, at that Time, with a powerful Army, and had pitch'd their Camp not far from the Walls of *Carthage*. However, the *Tyrians*, though fruſtrated, in this Manner, of the great Hopes they had conceiv'd, were no Ways dejected: They only took the wiſe Precaution to ſend moſt of their Women, and Children to *Carthage*; in order that they themſelves might be in a Condition to fight as Deſperadoes; and bear more couragiouſly the greateſt Calamities which might befal them, when they had once lodg'd, in ſecure *Aſylum*, what they moſt valu'd in the World.

There was in the City, a Brazen Statue of *Apollo*, of an enormous Size: This *Coloſſus* had formerly ſtood in the City of *Gela*, in *Sicily*. The *Carthaginians* having taken it, about the Year 412 before *Chriſt*, had given it, by Way of Preſent, to the City of *Tyre*; which they always look'd upon as the *Mother* of *Carthage*. The *Tyrians* had ſet it up in their City, and Worſhip was paid to it; but, during the Siege, on a Dream, which one of the Citizens had, the *Tyrians* imagin'd, *Apollo* was determin'd to leave them, and go over to *Alexander*. Immediately, they faſten'd, with a Gold Chain, his Statue to the Altar of *Hercules*, to prevent that Deity from leaving them. For theſe People, were ſilly enough to believe, that after his Statue was faſten'd down, it would not be poſſible for him to make his Eſcape; and that he would be prevented therein, by *Hercules*, the Tutelar God of the City: What a ſtrange Idea the *Heathens* had of their Divinities!

At the ſame Time, ſome of the *Tyrians*, propos'd the reſtoring of a Sacrifice, which had been diſcontinu'd for many Ages; and this was, to ſacrifice a Child, born of free Parents, to *Saturn*. The *Carthaginians*, who had borrow'd this ſacrilegious Cuſtom from their Founders, preſerv'd it till the Deſtruction of their City; and, had not *old Men*, who were inveſted with the greateſt Authority in *Tyre*, oppos'd this cruelly-ſuperſtitious Cuſtom, a Child had been butcher'd.

In the mean While, the *Tyrians*, finding their City expos'd every Moment, to be taken by Storm, reſolv'd to fall upon the *Cyprian* Fleet, which lay at Anchor off *Sidon*; and ſeiz'd the Opportunity, to do this, at a Time, when the Seamen of *Alexander*'s Fleet were diſpers'd up and down; and he himſelf was withdrawn to his Tent, pitch'd on the Seaſhore. Accordingly, they came out, about Noon, with Thirteen Gallies, all mann'd with choice Soldiers, us'd to Sea-Fights; and, rowing with all their Might, came thundering on the Enemy's Veſſels; Part of which they found empty, and the Reſt had been mann'd, in great Haſte. Some of theſe they ſunk, and drove ſeveral others againſt the Shore, where they daſh'd to Pieces: The Loſs would have been ſtill greater, had not *Alexander*, the Inſtant he heard of this Sally, advanc'd, at the Head of his whole Fleet, with all imaginable Diſpatch, againſt the *Tyrians*.

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However, they did not wait their Coming up, but withdrew into the Harbour, after having alſo loſt ſome of their Ships.

Then the Engines playing, the City was warmly attack'd on all Sides, and as vigorouſly defended: The Beſieg'd, taught, and animated by imminent Danger, and the extream Neceſſity to which they were reduc'd, invented daily new Arts, to defend themſelves, and repulſe the Enemy. They warded off all the Arrows, which the Croſs-Bowmen ſhot againſt them, by the Aſſiſtance of turning Wheels, which either broke them to Pieces, or carry'd them another Way. They deaden'd the Violence of the Stones hurl'd at them, by ſetting up a Kind of Sails, and Curtains, made of a ſoft Subſtance, which eaſily gave Way. To annoy the Ships, which advanc'd againſt their Walls, they fix'd Grappling-Irons, and Scythes, to Joiſts or Beams: Then, bending their Engines, which were in the Shape of Croſs-Bows, they laid theſe great Pieces of Timber upon them, inſtead of Arrows, and ſhot them off, on a ſudden, at the Enemy. Theſe cruſh'd ſome to Pieces, by their great Weight; and the Hooks, or *Penſile*-Scythes with which they were arm'd, tore others in Pieces, and did conſiderable Damage to their Ships. They alſo had Brazen Shields, which they drew red-hot out of the Fire; and, filling them with Burning Sand, hurl'd them, in an Inſtant, from the Top of the Wall upon the Enemy. There was nothing the *Macedonians* dreaded ſo much, as this laſt Invention; for, the Moment this Burning Sand had got to the Fleſh, over the Extremity of the Coat of Mail, it pierc'd to the very Bone, and ſtuck ſo cloſe, that there was no pulling it off, ſo that the Soldiers, throwing down their Arms, and tearing their Cloaths in Pieces, were, in this Manner, expos'd, naked and defenceleſs, to the Shot of the Enemy.

It was then, that *Alexander*, diſhearten'd at ſo vigorous a Defence, debated ſeriouſly, whether it would not be proper for him to raiſe the Siege, and go for *Egypt*: For, after having over-run *Aſia* with prodigious Rapidity, he found his Progreſs unhappily retarded; and loſt, before a ſingle City, the Opportunity, of executing a great many Deſigns, of infinitely greater Importance. Beſides, he conſider'd it would be a great Blemiſh to his Reputation, which had done him greater Service than his Arms, ſhould he leave *Tyre* behind him, and thereby prove to the World, he was not invincible. He reſolv'd, therefore, to make a laſt Effort with a greater Number of Ships, which he mann'd with the Flower of his Army. Accordingly, a ſecond Naval Engagement was fought; in which the *Tyrians*, though they behav'd with great Intrepidity, were oblig'd to draw off their whole Fleet towards the City: The King purſu'd their Rear very cloſe, but was not able to enter the Harbour, he being repuls'd by Arrows ſhot from the Walls: However, he either took, or ſunk a great Number of their Ships.

Hereupon, *Alexander*, after letting his Forces repoſe themſelves Two Days, advanc'd his Fleet, and his Engines, in order to attempt a general Aſſault; both the Attack and Defence were then more vigorous than ever: The Courage of the Combatants increas'd with the Danger; and each Side, animated by the moſt powerful Motives, fought like Lions. Wherever the Battering-Rams had beat down any Part of the Wall, and the Bridges were thrown out; the *Argyraſpides* inſtantly mounted the Breach with the utmoſt Valour, being headed by *Admetus*, one of the braveſt Officers in the Army, who was kill'd by the Thruſt of a Halberd, as he was encouraging his Soldiers. The Preſence of the King, and eſpecially the Example he ſet, fir'd his Troops with unuſual Bravery. He himſelf aſcended one of the Towers, which was of a prodigious Height, and was there expos'd, to the greateſt Danger his Courage had ever hurry'd him; for, being immediately known by his *Inſignia*, and the Richneſs of his Armour, he ſerv'd as a Butt to all the Arrows of the Enemy. On this Occaſion, he perform'd Wonders; killing, with Javelins, ſeveral of thoſe who defended the Wall; then, advancing nearer to them, he forc'd ſome with his Sword, and others with his Shield, either into the City, or the Sea; the Tower where he fought almoſt touching the Wall. This done, he ſoon went over it, by the Aſſiſtance of Floating Bridges, and, follow'd by the Nobility, poſſeſs'd himſelf of Two Towers, and the Space between them. The Battering Rams had already made ſeveral Breaches; the Fleet had forc'd into the Harbour, and ſome of the *Macedonians*, had poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Towers, that were abandon'd. Hereupon, the *Tyrians*, ſeeing the Enemy Maſter of their Rampart, retir'd towards an open Place, call'd *Agenor*, and there ſtood their Ground; but *Alexander* marching up with his Regiment of Body Guards, kill'd Part of them, and oblig'd the Reſt to fly. At the ſame Time, *Tyre* being taken on that Side, which lay towards the Harbour, the *Macedonians* ran up and down every Part of the City, ſparing no Perſon who came in their Way; being highly exaſperated at the long Reſiſtance of the Beſieg'd, and the Barbarities they had exercis'd towards ſome of their Comrades, who had been taken in their Return to *Sidon*, and thrown from the Battlements, after their Throats had been cut in the Sight of the whole Army.

In the mean While, the *Tyrians*, ſeeing themſelves overborne on all Sides, fly, ſome to the Temple, there to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Gods; whilſt others, ſhutting themſelves in their Houſes, eſcape the Sword of the Conqueror, by a voluntary Death; and others, again, ruſh upon the Enemy, firmly reſolv'd to ſell their Lives at the deareſt Rate. Moſt of the Citizens were got on the Houſe-Tops; whence they threw Stones, and whatever came firſt to Hand, upon ſuch as advanc'd forward into the City: Whereupon, the King gave Orders for killing all the Inhabitants (thoſe excepted who had ſhelter'd themſelves in the Temples) and ſet Fire to every Part of *Tyre*. Although this Order was publiſh'd by Sound of Trumpet; yet not one Perſon, who carry'd Arms, fled to the Temples, thoſe Sanctuaries being fill'd with ſuch old Men and Children, only, as had remain'd in the City. The others waited at the Doors of their Houſes, in Expectation, every Inſtant, of being ſacrific'd to the Rage of the Soldiers: 'Tis true, indeed, the *Sidonian* Soldiers, who were in *Alexander*'s Camp, ſav'd great Numbers of them: For, having enter'd the City, indiſcriminately, with the Conquerors, and calling to Mind their ancient Affinity with the *Tyrians*, *Agenor* having founded both *Tyre* and *Sidon*, they carry'd

carry'd off great Numbers, privately, on board their Ships, and convey'd them to *Sidon*. By this kind Deceit, Fifteen thouſand were ſaved from the Rage of the Conqueror; and we may judge of the Greatneſs of the Slaughter, from the Number of the Soldiers who were cut to Pieces, on the Rampart of the City only, they amounting to Six thouſand. However, the King's Anger not being yet appeas'd, he exhibited a Scene which appear'd dreadful, even to the Conquerors; for, there remaining Two thouſand Men, after the Soldiers had been glutted with Slaughter, *Alexander* cauſed them to be fix'd upon Croſſes, along the Sea-ſhore. He pardon'd, however, the Embaſſadors of *Carthage*, who were come to their Metropolis, to offer up a Sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to annual Cuſtom: The Number of Priſoners, both Foreigners and Citizens, amounted to Thirty thouſand, who were all ſold: As for the *Macedonians*, their Loſs was very inconſiderable.

Alexander himſelf ſacrific'd to *Hercules*, and conducted the Ceremony, with all his Land-Forces under Arms, in Concert with the Fleet: He alſo ſolemniz'd *Gymnaſtic* Exerciſes, in Honour of the ſame God, in the Temple that was dedicated to him. With Regard to the Statue of *Apollo*, abovemention'd; he took off the Chains from it, reſtor'd it to its former Liberty, and commanded that the God ſhould thenceforwards be ſurnam'd *Philalexander*, that is, The Friend of *Alexander*. If we may credit *Timæus*, the *Greeks* begun to pay him this ſolemn Worſhip, for having occaſion'd the taking of *Tyre*; which happen'd the Day and Hour that the *Carthaginians* had carry'd off this Statue from *Gela*. The City of *Tyre* was taken about the End of *September*, after having ſuſtain'd a ſeven Months Siege.

Thus were accompliſh'd, the Menaces which God had pronounc'd, by the Mouth of his Prophets, againſt the City of *Tyre*: *Nabuchodonoſor* had begun to execute thoſe Threats, by beſieging and taking it; and they were compleated, by the ſad Cataſtrophe we have here deſcrib'd. As this double Event, forms one of the moſt conſiderable Paſſages in Hiſtory, and the Scriptures have given us ſeveral very remarkable Circumſtances of it; we ſhall endeavour to unite here, in one View, all that they relate, concerning the City of *Tyre*, its Power, its Riches, its Haughtineſs, and its Profanation; the different Puniſhments, with which *God* chaſtiſed its Pride, and other Vices; in ſhort, its laſt Reſtoration, but, in a Manner different from the reſt.

But before we relate the Prophecies concerning *Tyre*, we ſhall here preſent the Reader with a little Extract of the Hiſtory of that famous City, by which he will be the better enabled to underſtand the Prophecies.

Tyre was built by the *Sidonians*, two hundred and forty Years before the building of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*: For this Reaſon, it is called by *Iſaiah*, *The Daughter of* Sidon: However, it ſoon ſurpaſs'd its Mother-City in Extent, in Power, and in Riches.

It was beſieged by *Salmanaſar*; and, alone, reſiſted the united Fleets of the *Aſſyrians* and *Phœnicians*; a Circumſtance which greatly heighten'd its Pride.

Nabuchodonoſor laid Siege to *Tyre*, at the Time that *Ithobal* was King of that City; but did not take it, till thirteen Years after: And, before it was conquer'd, moſt of the Inhabitants had retir'd, with the greateſt Part of their Effects, into a neighbouring Iſland, where they built a new City. The old one was raz'd to the very Foundations, and has ſince been no more than a Village, known by the Name of *Palæ-Tyros*, or, antient *Tyre*; but the new one roſe to greater Power than ever.

It was in this great and flouriſhing Condition, when *Alexander* beſieged, and won it: And here begins the *Seventy Years*, of Obſcurity and Oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to *Iſaiah*. It was, indeed, ſoon repair'd, becauſe the *Sidonians*, who enter'd the City, with *Alexander*'s Army, ſaved Fifteen thouſand of their Citizens, (as was before obſerved) who, after their Return, applied themſelves to Traffick, and repair'd the Ruins of their Country, with incredible Labour; beſides, the Women and Children, who had been ſent to *Carthage*, and lodg'd in a Place of Safety, return'd to it at the ſame Time. But *Tyre* was confined to the Iſland, in which it ſtood; its Trade extended no farther than the neighbouring Cities, and it had loſt the Empire of the Sea: And when, eighteen Years after, *Antigonus* beſieged it with a ſtrong Fleet, we do not find that the *Tyrians* had any Maritime-Forces to oppoſe him. This ſecond Siege, which reduc'd it a ſecond Time to Captivity, plung'd it into the State of Oblivion, from which it endeavour'd to extricate itſelf; and this Oblivion continued the exact Time foretold by *Iſaiah*.

This Term of Years being expir'd, *Tyre* recover'd its former Credit; and, at the ſame Time, reſum'd its former Vices; till, at laſt, converted by the Preaching of the Goſpel, it became a holy and religious City: The ſacred Writings acquaint us with Part of theſe Revolutions; and this is what we are now to ſhew.

Tyre, before the Captivity of the *Jews*, in *Babylon*, was conſider'd as one of the moſt antient and flouriſhing Cities of the World: Its Induſtry, and very advantageous Situation, had raiſed it to the Soveraignty of the Seas, and made it the Center of all the Trade in the Univerſe. From the extreme Parts of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, and *India*, to the moſt remote *Weſtern* Coaſts; from *Scythia* and the *Northern* Countries, to *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and the *Southern* Countries; all Nations contributed to the Increaſe of its Riches, its Splendor and Power. Not only the ſeveral Things uſeful and neceſſary to Society, which thoſe various Regions produc'd; but whatever was found in them of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious Kind, and beſt adapted to pamper Luxury and Pride; all theſe, were brought to its Markets: And *Tyre*, as from a common Source, diffuſed this varied Abundance over all Kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupted Air, by inſpiring Mankind with a Love for Eaſe, Vanity, Luxury, and Delights.

A long, uninterrupted Series of Proſperities had ſwell'd the Pride of this City: She was proud of being look'd upon as the Queen of Cities; a Queen, whoſe Head is adorn'd with a Diadem; whoſe Correſpondents are illuſtrious Princes; whoſe rich Traders diſpute for Superiority with Kings; who ſees every maritime Power, either as her *Allies* or Dependents; and who made herſelf neceſſary, or formidable to all Nations.

Tyre

Tyre had now fill'd up the Measure of her Iniquity, by her Impiety against *God*, and her Barbarity exercised against his People: She had rejoiced over the Ruins of *Jerusalem*, in the insulting Words following: *Behold then the Gates of this so populous City are broken down. Her Inhabitants shall come to me, and I will enrich myself with her Spoils, now she is laid waste.* She was not satisfied, with having reduced the *Jews* to a State of Captivity, notwithstanding the Alliance between them; with selling them to the *Gentiles*, and delivering them up to their most cruel Enemies; she likewise had seiz'd upon the Inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his Temple, the most precious Things, to enrich therewith the Temples of her Idols.

This Profanation and Cruelty drew down the Vengeance of *God* upon *Tyre*: *God* was resolved to destroy her, because she relied so much upon her own Strength, her Wisdom, her Riches, and her Alliances. He therefore brought against her *Nabuchodonosor*, that King of Kings, to overflow her with his mighty Hosts; as with Waters, that overspread their Banks; in order to demolish her Ramparts, to ruin her proud Palaces, to deliver up her Merchandizes and Treasures to the Enemy, and to raze *Tyre*, to the very Foundations, after having set Fire to it, and either extirpated, or dispersed all its Inhabitants.

By this so unexpected a Fall, the *Almighty* taught the astonish'd Nations, that he more evidently displays his Providence, by the most incredible Revolutions of States; and that his Will only directs the Enterprizes of Men, and guides them as he pleases, in order to humble the Proud.

But *Tyre*, after she had recover'd her Losses, and repair'd her Ruins, forgot her former State of Humiliation, and the Guilt which had reduced her to it: She still was swell'd with the Glory of possessing the Empire of the Sea; of being the Seat of universal Trade; of giving Birth to the most famous Colonies; of having within her Walls, Merchants, whose Credit, Riches, and Splendor, equall'd them to the Princes and great Men of the Earth; of being govern'd by a Monarch, who might justly be entitled, King of the Sea; of tracing back her Origin to the most remote Antiquity; of having acquir'd, by a long Series of Ages, a kind of Eternity; and of having a Right to promise herself another such Eternity in Times to come.

Wherefore, since that this City, corrupted by Pride, by Avarice and Luxury, has not profited by the first Lesson which *God* had given her, in the Person of the King of *Babylon*; and that, after being oppress'd by all the Forces of the *East*, she still would not learn, to confide no longer, in the false and imaginary Supports of her own Greatness: *God* foretels her another Chastisement, which he will send upon her from the *West*, near four hundred Years after the first. Her Destruction will come from *Chittim*, that is, *Macedonia*; from a Kingdom so weak and obscure, that it had been despis'd a few Years before; a Kingdom, whence she could never have expected such a Blow. *Tyre*, *possess'd with an Opinion of her own Wisdom, and proud* of her Fleets, *of her immense Riches, which she heaped up as Mire in the Streets*; and also protected by the whole Power of the *Persian* Empire, does not imagine she has any Thing to fear from those new Enemies, who, being situated at a great Distance from her, without either Money, Strength, or Reputation; having neither Harbours nor Ships, and being quite unskilled in Navigation, can not therefore, as she imagines, annoy her with their Land Forces. *Tyre* looks upon herself as impregnable, because she is defended by lofty Fortifications, and surrounded on all Sides by the Sea, as with a Moat, and a Girdle: Nevertheless, *Alexander*, by filling up the Arm of the Sea, which separates her from the Continent, will force off her Girdle, and demolish those Ramparts which serv'd her as a second Inclosure.

Tyre, thus dispossess'd of her Dignity, as Queen, and as a free City, boasting no more her Diadem nor her Girdle, will be reduced, during seventy Years, to the mean Condition of a Slave. *The Lord hath purposed it, to stain the Pride of all Glory, and to bring into Contempt all the Honourable of the Earth.* Her Fall will drag after it the Ruin of Trade in general; and she will prove to all Cities, a Subject of Sorrow and Lamentation; by making them lose the present Means, and the future Hopes, of enriching themselves

To prove, in a sensible Manner, to *Tyre*, that the Prophecy, concerning her Ruin, is not incredible, and that all the Strength and Wisdom of Man, can no-ways ward off, or suspend the Punishment, which *God* has prepar'd for Pride, and the Abuse of Riches: *Isaiah* sets before her the Example of *Babylon*, whose Destruction ought to have been an Example to her. This City, in which *Nimrod* laid the Foundations of his Empire, was the most antient, the most populous, and embellish'd with more Edifices, both publick and private, than any other City. She was the Capital of the first Empire that ever existed, and was founded, in order to command over the whole Earth, who seem'd to be inhabited by Families only who came from her Bosom, as it were, like so many Colonies, whose Parent she was. Nevertheless, says the Prophet, she is no more, neither *Babylon*, nor her Empire. The Citizens of *Babylon* had multiplied their Ramparts and Citadels, to render, even the besieging it, impracticable. The Inhabitants had rais'd pompous Palaces, to make their Names immortal; but all these Fortifications were but as so many Dens, in the Eyes of Providence, for wild Beasts to dwell in; and these Edifices were sentenced to fall to Dust, or else to sink to humble Cottages.

After so signal an Example, continues the Prophet, shall *Tyre*, which is so much inferiour to *Babylon* in a great many Respects, dare to hope, that the Menaces pronounc'd by Heaven against her, *viz.* to deprive her of the Empire of the Sea, and destroy her Fleets, will not be fulfilled?

To make her the more strongly sensible how much she has abused her Prosperity, *God* will reduce her to a State of Humiliation and Oblivion, during threescore and ten Years. But after this Season of Obscurity, she will endeavour again to appear with the Air of a Harlot, whose Charms and Artifices she shall assume; she will employ her utmost Endeavours to corrupt Youth, and sooth their Passions. To recover her Traffick, she shall employ Fraud, Deceit, and the most insidious Inticements. She shall visit every Part of the World, to collect the most rare, and most delicious Products of every Country; to inspire the various Na-

tions of the Univerſe, with a Love and Admiration for Superfluities and Splendor; and fill them with an Averſion for the Simplicity and Frugality of the Antients. And ſhe will ſet every Engine at work, to renew her antient Treaties, to recover the Confidence of her former Correſpondents: and to compenſate, by a ſpecial Abundance, the Sterility of ſeventy Years.

Thus, in Proportion, as the *Almighty* ſhall give *Tyre* an Opportunity of recovering her Trade and Credit, ſhe ſhall return to her former ſhameful Traffic, which *God* had ruin'd, by ſtripping her of the great Poſſeſſions ſhe had applied to ſuch pernicious Uſes.

But at laſt, *Tyre*, converted by the Goſpel, ſhall no more be a Scandal, and a Stumbling-block to Nations: She ſhall no longer ſacrifice her Labour to the Idolatry of Wealth, but to the Worſhip of the LORD, and the Comfort of thoſe who ſerve him. She ſhall no longer render her Riches barren and uſeleſs by detaining them; but ſhall ſcatter them, like fruitful Seed, from the Hands of Believers, and Miniſters of the Goſpel.

One of *God*'s Deſigns, in the Prophecies juſt now cited, is to give us a juſt Idea of a Traffic, whoſe only Motive is Avarice, and whoſe Fruits are Pleaſures, Vanity, and Immortality. Mankind look upon Cities which are enrich'd with a Commerce like that of *Tyre* (and 'tis the ſame with private Perſons) as happier than any other; as worthy of Envy, and as fit (becauſe of their Induſtry, their Labour, and the Succeſs of their Toils and Conduct) to be propos'd as Patterns for the Reſt to copy after: But *God*, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the ſhameful Image of a Woman loſt to all Senſe of Virtue; as a Woman, whoſe only View is to ſeduce and corrupt Youth; who only ſooths the Paſſions, and flatters the Senſes; who abhors Modeſty, and every Sentiment of Honour; and who, blotting from her Countenance every Characteriſtic of Chaſtity, glories in Ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that Traffick is ſinful in itſelf, but we ſhould ſeparate from the eſſential Foundation of Trade, which is juſt and lawful, when apply'd to virtuous Uſes, the Paſſions of Men which intermix, and by thdt Means pervert the Order and End of it. *Tyre*, converted to *Chriſtianity*, teaches the Merchants, in what Manner they are to carry on their Traffick; and the Uſes to which they ought to apply their Profits.

Whilſt *Alexander* was carrying on the Siege of *Tyre*, he receiv'd a ſecond Letter from *Darius*, who at laſt gave him the Title of King. "He "offer'd him therein, Ten thouſand Talents, as "a Ranſom for the captive Princeſſes, and his "Daughter *Statira* in Marriage, with all the "Country he had conquer'd, as far as the *Eu*-"*phrates*. He then inſinuated to him, the Incon-"ſtancy of Fortune; and deſcrib'd, in the moſt "pompous Terms, the numberleſs Troops, who "were ſtill under his Command; and ask'd, if he "could think, that it was ſo very eaſy to croſs "the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Araxes*, and the "*Hydaſpes*, which were as ſo many Bulwarks to "the *Perſian* Empire? That he ſhould not be al-"ways ſhut up between Rocks and Paſſes; that "they ſhould both appear in a Plain, and that "then *Alexander* would be aſham'd to come be-"fore him, with only a Handful of Men." The King hereupon ſummon'd a Council, in which *Parmenio* was of Opinion, that he ought to accept of theſe Offers; declaring, he himſelf would agree to them, were he *Alexander*. *And ſo would I* (reply'd *Alexander*) *were I* Parmenio. He, therefore, return'd the following Anſwer; "That he "did not want the Money *Darius* offer'd him: "That it did not become *Darius* to offer a Thing "he no longer poſſeſs'd; or to pretend to diſtri-"bute, what he had entirely loſt: That in Caſe "he was the only Perſon who did not know which "of them was ſuperiour, a Battle would ſoon de-"termine it: That he ſhould not think to intimidate, with Rivers, a Man who had croſs'd "ſo many Seas: And, in ſhort, that to whatſo-"ever Place he might think proper to retire, "*Alexander* would not fail to find him out." Upon receiving which Anſwer, *Darius* loſt all Hopes of an Accommodation, and ſo prepar'd again for War.

From *Tyre*, *Alexander* march'd to *Jeruſalem*; firmly reſolv'd to ſhew it no more Favour than he had done the former City; and for this Reaſon; The *Tyrians* were ſo much employ'd in Traffick, that they quite neglected Husbandry, and drew moſt of their Corn, and other Proviſions, from the Countries in their Neighbourhood. *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and *Judea*, furniſh'd them with the greateſt Quantities. At the ſame Time that *Alexander* laid Siege to their City, he was himſelf obliged to ſend for Proviſions from thoſe Countries: He, therefore, ſent Commiſſaries to ſummon the Inhabitants thereof to ſubmit, and furniſh his Army with whatever they might want. The *Jews*, however, deſir'd to be excus'd, alledging that they had taken an Oath of Fidelity to *Darius*; and perſiſted in anſwering, that they would never recognize any other Soveraign, ſo long as he was living: A rare Example of Fidelity, and worthy of the only People, who, in that Age, acknowledg'd the true *God!* The *Samaritans*, however, did not imitate them in this Particular; for they ſubmitted with Chearfulneſs to *Alexander*, and even ſent him Eight thouſand Men, to ſerve at the Siege of *Tyre*, and other Places. For the better underſtanding of what follows, it may be neceſſary for us, to acquaint the Reader, in few Words, with the State of the *Samaritans* at that Time; and the Cauſe of the ſtrong Antipathy between them and the *Jews*.

We obſerv'd elſewhere, that the *Samaritans* did not ſpring from the *Iſraelites*, but were a Colony of Idolaters, taken from the Countries on the other Side of the *Euphrates*, whom *Aſſaraddon*, King of the *Aſſyrians*, had ſent to inhabit the Cities of *Samaria*, after the Ruin of the Kingdom of the Ten Tribes. Theſe People who were called *Cuthæi*, blended the Worſhip of the *God* of *Iſrael* with that of Idols; and, on all Occaſions, diſcover'd an Enmity to the *Jews*. This Hatred was much ſtronger, after the Return of the *Jews* from the *Babyloniſh* Captivity, both before and after the Reſtoration of the Temple.

Notwithſtanding the Reformation which holy *Nehemiah* had wrought in *Jeruſalem*, with Regard to the marrying of ſtrange or foreign Women; the Evil had yet ſpread ſo far, that the High-Prieſt's Houſe, which ought to have been preſerv'd, more than any other, from thoſe criminal Mixtures, was itſelf polluted with them. One of the

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Sons of *Jehoiada* the High-prieſt, whom *Joſephus* calls *Manaſſes*, had marry'd the Daughter of *Sanballat* the *Horonite*; and many more had follow'd his Example. But *Nehemiah*, zealous for the Law of the Lord, which was ſo ſhamefully violated, commanded, without Exception, all who had marry'd ſtrange Women, either to put them away immediately, or depart the Country; and *Manaſſes* choſe to go into Baniſhment, rather than ſeparate himſelf from his Wife, and accordingly withdrew to *Samaria*; whither he was follow'd by great Numbers, as rebellious as himſelf; and he there ſettled them, under the Protection of *Sanballat* his Father-in-Law, who was Governour of that Country.

Sanballat had obtain'd Leave of *Darius Nothus* (whom, probably, the War, which broke out between *Egypt* and *Perſia*, had forc'd into *Phœnicia*) to build on Mount *Garizim*, near *Samaria*, a Temple like that of *Jeruſalem*; and to appoint *Manaſſes*, his Son-in-Law, Prieſt thereof. From that Time, *Samaria* became the Aſylum of all Malecontents in *Judæa*. And 'twas this raiſed the Hatred of the *Jews*, againſt the *Samaritans*, to its greateſt Height, when they ſaw that the latter, notwithſtanding the expreſs Prohibition of the Law, which fix'd the ſolemn Worſhip of the *God* of *Iſrael* in the City of *Jeruſalem*, had rais'd Altar againſt Altar, and Temple againſt Temple; and gave Shelter to all who fled from *Jeruſalem*, to ſcreen themſelves from the Puniſhment, which would have been inflicted on them, for their violating the Law.

Such was the State of *Judæa*, when *Alexander* laid Siege to *Tyre*: The *Samaritans*, as we before obſerv'd, had ſent him a conſiderable Body of Troops; whereas the *Jews* thought, they could honeſtly ſubmit themſelves to him, ſo long as *Darius*, to whom they had taken an Oath of Allegiance, was alive. Hereupon *Alexander*, being little uſed to ſuch an Anſwer, particularly ſince he had obtain'd ſo many Victories, and thinking that all Things ought to bow to him, reſolv'd, the Inſtant he had conquer'd *Tyre*, to march againſt the *Jews*, and puniſh their Diſobedience, as rigorouſly, as he had done that of the *Tyrians*.

In this imminent Danger, *Jaddus* the High-Prieſt, who govern'd under the *Perſians*, ſeeing himſelf expoſed, with all the Inhabitants, to the Wrath of the Conqueror, had Recourſe to the Protection of the *Almighty*; gave Orders for the Offering up publick Prayers, to implore his Aſſiſtance, and made Sacrifices. The Night after, *God* appear'd to him in a Dream, and bid him, *To cauſe Flowers to be ſcatter'd up and down the City; to ſet open all the Gates, and go, cloathed in his pontifical Robes, with all the Prieſts, dreſs'd alſo in their Veſtments, and all the reſt cloathed in White, and meet* Alexander, *and not fear any Evil from that King, inaſmuch as he would protect them.* This Command was punctually obey'd; and, accordingly, this auguſt Proceſſion, the very Day after, march'd out of the City, to an Eminence call'd *Sapha*, where there was a View of all the Plain, as well as of the Temple and City of *Jeruſalem*; where the whole Proceſſion waited the Arrival of *Alexander*.

The *Syrians* and *Phœnicians* who were in his Army, were perſuaded that the Wrath of this Prince was ſo great, that he would certainly puniſh the High-prieſt after an exemplary Manner, and deſtroy that City, in the ſame Manner as he had done *Tyre*; and, fluſh'd with Joy upon that Account, they waited in Expectation, of glutting their Eyes, with the Calamities of a People, to whom they bore a mortal Hatred. As ſoon, however, as the *Jews* heard of the King's Approach, they ſet out to meet him, with all the Pomp before deſcrib'd; when *Alexander*, ſtruck at the Sight of the High-prieſt, on whoſe Mitre and Forehead a golden Plate was fix'd, on which the Name of *GOD* was written; the Moment he ſaw him, advanc'd towards him, with an Air of the moſt profound Reſpect; bow'd his Body, ador'd the auguſt Name above-mention'd, and ſaluted him who wore it, with a religious Veneration. Thereupon, the *Jews*, ſurrounding *Alexander*, raiſed their Voices to wiſh him every Kind of Proſperity; whilſt all the Spectators, ſeiz'd with an inexpreſſible Surprize, could ſcarce believe their Eyes; and did not know how to account for a Sight, ſo contrary to their Expectation, and ſo vaſtly improbable.

Parmenia, who could not yet recover from his Aſtoniſhment, ask'd the King, how it came to paſs, that he, who was ador'd by every one, ador'd the High-prieſt. *I do not* (reply'd *Alexander*) *adore the High prieſt, but the* God *whoſe Miniſter he is; for whilſt I was at* Dia, *in* Macedonia, (*my Mind wholly fix'd on the great Deſign of the* Perſian *War*) *as I was revolving the Methods how to conquer* Aſia, *this very Man, dreſs'd in the ſame Robes, appear'd to me in a Dream; exhorted me to baniſh every Fear, bid me croſs the* Helleſpont *boldly; and aſſur'd me, that* God *would march at the Head of my Army, and give me the Victory over that of the* Perſians. *Alexander* added, that the Inſtant he ſaw this Prieſt, he knew him, by his Habit, his Stature, his Air, and his Face, to be the ſame Perſon whom he had ſeen at *Dia*; that he was firmly perſuaded, it was by the Command, and under the immediate Conduct of Heaven, that he had undertaken this War; that he was ſure he ſhould overcome *Darius* hereafter, and deſtroy the Empire of the *Perſians*; and that this was the Reaſon why he ador'd this *God*, in the Perſon of his Prieſt. Having thus anſwer'd *Parmenio*, *Alexander* embrac'd the High-prieſt, and all his Brethren; then walking in the Midſt of them, he arriv'd at *Jeruſalem*, where he offer'd Sacrifices to *God*, in the Temple, after the Manner preſcrib'd to him by the High-prieſt; who afterwards, ſhew'd him thoſe Paſſages in the Prophecy of *Daniel*, which are ſpoken of that Monarch. We will here give an Extract of them, to ſhew how conſpicuouſly the moſt diſtant Events are preſent to our Creator.

God manifeſts, by the Prophecy of *Daniel*, that Grandeur, Empire, and Glory, are his; that he gives them to whomſoever he pleaſes, and withdraws them, in like Manner, to puniſh the Abuſe of them; that his Wiſdom and Power only, direct the Courſe of Events in all Ages; that he changes, by his bare Will, the whole Face of Things; that he ſets up new Kingdoms, overthrows antient ones, and effaces, even to the very Footſteps of them, with the ſame Eaſe, as the Wind carries off the ſmalleſt Straw from the Threſhing-floor.

God's Deſign, in ſubjecting States to ſuch aſtoniſhing Revolutions, is to teach Men, that they

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are in his Preſence as nothing; that he only is the moſt High, the eternal King, the ſovereign Arbiter; who acts as he pleaſes, with ſupreme Power, both in Heaven and in Earth. For the putting this Deſign in Execution, the Prophet ſees an auguſt Council, in which the Angels being appointed as ſpectators, and Overſeers of Governments and Kings, enquire into the Uſe, they make of the Authority, that Heaven entruſted them with, in Quality of his Miniſters; and when they abuſe it, theſe Spirits, zealous for the glory of their Sovereign, beſeech *God* to puniſh their Injuſtice and Ingratitude; and to humble their Pride, by caſting them from the Throne, and raiſing to it the moſt abject among Mankind.

God, to make theſe important Truths ſtill more ſenſible, ſhews *Daniel* four dreadful Beaſts, who riſe from a vaſt Sea, in which the four Winds combat together with Fury; and, under theſe Symbols, he repreſents to the Prophet, the Origin, the Characteriſticks, and Fall of the four great Empires, which are to govern the whole World ſucceſſively. A dreadful, but too real Image! For, Empires riſe out of Noiſe and Confuſion; they ſubſiſt in Blood and Slaughter; they exerciſe their Power with Violence and Cruelty; they think it glorious to carry Terror and Deſolation into all Places; but yet, in Spite of their utmoſt Efforts, they are ſubject to continual Viciſſitudes, and unforeſeen Deſtruction.

The Prophet then relates, more particularly, the Character of each of theſe Empires. After having repreſented the Empire of the *Babylonians*, under the Image of a *Lion's*; and that of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, under the Form of a *Bear*, greedy of Prey; he draws the Picture of the *Grecian* Monarchy, by preſenting us with ſuch of his Characteriſticks, as it is more immediately known by. Under the Image of a *ſpotted Leopard*, with four Heads, and four Wings, he ſhadows *Alexander*, intermix'd with good and bad Qualities; raſh and impetuous in his Reſolutions; rapid in his Conqueſts; flying with the Swiftneſs of a Bird of Prey, rather than marching with the Weight of an Army, loaded with the whole Equipage of War; ſupported by the Valour and Capacity of his Generals, four of whom, after having aſſiſted him in conquering his Empire, divide it among themſelves.

To this Picture the Prophet adds, elſewhere, new Touches: He enumerates the Order of the Succeſſion of the Kings of *Perſia*; he declares, in preciſe Terms, that, after the three firſt Kings, *viz. Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, and *Darius*, a fourth Monarch will ariſe, who is *Xerxes*, a ſoft, judicious, and fearful Prince, will not have the leaſt Succeſs in any of his Projects.

On the Contrary, from among the *Greeks*, attack'd unſucceſsfully by the *Perſians*, there will ariſe a King, of Genius and Turn of Mind, quite different from that of *Xerxes*; and this is *Alexander the Great*. He ſhall be a bold, valiant Monarch; he ſhall ſucceed in all his Enterprizes; he ſhall extend his Dominion far and wide; and ſhall eſtabliſh an irreſiſtible Power, over the Ruins of the vanquiſh'd Nations: But, at a Time, when he ſhall imagine himſelf to be moſt firmly ſeated on the Throne, he ſhall loſe his Life, with the regal Dignity, and not leave any Poſterity to ſucceed him in it. This new Monarchy, loſing, on a Sudden, the Splendor and Power for which it was ſo renown'd under *Alexander*, ſhall divide itſelf towards the four Winds of Heaven. From its Ruins, there ſhall ariſe, not only four great Kingdoms, *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Aſia Minor*, and *Macedon*; but alſo ſeveral other Foreigners, or *Barbarians*, ſhall uſurp its Provinces, and form Kingdoms out of theſe.

In ſhort, in the eighth Chapter, the Prophet compleats the Deſcription, in ſtill ſtronger Colours, the Character, the Battles, the Series of Advances made; the Riſe and Fall, of theſe two rival Empires. By the Image he gives of a powerful *Ram*, having two Horns of an unequal Length, he declares, that the firſt of theſe Empires ſhall be compos'd of *Perſians* and *Medes*; that its Strength ſhall conſiſt in the Union of theſe two Nations; that the *Perſians* ſhall, nevertheleſs, exceed the *Medes* in Authority; that they ſhall have a Series of Conqueſts, without meeting with any Oppoſition; that they ſhall firſt extend themſelves towards the *Weſt*, by ſubduing the *Lydians*, the Provinces of *Aſia Minor*, and *Thrace*; that they ſhall afterwards turn their Arms towards the *North*, in order to ſubdue Part of the *Scythians*, and the Nations bordering on the *Caſpian Sea*; in ſhort, that they ſhall endeavour to enlarge their Dominions towards the *South*, by ſubjecting *Egypt* and *Arabia*; but that they ſhall not invade the Nations of the *Eaſt*.

The Monarchy of the *Greeks* is afterwards exhibited to *Daniel*, under the Symbol of a *He-goat* of prodigious Size; he perceives that the *Macedonian* Army will march from the *Weſt*, in order to invade the Empire of the *Perſians*; that it will be headed by a Warrior, famous for his Power and Glory; that it will travel to a prodigious Diſtance, to go in Queſt of the Enemy, even into the very Heart of his Dominions; that it ſhall advance towards this Enemy, with ſuch Rapidity, that it will ſeem barely to touch Ground; that it will give that Empire its mortal Wound; quite overthrow it by repeated Victories, and deſtroy the double Power of the *Perſians* and *Medes*; during which, not one Monarch, whether its *Ally* or Neighbour, ſhall give it the leaſt Aſſiſtance.

But, aſſoon as this Monarchy ſhall have roſe to its greateſt Height, *Alexander*, who form'd its greateſt Strength, ſhall be ſnatch'd from it; and then there will ariſe, towards the four Parts of the World, four *Grecian* Monarchies; which, though vaſtly inferior to that of *Alexander*, will yet be very conſiderable.

Can any Thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a Series of Prophecies, all of them ſo clear, ſo exact, and ſo circumſtantiated; Prophecies, which go ſo far as to point out, That a Prince ſhall die, without leaving a ſingle Succeſſor, from among his own Family; and that four of his Generals will divide his Empire between them? But we muſt peruſe theſe Prophecies in the Scriptures themſelves. The *Vulgate* agrees, a few Places excepted, pretty nearly with the *Hebrew*, which we ſhall tranſlate agreeable to the original Text.

In the third Year of the Reign of King Belſhazzar, *a Viſion appeared unto me, even unto me*, Daniel, *after that which appeared unto me at the firſt. And I ſaw in a Viſion* (*and it came to paſs when I ſaw, that I was at* Shuſhan *in the Palace, which is in the Province of* Elam) *and I ſaw in a Viſion, and*

and I was by the River of Ulai. *Then I lifted up mine Eyes, and saw, and behold, there ſtood before the River a* Ram, *which had two Horns, and the two Horns were high: But one was higher than the other, and the higher came up laſt. I ſaw the* Ram *puſhing* Weſtward, *and* Northward, *and* Southward: *So that no Beaſts might ſtand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his Hand, but he did according to his Will, and became great. And as I was conſidering, behold, an* He-Goat *came from the* Weſt, *on the Face of the whole Earth, and touched not the Ground; and the* Goat *had a notable Horn between his Eyes. And he came to the* Ram *that had two Horns, which I had ſeen ſtanding before the River, and ran to him in the Fury of his Power. And I ſaw him come cloſe unto the* Ram, *and he was moved with Choler againſt him, and ſmote the* Ram, *and brake his two Horns, and there was no Power in the* Ram *to ſtand before him, but he caſt him down to the Ground, and ſtamped upon him: And there was none that could deliver the* Ram *out of his Hand. Therefore, the* He-Goat *waxed very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great Horn was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four Winds of Heaven.*

A great Number of very important Reflections might be made on the Prophecies laſt mention'd: But theſe we ſhall leave to the Reader's Underſtanding and Piety, and will make but one Remark; on which, however, we ſhall not expatiate ſo much, as the Subject might deſerve.

The *Almighty* directs all Events which happen in the World; and rules, with deſpotick Sway, the Fate of all Men, of all Cities, and of all Empires; but then he hides the ſeveral Springs of his Wiſdom, and the Wonders of his Providence, beneath the Veil of natural Cauſes and ordinary Events. In all that prophane Hiſtory exhibits to us, whether Sieges, or the Conqueſts of Cities: Battles won, or loſt; Empires eſtabliſh'd, or overthrown; there appears nothing but what is human and natural: *God* ſeems to have no Concern in theſe Things, and we ſhould be tempted to believe that he abandons Men intirely to their Views, their Talents, and their Paſſions; if we, perhaps, except the *Jewiſh* Nation, whom he regarded as his own peculiar People.

To prevent our falling into a Temptation ſo repugnant to Religion, and even Reaſon itſelf, *God* breaks, at every Interval, his Silence; diſperſes the Clouds which hide him, and condeſcends to diſcover to us the ſecret Springs of his Providence, by cauſing his Prophets to foretel, a long Series of Years before the Event, the Fate he has prepar'd for the different People of the Earth. He reveals to *Daniel* the Order, the Succeſſion, and the different Characteriſticks of the four great Empires to which he is determin'd to ſubject all the Nations of the Univerſe, *viz.* That of the *Babylonians*, of the *Perſians* and *Medes*, of the *Greeks*; and laſtly, that of the *Romans*.

It is in the ſame View that he inſiſts, very ſtrongly, on the two moſt famous Conquerors that ever exiſted; we mean, *Cyrus*, and *Alexander*; the one Founder, the other Deſtroyer of the powerful Empire of *Perſia*. He cauſes the former to be call'd by his Name Two hundred Years before his Birth; propheſies, by the Mouth of *Iſaiah*, his Victories; and relates the ſeveral Circumſtances of the Taking of *Babylon*, the like of which had never been ſeen before. On this Occaſion, he points out *Alexander*, by the Mouth of *Daniel*, and aſcribes ſuch Qualities and Characteriſticks, as can agree with none but him, and which exhibit him as plainly as if he had been nam'd.

Theſe Paſſages of Scripture in which *God* explains himſelf clearly, ſhould be look'd upon as very precious; and ſerve as ſo many Keys, to open to us the Path, to the ſecret Methods, by which he governs the World. Theſe faint Glimmerings of Light, ſhould enable a rational and religious Man to ſee every Thing elſe clearly; and make him conclude, from what is ſaid of the Four great Empires, of *Cyrus* and *Alexander*, of *Babylon* and *Tyre*, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the ſeveral Events of prophane Hiſtory, *God*'s perpetual Care and Regard for all Men, and all States, whoſe Deſtiny depends intirely on his Wiſdom, his Power, and his Liberty.

We may eaſily imagine the great Joy and Admiration with which *Alexander* was fill'd, upon hearing ſuch clear, ſuch circumſtantiated, and advantagious Promiſes: Before he left *Jeruſalem*, he aſſembled the *Jews*, and bid them ask any Favour whatſoever. They anſwer'd, "That their "Requeſt was, to be allow'd to live according "to the Laws, which their Anceſtors had left "them; and to be exempt, the ſeventh Year, "from their uſual Tribute: becauſe they were "forbid, by their Laws, to ſow their Fields, and "conſequently, could have no Harveſt." *Alexander* granted their Requeſt; and, on the High-Prieſt's beſeeching him, to ſuffer the *Jews*, who liv'd in *Babylonia* and *Media*, to live likewiſe agreeable to their own Laws, he alſo indulg'd them in this Particular, with the utmoſt Humanity; and ſaid farther, "That, in Caſe any of "them would be willing to ſerve under his Stan-"dards, he would give them Leave to follow "their own Way of Worſhip, and to obſerve "their reſpective Cuſtoms:" Upon which Offer, great Numbers inliſted themſelves.

CHAP. VI.

The Samaritans *desire to be treated with the same Indulgence as the* Jews, *but are disappointed*; Alexander's *barbarous and inhuman Usage of* Betis; Egypt *submits to him willingly*; *He goes to the Temple of* Jupiter-Ammon, *and is own'd for his Son*; *He founds* Alexandria; *The Battle of* Arbela, *where* Darius *is again defeated*; Alexander *possesses himself of* Babylon, Susa, *and* Persepolis; *Being intoxicated with Liquor, he burns the latter.*

HE was scarce come from *Jerusalem*, but the *Samaritans* waited upon him with great Pomp and Ceremony; humbly intreating him to do them also the Honour to visit their Temple: As they had submitted voluntarily to *Alexander*, and sent him Troops, they imagin'd, that they deserv'd his Favour much more than the *Jews*; and flatter'd themselves, that they should obtain the same, and even much greater Indulgence. It was in this View they made the pompous Procession abovementioned, in order to invite *Alexander* to their City; and the Eight thousand Men they had sent to serve under him, join'd in the Request made by their Countrymen. *Alexander*, however, only thank'd them courteously; said, "That he was oblig'd to march into *Egypt*, "and therefore, had no Time to lose; however, "that he would visit their City, at his Return, "in Case he had Opportunity." They then besought him to exempt them from paying a Tribute every Seventh Year; upon which, *Alexander* ask'd them, whether they were *Jews*: They made an ambiguous Answer, which the King not having Time to examine, he also suspended that Matter till his Return, and immediately continu'd his March towards *Gaza*.

Upon his Arrival before that City, he found it defended by a strong Garrison, commanded by *Betis*, one of the Eunuchs of *Darius*; who, being a brave Man, and very faithful to his Sovereign, defended it with great Vigour against *Alexander*. As this was the only Inlet, or Pass into *Egypt*, it was absolutely necessary for him to conquer it, and therefore, he was oblig'd to besiege it: But, although every Art of War was employ'd; and, notwithstanding, his Soldiers fought with the utmost Intrepidity; he yet was forc'd to set down Two Months before it. Exasperated at its holding out so long, and his receiving two Wounds, he was resolv'd to treat the Governor, the Inhabitants and Soldiers with such a Barbarity, as was absolutely inexcusable; for he cut Ten thousand Men in Pieces, and sold all the Rest, with their Wives, and Children, for Slaves. When *Betis*, who had been taken Prisoner in the last Assault, was brought before him; *Alexander*, instead of using him kindly, as his Valour and Fidelity justly merited; this young Monarch, who, otherwise, esteem'd Bravery even in an Enemy, fir'd, on that Occasion, with an insolent Joy, spoke thus to him: *Betis, Thou shalt not die the Death thou desiredst: Prepare, therefore, to suffer all those Torments, which Revenge can invent.* However, *Betis*, looking upon the King with not only a firm, but haughty Air, did not make the least Reply to his Menaces; upon which, more enrag'd than before, at this disdainful Silence; *Observe*, said he, *I beseech you, that dumb Arrogance: Has he bended the Knee? Has he spoke but even so much as one submissive Word? But I will conquer this obstinate Silence, and force Groans from him, if I can draw nothing else.* At last, his Anger rose even to Fury; his Conduct now beginning to change with his Fortune, and he order'd a Hole to be made through his Heels, a Rope put through them, and ty'd to a Chariot; wherewith he order'd his Soldiers to drag *Betis* round the City, till he dy'd. He boasted, his having imitated, on this Occasion, *Achilles*, from whom he was descended; who, as *Homer* relates, caus'd the dead Body of *Hector* to be dragg'd, in the same Manner, round the Walls of *Troy*; as though a Man ought ever to pride himself, for having imitated so ill an Example. Both were very barbarous, but *Alexander* was much more so; in causing *Betis* to be dragg'd alive; and for no other Reason, but because he had serv'd his Sovereign with Bravery and Fidelity; by defending a City with which he had intrusted him; a Fidelity, that ought to have been admir'd, and even rewarded, by an Enemy, rather than punish'd in so cruel a Manner.

He sent the greatest Part of the Plunder he found in *Gaza*, to *Olympias*, his Mother; to *Cleopatra*, his Sister; and to his Friends. He also presented *Leonidas*, his Preceptor, with Five hundred Quintals (or Hundred Weight) of Frankincense, and an Hundred Quintals of Myrrh; calling to Mind a Caution, *Leonidas* had given him, when a Child; and which seem'd, even at that Time, to presage the Conquests this Monarch had so lately atchiev'd. For *Leonidas*, observing *Alexander* take up whole Handfuls of Incense at a Sacrifice, and throw it into the Fire, said to him: *Alexander, when you have conquer'd the Country which produces these Spices, you may be as profuse of Incense as you please; but, till that Day comes, be sparing of what you have.* The Monarch, therefore, wrote to *Leonidas*, as follows: *I send you a large Quantity of Incense and Myrrh, in order that*

you

you may no longer be ſo reſerved and thrifty in your Sacrifices to the Gods.

As ſoon as *Alexander* had finiſh'd the Siege of *Gaza*, he left a Garriſon in it, and turn'd the whole Power of his Arms towards *Egypt*: In ſeven Days March he arriv'd before *Peluſium*, whither a great Number of *Egyptians* had aſſembled, with all imaginable Diligence, to recognize him for their Sovereign.

The Hatred theſe People bore to the *Perſians* was ſo great, that they valu'd very little who was their King, provided they could but meet with a Hero, to reſcue them from the Inſolence and Indignity with which themſelves, and thoſe who profeſs'd their Religion, were treated. For, how falſe ſoever a Religion may be (and it is ſcarce poſſible to imagine one more abſurd than that of the *Egyptians*) ſo long as it continues to be the eſtabliſh'd Religion, the People will not ſuffer it to be inſulted; nothing affecting their Minds ſo ſtrongly, nor firing them to a greater Degree. *Ochus* had caus'd their God *Apis* to be murder'd, in a Manner highly injurious to themſelves, and their Religion; and the *Perſians*, to whom he had left the Government, continu'd to make the ſame Mock of that Deity. Thus ſeveral Circumſtances had render'd the *Perſians* ſo odious, that, upon the Coming of *Amyntas*, a little before, with a Handful of Men, he found them prepar'd to join, and aſſiſt him in driving away the *Perſians*.

This *Amyntas* had deſerted from *Alexander*, and enter'd into the Service of *Darius*: He had commanded the *Grecian* Forces at the Battle of *Iſſus*; and, having fled into *Syria*, by the Country lying towards *Tripoli*, with Four thouſand Men, he had there ſeiz'd upon as many Veſſels as he wanted, burnt the Reſt, and immediately ſet Sail towards the Iſland of *Cyprus*, and afterwards towards *Peluſium*, which he won by Surprize; pretending, that he had been honour'd with a Commiſſion from *Darius*, appointing him Governor of *Egypt*, in the Room of *Sabaces*, kill'd in the Battle of *Iſſus*. As ſoon as he found himſelf poſſeſs'd of this important City, he threw off the Mask, and made publick Pretenſions to the Crown of *Egypt*; declaring, that the Motive of his Coming was, to drive the *Perſians* from it. Upon this, a Multitude of *Egyptians*, who wiſh'd for nothing ſo earneſtly, as to free themſelves from thoſe cruel, and inſupportable Tyrants, went over to him. He then march'd directly for *Memphis*, the Capital of the Kingdom, when, coming to a Battle, he defeated the *Perſians*, and ſhut them up in the City: But, after he had gain'd this Victory, having neglected to keep his Soldiers together, they ſtraggled up and down, in ſearch of Plunder; which the Enemy ſeeing, they ſally'd out upon ſuch as remain'd, and cut them in Pieces, with *Amyntas*, their Leader.

This Event, far from leſſening the Averſion the *Egyptians* had for the *Perſians*, increas'd it ſtill more; ſo that the Moment *Alexander* appear'd on the Frontiers, the People, who were all diſpos'd to receive that Monarch, ran in Crowds to ſubmit themſelves to him. His Arrival, at the Head of a powerful Army, preſented them with a ſecure Protection, which *Amyntas* could not afford them; and, from this Conſideration, they all declar'd openly in his Favour. Thereupon, *Mazæus*, who commanded in *Memphis*, finding it would be to no Purpoſe for him to reſiſt ſo triumphant an Army; and that *Darius*, his Sovereign, was not in a Condition to relieve him, ſet open the Gates of the City to the Conqueror, and gave up Eight hundred Talents, and all the King's Furniture: Thus *Alexander* poſſeſs'd himſelf of all *Egypt*, without meeting with the leaſt Oppoſition.

At *Memphis*, he form'd a Deſign of viſiting the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*: This Temple was ſituated in the Midſt of the ſandy Deſarts of *Libya*, and twelve Days Journey from *Memphis*. *Ham*, the Son of *Noah* firſt peopled *Egypt* and *Libya*, after the Flood; and, when Idolatry began to ariſe in the World, ſome Time after, he was the chief Deity of theſe two Countries, in which his Deſcendants had continu'd. A Temple was built, in the Midſt of theſe Deſarts, upon a Spot of pretty good Ground, about two Leagues broad, which form'd a Kind of Iſland in a Sea of Sand. 'Tis he, whom the *Greeks* call'd *Jupiter*; and the *Egyptians*, *Ammon*. In Proceſs of Time theſe two Names were join'd; and he was call'd *Jupiter Ammon*.

The Motive of this Voyage, which was equally raſh, and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous Vanity: *Alexander*, having read in *Homer*, and other fabulous Authors of Antiquity, that moſt of their Heroes were repreſented, as Sons of ſome Deity; and, as he himſelf endeavour'd to paſs for a Hero, he, therefore, was determin'd to have ſome God for his Father. Accordingly, he fix'd upon *Jupiter Ammon* for this Purpoſe; and began by bribing the Prieſts, and teaching them the Part they were to act.

It would have been to no Purpoſe, had any one endeavour'd to divert him from a Deſign, which was great in no other Circumſtance, than the Pride and Extravagance that gave Birth to it. Puff'd up with his Victories, he had already begun to aſſume, as *Plutarch* obſerves, that Character of Stubbornneſs and Inflexibility, which will do nothing but command; which cannot ſuffer Advice, and much leſs, bear with Oppoſition; which knows neither Obſtacles, nor Dangers; which makes the Beautiful to conſiſt in Impoſſibility; in a Word, which fancies itſelf able to force, not only Enemies, but ſtrong Holds, Seaſons, and the whole Order of Nature; the uſual Effect of a long Series of Proſperities, which conquers the ſtrongeſt, and makes ſuch as act thus, at laſt, forget that they are Men. We, ourſelves, have ſeen a famous Conqueror, *viz. Charles* XII. King of *Sweden*; who boaſted his treading in the Steps of *Alexander*, carry farther than he had ever done, this Kind of ſavage Heroiſm; and laid it down, as a Maxim to himſelf, never to retreat.

Alexander, therefore, ſets out; and, going down from the River *Memphis*, till he came to the Sea, he coaſts it; and, after having paſs'd *Canopus*, he obſerves, oppoſite to the Iſland of *Pharos*, a ſpot, he thought very well ſituated for the building of a City. He himſelf drew the Plan of it, and mark'd out the ſeveral Places, where the Temples, and publick Squares were to be rais'd. For the building it, he employ'd *Dinocrates*, the Architect, who had acquir'd great Reputation, by his rebuilding, at *Epheſus*, the Temple of *Diana*, which *Heroſtratus* had burnt. This City he call'd after his own Name, and it afterwards roſe to be the Capital of the Kingdom. As to its Harbour, which

which was very commodious, had the *Mediterranean* on one Side, and the *Nile*, and the *Red Sea* in its Neighbourhood, it drew all the Traffick of the *East* and *West*; and thereby became, in a very little Time, one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities in the Univerſe.

Alexander had a Journey to go of Sixteen hundred *Stadia*, or Eighty Leagues, to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; and moſt of the Way was through ſandy Deſarts. The Soldiers were patient enough for the two firſt Days March, they not being yet arriv'd in the wide extended, dreadful Solitudes; but, as ſoon as they found themſelves in vaſt Plains, cover'd with Sand, of a prodigious Height, they were greatly terrify'd. Surrounded, as with a Sea, they gaz'd round, as far as their Sight could reach, to diſcover, if poſſible, ſome Place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive ſo much as a ſingle Tree, nor the leaſt Footſteps of any Land that had been cultivated. To increaſe their Calamity, the Water, that they had brought in Goat-skins, upon Camels, now fail'd; and there was not ſo much as a ſingle Drop in all that ſandy Country. They, therefore, were reduc'd to the ſad Condition of dying almoſt with Thirſt; not to mention the Danger they were in, of being bury'd under Mountains of Sand, that are ſometimes rais'd by the Winds; and which had formerly deſtroy'd Fifty Thouſand of the Troops of *Cambyſes*. Every Thing was, by this Time, ſcorch'd to ſo violent a Degree, and the Air become ſo hot, that the Men could ſcarcely breathe; when, on a ſudden, whether by Chance, ſay the Hiſtorians, or the immediate Indulgence of Heaven, the Sky was ſo compleatly overſpread with thick Clouds, that they hid the Sun, which was a great Relief to the Army; though they ſtill were in prodigious Want of Water: But, the Storm having diſcharg'd itſelf in a violent Rain, every Soldier got as much as he wanted; and ſome had ſo violent a Thirſt, that they ſtood with their Mouths open, and catch'd the Rain as it fell. The judicious Reader knows what Judgment he is to form of theſe marvellous Incidents, with which Hiſtorians have thought proper to embelliſh this Relation.

They were ſeveral Days in croſſing theſe Deſarts, and, upon their arriving near the Place where the Oracle ſtood, they perceiv'd a great Number of Ravens flying before the moſt advanc'd Standards. Theſe Ravens, ſometimes, flew to the Ground, when the Army march'd ſlowly; and, at other Times, advanc'd forward, to ſerve them as Guides, till they, at laſt, came to the Temple of the God. A vaſtly ſurprizing Circumſtance is, that, although this Oracle be ſituated in the Midſt of an almoſt boundleſs Solitude, it, nevertheleſs, is ſurrounded with a Grove, ſo very ſhady, that the Sun-Beams can ſcarce pierce it; not to mention, that this Grove, or Wood, is water'd with ſeveral Springs of freſh Water, which preſerve a perpetual Verdure. It is related, that near this Grove there is another, in the Midſt of which is a Fountain, call'd, the *Water*, or *Fountain of the Sun*. At Day-break, it is lukewarm; at Noon, cold; but in the Evening, it grows warmer inſenſibly; and at Midnight, is boiling-hot; after this, as Day approaches, it decreaſes in Heat, and continues this Viciſſitude for ever.

The God, who is worſhipp'd in this Temple, was not repreſented under the Form, which Painters and Sculptors generally give to Gods; for he was made of Emeralds, and other precious Stones; and, from the Head to the Navel, reſembled a *Ram*. Aſſoon as the King was come into the Temple, the *ſenior* Prieſt declar'd him to be the Son of *Jupiter*; and aſſur'd, that the God himſelf beſtow'd this Name upon him. *Alexander* accepted it with Joy, and acknowledg'd *Jupiter*, as his Father. He afterwards ask'd the Prieſt, whether his Father *Jupiter* had not allotted him the Empire of the whole World; to which the Prieſt, who was as much a Flatterer, as the King was vain-glorious, anſwer'd, That he ſhould be *Monarch of the Univerſe*. At laſt, he inquir'd, whether all his Father's Murderers had been puniſh'd; but the Prieſt reply'd, That he blaſphem'd; that his Father was immortal; but that, with Regard to the Murderers of *Philip*, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he ſhould *be invincible*, and afterwards take his Seat among the Deities. Having ended his Sacrifice, he offer'd magnificent Preſents to the God, and did not forget the Prieſts, who had been ſo faithful to his Intereſt.

Swell'd with the ſplendid Title of the Son of *Jupiter*, and fancying himſelf rais'd above the human Species, he return'd from his Journey, as though he had come from a Triumph. From that Time, in all his Letters, his Orders and Decrees, he always wrote in the Style following: ALEXANDER, KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: In Anſwer to which, *Olympias*, his Mother, one Day, made a very witty Remonſtrance, in few Words, by deſiring him not to ſet her at Variance any longer with *Juno*.

Whilſt *Alexander* prided himſelf in theſe Chimeras, and taſted the great Pleaſure, which Vanity made him fancy in this pompous Title, every one derided him in ſecret; and ſome, who had not yet put on the Yoke of ſervile Flattery, dar'd to reproach him upon that Account; but they paid very dear for this Liberty, as the Sequel will ſhew. Not ſatisfy'd with endeavouring to paſs for the Son of a God, and of being perſuaded, in caſe this were poſſible, that he really was ſuch, he himſelf would alſo paſs for a God; till, at laſt, Providence having acted that Part, of which ſhe was pleas'd to make him the Inſtrument, brought him to his End, and thereby equall'd him to the Reſt of Mortals.

Upon his Return from the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, being arriv'd at the *Palus Mareotis*, not far from the Iſland of *Pharos*, *Alexander* made a Viſit to the new City, Part of which was now built. He took the beſt Methods poſſible to people it; inviting thither all Sorts of Perſons, to whom he offer'd the moſt advantagious Conditions. He drew to it, among others, a conſiderable Number of *Jews*, by allowing them very great Privileges; for, he not only left them the free Exerciſe of their Religion, and Laws; but put them on the ſame Foot, in every Reſpect, with the *Macedonians*, whom he ſettled there: From thence he went to *Memphis*, where he ſpent the Winter. *Varro* obſerves, that at the Time this King built *Alexandria*, the Uſe of *Papyrus* (for Writing) was found in *Egypt*.

During *Alexander*'s Stay in *Memphis*, he ſettled the Affairs of *Egypt*; ſuffering none but *Macedonians* to command the Troops. He divided the

Country

Diſtricts, over each of which he appointed a Lieutenant, who receiv'd Orders from him; not thinking it ſafe to intruſt the Command of all the Troops to one ſingle Man in ſo large and populous a Country. As to the civil Government, he inveſted one *Doloaſpis* with the whole Power of it; for, being deſirous that *Egypt* ſhould ſtill be govern'd by its own Laws, and Cuſtoms, he was of Opinion, that a Native of *Egypt*, to whom they muſt be familiar, was fitter for this Employment than any Foreigner whatſoever.

To haſten the Building of his new City, he appointed *Cleomenes* Inſpector over it; with Orders to levy the Tribute which *Arabia* was to pay: But he was a very wicked Wretch, who abus'd his Authority, and oppreſs'd the People with the utmoſt Barbarity.

Having thus ſettled the Affairs of *Egypt*, *Alexander* ſet out from thence about Spring-Time, to march into the *Eaſt* againſt *Darius*: In his Way through *Paleſtine*, he heard News, which gave him great Uneaſineſs. At his going into *Egypt*, he had appointed *Andromachus*, whom he highly eſteem'd, Governor of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*: This *Andromachus* coming to *Samaria*, to ſettle ſome Affairs in that Country, the *Samaritans* mutiny'd; and, ſetting Fire to the Houſe in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occaſion'd, by the Rage with which that People were fir'd, at their having been deny'd the ſame Privileges, that had been granted the *Jews*, their Enemies. *Alexander* was highly exaſperated againſt them for this cruel Action, and accordingly he put to Death all thoſe who had any Hand in it, baniſh'd the Reſt from the City of *Samaria*, ſupplying their Room with a Colony of *Macedonians*, and divided the Reſt of their Lands among the *Jews*.

He made alſo ſome Stay in *Tyre*, to ſettle the various Affairs of the Countries he left behind him; which done, he advanc'd towards new Conqueſts: He was ſcarce ſet out, but an Eunuch brought Word, that the Conſort of *Darius* was dead in Childbed: Hearing this, he return'd back, and went into the Tent of *Syſigambis*, whom he found bath'd in Tears, and lying on the Ground, in the Midſt of the young Princeſſes, who alſo were weeping; and near them the Son of *Darius*, a Child, who was the more worthy of Compaſſion, as he was leſs ſenſible of Evils, which concern'd him more than any other. *Alexander*, therefore, comforted them, in ſo kind and tender a Manner, as plainly ſhew'd he himſelf was deeply and ſincerely afflicted: And he caus'd her Funeral Obſequies to be perform'd with the utmoſt Splendor and Magnificence. One of the Eunuchs, who ſuperintended the Chamber, and who had been taken with the Princeſſes, fled from the Camp, and ran to *Darius*, whom he inform'd of the Death of his Conſort. The *Perſian* Monarch was ſeiz'd with the moſt violent Affliction on hearing this News, particularly, as he ſuppos'd, ſhe would not be allow'd the Funeral Ceremonies due to her exalted Rank. But the Eunuch undeceiv'd him, on this Occaſion, by telling him, the Honours which *Alexander* had paid his Queen after her Death, and the Civilities he had always ſhewn her in her Life-Time. *Darius*, upon hearing theſe Words, was fir'd with Suſpicions of ſo horrid a Kind, as left him not a Moment's Quiet.

Taking the Eunuch aſide, he ſpoke to him as follows: "If thou doſt ſtill acknowledge *Darius* "for thy Lord and Sovereign, tell me, by the "Reſpect and Veneration thou oweſt to that "great Splendor of *Mithres*, which inlightens us, "and to this Hand, which the King ſtretches out "to thee; tell me, I ſay, whether, in bemoaning the Death of *Statyra*, I do not bewail the "leaſt of her Evils; and whether, as ſhe fell "into the Hands of a young Monarch, ſhe did "not firſt loſe her Honour, and afterwards her "Life." Whereupon, the Eunuch, throwing himſelf at the Feet of *Darius*, beſought him not to think ſo injuriouſly of *Alexander*'s Virtue; nor thus diſhonour his Wife and Siſter after her Death; and not deprive himſelf of the greateſt Conſolation he could poſſibly have in his Misfortunes, *viz.* to be firmly perſuaded, that the Prince, who had triumph'd over him, was ſuperior to the Frailties of other Men; that he ought rather to admire *Alexander*, inaſmuch as he had given the *Perſian* Ladies much ſtronger Proofs of his Virtue and Continence, than he had given the *Perſians* themſelves of his Valour. After this, he confirm'd all he had ſaid before, by the moſt dreadful Oaths and Imprecations; and then gave him a particular Account of what publick Fame related concerning the Wiſdom, Temperance, and Magnanimity of *Alexander*.

Then *Darius*, returning into the Hall where his Courtiers were aſſembled, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven, he broke into the following Prayer: "Ye Gods, who preſide over the Birth of Men, "and who diſpoſe of Kings and Empires; grant "that, after having rais'd the Fortune of *Perſia* "from its dejected State, I may tranſmit it to "my Deſcendants, with the ſame Luſtre in which "I receiv'd it; in order that, after having triumph'd over my Enemies, I may acknowledge "the Favours which *Alexander* indulg'd, in my "Calamity, to Perſons, who, of all others, are "moſt dear to me: Or, in caſe the Time ordain'd "by the Fates is, at laſt, come; or, that it muſt "neceſſarily happen, from the Anger of the Gods, "or the ordinary Viciſſitude of human Affairs, "that the Empire of *Perſia* muſt end; grant, "great Gods, that none but *Alexander* may ſit on "Throne of *Cyrus*."

In the mean Time, *Alexander* having ſet upon his March, arriv'd with his whole Army at *Thapſacus*, where he went over a Bridge that lay croſs the *Euphrates*, and continu'd his Journey towards the *Tigris*, where he hop'd to come up with the Enemy. *Darius* had already made Overtures of Peace to him twice; but finding, at laſt, that there was no Hopes of their concluding one, unleſs he reſign'd the whole Empire to him, he prepar'd himſelf again for Battle. For this Purpoſe, he aſſembled in *Babylon*, an Army half as numerous again as that of *Iſſus*, and march'd it towards *Nineveh*; his Forces cover'd all the Plains of *Meſopotamia*: Where, Advice being brought, that the Enemy was not far off, he caus'd *Satropates*, General of the Cavalry, to advance at the Head of a Thouſand choſen Horſe; and likewiſe gave ſix Thouſand to *Mazæus*, Governor of the Province; who were all to prevent *Alexander* from croſſing the River, and to lay waſte the Country through which that Monarch was to paſs: But he arriv'd too late.

Of all the Rivers of the *Eaſt*, this is the moſt rapid; and not only a great Number of Rivulets met in its Waves, but thoſe alſo drag along great Stones; ſo that it is nam'd *Tigris*, by Reaſon of its prodigious Rapidity; an Arrow being ſo call'd in the *Perſian* Tongue. *Alexander* ſounded thoſe Parts of the River, which were fordable, and where the Water, at the Entrance, came up to the Horſes Bellies; and in the Middle, to their Breaſts. Having drawn up his Infantry in the Form of a Half-Moon, and poſted his Cavalry on the two Wings, they advanc'd to the Current of the Water with great Difficulty, carrying their Arms over their Heads. The King walk'd on Foot among the Infantry, and was the firſt, who appear'd on the oppoſite Shore, where he pointed out, with his Hand, the Ford to the Soldiers; it not being poſſible for him to make them hear him: But it was with the greateſt Difficulty they kept themſelves above Water, becauſe of the Slipperineſs of the Stones, and the Impetuoſity of the Stream. Such Soldiers, as not only carry'd their Arms, but their Cloaths alſo, were much more fatigu'd; for, theſe being unable to go forward, were carry'd into Whirl-pools, unleſs they threw away their Burdens. At the ſame Time, the great Number of Cloaths floating up and down, beat away the Burdens of ſeveral; and, as every Man endeavour'd to catch at his own Things, they annoy'd one another more than the River did. It was to no Purpoſe, that the King commanded them, with a loud Voice, to ſave nothing but their Arms; and aſſur'd them, that he himſelf would compenſate their other Loſſes; for, not one of them would liſten to his Admonitions, or Orders, ſo great was the Noiſe and Tumult. At laſt, they all paſs'd over that Part of the Ford, where the Water was ſhalloweſt, and the Stream leſs impetuous; recovering, however, but a ſmall Part of their Baggage.

It is certain, that this Army might eaſily have been cut to Pieces, had they been oppos'd by a General, who dar'd to conquer; that is, who had made ever ſo little Oppoſition to their Paſſage. But *Mazæus*, who might eaſily have defeated them, had he come up, when they were croſſing the River in Diſorder and Confuſion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in Battle-Arraay. A like good Fortune had always accompany'd this Prince hitherto, both when he paſs'd the *Granicus*, in Sight of ſo prodigious a Multitude of Horſe and Foot, who waited his coming on the Shore; and alſo in the Rocks of *Cilicia*, when he found the Paſſes and Streights quite open, and defenceleſs, where a ſmall Number of Troops might have check'd his Progreſs. This Circumſtance may leſſen our Surprize at that Exceſs of Boldneſs, which was his peculiar Characteriſtick, and which for ever engag'd him to attempt, blindly, the greateſt Dangers; ſince, as he was ever fortunate, he never had once Room to ſuſpect himſelf guilty of Rathneſs.

The King, having incamp'd two Days near the River, commanded his Soldiers to be ready for marching on the Morrow; but, about Nine, or Ten in the Evening, the Moon firſt loſt its Light, and appear'd afterwards quite fully'd, and, as it were, tinctur'd with Blood. Now, as this happen'd, juſt before a great Battle was going to be fought, the doubtful Succeſs of which fill'd the Army with ſufficient Diſquietude; they were firſt ſtruck with a religious Awe, and, afterwards ſeiz'd with Fear, they cry'd "Heaven diſplay'd the Marks of its "that they were dragg'd, againſt th- "to the Extremities of the Earth; t "oppos'd their Paſſage; that the Stars "lend their uſual Light; and that the "now ſee nothing but Deſarts and Sc "that, merely to ſatisfy the Ambition "ſingle Man, ſo many Thouſands would ſhed "their Blood; and that for a Man, who con- "temn'd his own Country, diſown'd his Father, "and pretended to paſs for a God."

Theſe Murmurs were riſing to an open Inſurrection, when *Alexander*, whom nothing could intimidate, ſummon'd the Officers of the Army to his Tent; and commanded ſuch of the *Egyptian* Soothſayers, as were beſt skill'd in the Knowledge of the Stars, to declare what they thought of this *Phænomenon*. They knew very well, the natural Cauſes of Eclipſes of the Moon; but, without entering into Phyſical Enquiries, they contented themſelves with ſaying, that the *Sun* was on the Side of the *Greeks*, and the *Moon* on that of the *Perſians*; and that, whenever it ſuffer'd an Eclipſe, it always threaten'd the latter with ſome grievous Calamity, whereof they mention'd ſeveral Examples; all which they gave as true and indiſputable. Superſtition has a ſurprizing Aſcendant over the Minds of the Vulgar: How headſtrong and inconſtant ſoever they may be, yet, if they are once ſtruck, with a vain Image of Religion, they will ſooner obey Soothſayers, than their Leaders. The Anſwer, made by the *Egyptians*, being ſpread among the Soldiers, it reviv'd their Hopes and Courage.

The King, therefore, purpoſely, that he might take Advantage of this Ardor, began his March after Midnight. On his Right-Hand lay the *Tigris*, and on his Left, the Mountains, call'd *Gordyæi*. At Day-break, the Scouts, whom he had ſent to view the Enemy, brought Word, that *Darius* was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his Forces in Battle-Array, and ſet himſelf at their Head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a Detachment, of a Thouſand Horſe that were going upon Diſcoveries, and which ſoon retir'd to the main Army: Nevertheleſs, News was brought the King, ſoon after, that *Darius* was but an hundred and fifty *Stadia* from the Place where they then were.

Not long before this, ſome Letters had been intercepted, by which *Darius* ſollicited the *Grecian* Soldiers, either to kill, or betray *Alexander*: Nothing can reflect ſo great an *Odium* on the Memory of this Prince, as an Attempt of that Kind; an Attempt ſo baſe, ſo dark, and more than once repeated. *Alexander* was in Doubt with himſelf, whether it would be proper for him, to read theſe Letters in a full Aſſembly; relying as much on the Affection and Fidelity of the *Greeks*, as on that of the *Macedonians*. But *Parmenio* diſſuaded him from it; declaring, it would be dangerous, even to raiſe ſuch Thoughts in the Minds of Soldiers; that one only was ſufficient to ſtrike the Blow; and that Avarice was capable of attempting the moſt enormous Crimes: He follow'd, therefore, this prudent Counſel, and order'd his Army to march forward.

Although

Although *Darius* had twice ſued in vain for Peace, and imagin'd that he had nothing to truſt to but his Arms; yet being mov'd with the advantagious Things which had been told him, of *Alexander*'s Tenderneſs and Humanity towards his Family, he diſpatch'd ten of his chief Relations, who were to offer him freſh Conditions of Peace, more advantageous than the former; and likewiſe to thank him, for the kind Treatment he had indulg'd his Family. *Darius* had, in the former Propoſals, given him up all the Provinces, as far as the River *Halys*; but, in theſe, he added the ſeveral Territories ſituate between the *Helleſpont* and the *Euphrates*; that is, no more than he had already ſubdued. *Alexander*, therefore, made the Anſwer following. "Tell your Sovereign, "That Thanks, between Perſons who make War "one againſt the other, are ſuperfluous; and that, "in Caſe I have behav'd with Clemency towards "his Family, 'twas for my own Sake, and not for "his; in Conſequence of my own Inclination, and "not to pleaſe him. To inſult the Unhappy, is "a Thing to me unknown: I don't attack either "Priſoners or Women, and turn my Rage againſt "ſuch only, as are arm'd for the Fight. Did "*Darius* ſue for Peace, in a ſincere View, I then "would debate on what is to be done; but ſince "he ſtill continues, by Letters, and by Money, "to ſpirit up my Soldiers to betray me, and my "Friends to murder me, I am determin'd to pur-"ſue him with the utmoſt Vigour; and that not "as an *Enemy*, but as a *Priſoner* and an *Aſſaſſin*. "It indeed becomes him, to offer to yield up to "me, what I am already poſſeſs'd of! Would he "be ſatisfy'd with ranking himſelf as Second to "me, without pretending to be my Equal, I poſ-"ſibly might then hear him. Tell him, that "the World will not admit of *Two Suns*, nor "*Two Sovereigns*. Let him therefore chuſe, ei-"ther to ſurrender To-Day, or fight me To-"Morrow, and not flatter himſelf with the Hopes "of obtaining better Succeſs than he has hitherto "had." The Propoſals of *Darius* were certainly unreaſonable; but then, the Anſwer of *Alexander* was much more ſo: In the former, we behold a Prince who is not yet ſenſible of his own Weakneſs; or, at leaſt, who cannot prevail with himſelf to own it; and, in the latter, we ſee a Monarch quite intoxicated with his good Fortune; and carrying his Pride to ſuch an Exceſs of Folly, as is not to be parallel'd: *The World will not admit of two Suns, nor two Sovereigns.* If this be Greatneſs, and not Pride, we don't know what can ever deſerve the latter Name. The Embaſſadors, having taken their Audience of Leave, return'd back, and told *Darius*, he muſt prepare for Battle. That Monarch had pitch'd his Camp near a Village, call'd *Gangamela*, and the River *Bumela*; in a Plain, at a conſiderable Diſtance from *Arbela*; having before levell'd the Spot which he pitch'd upon for the Field of Battle, in order that his Chariots and Cavalry might have full Room to move in; being then grown ſenſible, that his fighting in the Streights of *Cilicia*, had loſt him the Battle fought there: At the ſame Time, he had prepar'd Caltrops, to annoy the Enemy's Horſe.

Alexander, upon hearing this News, continued four Days in the Place he then was, to reſt his Army; and ſurrounded his Camp with Trenches and Palliſades; for he was determin'd to leave all his Baggage, and the uſeleſs Soldiers behind; and march the Remainder againſt the Enemy, with no other Equipage than the Arms they carry'd. Accordingly, he ſet out about Nine in the Evening, in order to fight *Darius* at Day-break; who, upon this Advice, had drawn up his Army in Order of Battle: *Alexander* alſo march'd in Battle-Array; for both Armies were within two or three Leagues one of the other. When he was arriv'd at the Mountains, where he could diſcover all the Enemy's Army, he halted; and having aſſembled his general Officers, as well *Macedonians*, as Foreigners, he debated whether they ſhould engage immediately, or pitch their Camp in that Place. The latter Opinion being follow'd, becauſe it was judg'd proper for them to view the Field of Battle, and the Manner in which the Enemy was drawn up, the Army encamp'd in the ſame Order in which it had march'd; during which *Alexander*, at the Head of his Infantry, who were lightly arm'd, and his royal Regiments, march'd round the Plain in which the Battle was to be fought.

Being return'd, he aſſembled his general Officers a ſecond Time; and told them, that there was no Occaſion for his making a Speech, becauſe their Courage, and great Actions, were alone ſufficient to excite them to Glory; that he deſir'd them only to repreſent to the Soldiers, that they were not to fight, on this Occaſion, for *Phœnicia* or *Egypt*; but for all *Aſia*; which would be poſſeſs'd by him who ſhould conquer; and that, after having gone through ſo many Provinces, and left behind them ſo great a Number of Rivers and Mountains, they could ſecure their Retreat no otherwiſe, than by gaining a compleat Victory: After this Speech, he order'd them to take ſome Repoſe.

'Tis ſaid, that *Parmenio* advis'd him to attack the Enemy in the Night time; alledging, that they might eaſily be defeated, if fallen upon by Surprize, and in the Dark; but the King anſwer'd ſo loud, that all preſent might hear him; that it did not become *Alexander* to *ſteal* a Victory, and therefore he was reſolv'd to fight, and conquer, in broad Day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the ſame Time, a prudent Anſwer; for, 'twas running great Hazard, to fall upon ſo numerous an Army, in the Night-time, and in an unknown Country. On the other Hand, *Darius*, fearing he ſhould be attack'd unawares, becauſe he had not intrench'd himſelf, oblig'd his Soldiers to continue the whole Night under Arms, which proved of the higheſt Prejudice to him in the Engagement.

In the mean while, *Alexander*, (who, in the Criſis of Affairs, uſed always to conſult Soothſayers, obſerving, very exactly, whatever they enjoin'd; in order to obtain the Favour of the Gods) finding himſelf upon the Point of fighting a Battle, the Succeſs of which was to give the *Perſian* Empire to the Conqueror, ſent for *Ariſtander*, in whom he repoſed the greateſt Confidence; and ſhutting himſelf up with that Soothſayer, offer'd up ſome Sacrifices in Private; after which, Victims, to *Fear*; which he doubtleſs did, to prevent his Army from being ſeiz'd with Dread, at the Sight of the formidable Army of *Darius*. The Soothſayer, dreſs'd in his Veſtments, holding Vervain, and his Head veil'd, firſt repeated the Prayers, which the King was to addreſs to *Jupiter*, to *Minerva*, and to *Victory*. The whole being ended,

Alexander

Alexander went to Bed, to repoſe himſelf the remaining Part of the Night. As he revolv'd in his Mind, not without ſome Emotion, the Conſequence of the Battle, which was upon the Point of being fought, he could not ſleep immediately: But, in a little while, his Body being oppreſs'd, as it were, by the Anxiety of his Mind, he ſlept ſoundly, the whole Night, contrary to his uſual Cuſtom; ſo that when his Generals were aſſembled at Day-break, before his Tent, to receive his Orders, they were greatly ſurpriz'd, to find he was not yet awake; upon which, they themſelves commanded the Soldiers to take ſome Refreſhment. *Parmenio*, at laſt, awak'd him; and ſeeming ſurpriz'd to find him in ſo calm and ſweet a Sleep, juſt as he was going to fight a Battle, in whis whole Fortune was to lye at Stake: *Why ſhould not I ſleep ſound* (ſaid *Alexander*) *and be eaſy; ſince the Enemy is coming to deliver himſelf into our Hands?* Immediately he took up his Arms, mounted his Horſe, and rode up and down the Ranks; exhorting the Troops to behave gallantly, and, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs their antient Fame, and the Glory he had before acquir'd. Soldiers, on the Day of a Battle, imagine that they ſee the Fate of the Engagement, painted in the very Face of their General: And as for *Alexander*, he had never appear'd ſo calm, ſo gay, nor ſo reſolute; Accordingly, the Serenity and Security which they obſerv'd in him, ſeem'd to them as ſo many Pledges of the Victory.

There was a great Difference between the two Armies, with Reſpect to Numbers, but much more ſo, with Regard to Courage. That of *Darius* conſiſted, at leaſt, of Six hundred thouſand Foot, and Forty thouſand Horſe; and the other, of no more than Forty thouſand Foot, and Seven or Eight thouſand Horſe: But the latter was all Fire and Strength; whereas on the Side of the *Perſians*, it was a prodigious Aſſemblage of Men, not of Soldiers; a vain Scare-crow, rather than a true Army.

Both Sides were diſpos'd in very near the ſame Array: The Forces were drawn up in two Lines, the Cavalry on the two Wings, and the Infantry in the Middle; the one, and the other, being under the particular Conduct of the Chiefs, of each of the different Names, who compoſed them; and commanded, in general, by the principal Crown-Officers. The Front of Battle, under *Darius*, was cover'd with Two hundred Chariots, arm'd with Scythes; and with fifteen Elephants, that King taking his Poſt in the Center of the firſt Line. Beſides the Guards, which were the Flower of his Forces, he alſo had fortify'd himſelf with the *Grecian* Infantry, whom he had drawn up near his Perſon; believing this Body only capable of oppoſing the *Macedonian Phalanx*. As his Army ſpread over a much greater Space of Ground than that of the Enemy, he intended to ſurround, and charge them, at one and the ſame Time, both in Front and Flank.

But *Alexander* had guarded againſt this; by giving Orders to the Commanders of the ſecond Line, in Caſe they ſhould be charg'd behind, to face about to that Side; or elſe to draw up their Troops in Form of a Gallows, and cover the Wings, in Caſe the Enemy ſhould charge them in Flank. He had poſted, in the Front of his firſt Line, the greateſt Part of his Bowmen, Slingers, Hurlers of Javelins, in order that theſe might make Head againſt the Chariots arm'd Scythes; and frighten the Horſes, by hurling at them a Shower of Arrows, Javelins and Stones. Thoſe who led on the Wings, were order'd to extend them as wide as poſſible; but in ſuch a Manner, as not to weaken the main Body. As for the Baggage, and the Captives, among whom were the Mother and Children of *Darius*, they were left in the Camp, under a ſmall Guard. *Parmenio* commanded, as he had always done before, the Left-Wing, and *Alexander* the Right.

When the two Armies were come in Sight of each other, *Alexander*, who had been ſhewn the ſeveral Places where the Caltrops were hid, extended more and more towards the Right to avoid them; and the *Perſians* advanc'd forward in Proportion. Hereupon, *Darius*, being afraid leſt the *Macedonians* ſhould draw him from the Spot of Ground he had level'd, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the Cavalry in his Left-wing, which ſpread much farther than that of the Enemy's Right, to march right forward, and wheel-about upon the *Macedonians* in Flank, to prevent the Enemy from extending their Troops farther. Then *Alexander* diſpatch'd againſt them the Body of Horſe, in his Service, commanded by *Menidas*; but, as theſe were not able to make Head againſt the Enemy, becauſe of their prodigious Numbers, he reinforc'd them with the *Pæonians*, whom *Aretas* commanded, and with the foreign Cavalry. Beſides the Advantage of Numbers, the *Perſians* had alſo that of Coats of Mail, which ſecur'd themſelves, and their Horſes: Accordingly, *Alexander*'s Cavalry was prodigiouſly annoy'd by them; however, they march'd to the Onſet with great Bravery, and, at laſt, put them to Flight.

Upon this, the *Perſians* oppoſed the Chariots arm'd with Scythes, againſt the *Macedonian Phalanx*, in order to break it, but with little Succeſs. The Noiſe which the Soldiers, who were lightly arm'd, made, by ſtriking their Bucklers againſt their Swords, and the Arrows which flew on all Sides, frighten'd the Horſes, and made a great Number of them turn back againſt their own Troops. Others, laying Hold of the Horſes Bridles, pull'd the Riders down, and cut them in Pieces: Whilſt Part of the Chariots, paſs'd between the Battalions, (which open'd to make Way for them, as they had been order'd to do) and by that Means they were very little annoy'd.

Alexander, ſeeing *Darius* ſet his whole Army in Motion, in order to charge him, employ'd a Stratagem to encourage his Soldiers: When the Battle was at the hotteſt, and the *Macedonians* were in the greateſt Danger, *Ariſtander*, the Soothſayer, cloath'd in his white Robes, holding a Branch of Laurel in his Hand, advances among the Combatants, in Concert with the King, and by his Order; and, crying that he ſaw an *Eagle*, hovering over *Alexander*'s Head, (a ſure Omen of Victory) he ſhew'd, with his Finger, the pretended Bird to the Soldiers; who, relying upon the Sincerity of the Soothſayer, fancy'd they alſo ſaw it; and thereupon renew'd the Attack, with greater Chearfulneſs and Fire than ever. Then the King, perceiving that *Aretas* (after having charg'd the Cavalry, and put them into Diſorder, upon their advancing to ſurround his Right-Wing) had begun

to

to break the foremoſt Ranks of the main Body of the *Barbarian* Army; march'd after him, with the Flower of his Troops, when he quite broke the Enemy's Left-Wing, which had already begun to give Way; and, without purſuing the Forces which he had thrown into Diſorder, he wheel'd to the Left, in order to fall upon the Body, in whsch *Darius* had poſted himſelf. The Preſence of the two Kings inſpir'd both Sides with new Vigour: *Darius* was mounted on a Chariot, and *Alexander* on Horſeback; both ſurrounded with their braveſt Officers and Soldiers; whoſe only Endeavour was, to ſave the Lives of their reſpective Princes, at the Hazard of their own. The Battle was, for ſome Time, obſtinate and bloody: But *Alexander* happening to wound the Equerry of *Darius*, with a Javelin; the *Perſians*, as well as *Macedonians*, imagin'd that that King was kill'd; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the moſt diſmal Sorrow, the whole Army was ſeiz'd with the greateſt Conſternation. The Relations of *Darius*, who were at his Left-hand, fled away with the Guards, and ſo abandon'd the Chariot; but thoſe who were at his Right, took him into the Centre of their Body. Some Hiſtorians affirm, that that Prince, having drawn his Scimiter, reflected, whether he ought not to lay violent Hands upon himſelf, rather than fly in an ignominious Manner; but, perceiving from his Chariot, that his Soldiers ſtill ſought, he was aſham'd to forſake them; and, as he was divided between Hope and Deſpair, the *Perſians* retir'd inſenſibly, and thinn'd their Ranks; when it could no longer be call'd a Battle, but a Slaughter: Then *Darius*, turning about his Chariot, fled with the Reſt; and the Conqueror was wholly employ'd in purſuing him.

Whilſt all this was doing, in the Right-wing of the *Macedonians*, where the Victory was not doubtful; the Left-wing, commanded by *Parmenio*, was in great Danger. A Detachment of the *Perſian*, *Indian*, and *Parthian* Horſe, which were the beſt in all the *Perſian* Army, having broke through the Infantry on the Left, advanc'd to the very Baggage. The Moment the Captives ſaw them arrive in the Camp, they arm'd themſelves with every Thing, that came firſt to Hand, and, reinforcing their Cavalry, ruſh'd upon the *Macedonians*, who were then charg'd both before and behind. At the ſame Time, they told *Syſigambis*, that *Darius* had won the Battle (for they believ'd ſo) that the whole Baggage was plunder'd, and that ſhe was going to recover her Liberty. But this Princeſs, who was a Woman of great Wiſdom, though this News affected her in the ſtrongeſt Manner, could not eaſily give Credit to it; and, being unwilling to exaſperate, by too haſty a Joy, a Conqueror, who had treated her with ſo much Humanity, ſhe did not diſcover the leaſt Emotion; did not once change Countenance, nor let drop a ſingle Word; but, in her uſual Poſture, calmly waited till the Event ſhould pronounce her Fate.

Parmenio, upon the firſt Report of this Attack, had diſpatch'd a Meſſenger to *Alexander*, to acquaint him with the Danger, to which the Camp was expoſed, and to receive his Orders. "Above "all Things (ſaid that Prince) let him not weaken "his main Army; let him not mind the Baggage, "but apply himſelf wholly to the Engagement; "for Victory will not only reſtore us our own "Poſſeſſions, but alſo give up thoſe of the Enemy "into our Hands." Accordingly, the general Officers, who commanded the Infantry, which form'd the Centre of the ſecond Line, ſeeing the Enemy had penetrated to the Camp, and Baggage, made a Half-turn to the Right, in Obedience to the Orders which had been given, and fell upon the *Perſians* behind; many of whom were cut in Pieces, and the Reſt obliged to retire; but, as they were Horſe, the *Macedonian* Foot could not follow them.

Soon after, *Parmenio* himſelf was expoſed to much greater Peril: For, *Mazæus*, having ruſh'd upon him with all his Cavalry, charg'd the *Macedonians* in Flank, and began to ſurround them. Immediately he ſent *Alexander* Advice of the Danger he was in; declaring, that in Caſe he were not immediately relieved, it would be impoſſible for him to keep his Soldiers together. That Prince was then actually purſuing *Darius*; and, fancying he was almoſt come up with him, rode with the utmoſt Speed; flattering himſelf, that he ſhould abſolutely put an End to the War, in Caſe he could but ſeize his Perſon. But, upon this News, he turn'd about, in order to ſupport his Left-Wing; burning with Rage, to ſee his Prey and Victory torn in that Manner from him; and complaining againſt Fortune, for having favour'd *Darius* more in his Flight, than himſelf in the Purſuit of that Monarch.

In his March, he met the Enemy's Horſe, who had plunder'd the Baggage; which were returning in good Order, and retiring back, not as Soldiers who had been defeated, but almoſt as though they had gain'd the Victory. Hereupon, the Battle became more obſtinate than before; for, the *Barbarians* marching cloſe in Columns, not in Order of Battle, but that of a March, 'twas very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuſe themſelves with hurling Javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their uſual Cuſtom; but Man engaging againſt Man, each did all that lay in his Power to unhorſe his Enemy. *Alexander* loſt threeſcore of his Guards in this ſecond Engagement, wherein *Hephæſtion*, *Cœnus*, and *Menidas*, were wounded; however he triumph'd on this Occaſion; and all the *Barbarians* were cut in Pieces, except ſuch as forc'd their Way through his Squadrons.

During this, News had been brought *Mazæus*, that *Darius* was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarm'd, and dejected, to hear of the ill Succeſs of that Monarch, although himſelf had all the Advantage; he ceaſed to charge the Enemy, who were in Diſorder, ſo briskly as before. Whereupon, *Parmenio* could not conceive how it came to paſs, that the Battle, which a little before had been ſo hot, ſhould ſlacken on a Sudden: However, like an able Commander, who graſps at every Advantage, and employs his utmoſt Endeavours to inſpire his Soldiers with freſh Vigour, he obſerv'd to them, that the Terror which ſpread throughout the whole Army, was the Forerunner of their Defeat; and fir'd them with repreſenting, how glorious it would be for them to put the laſt Hand to the Victory. Upon his Exhortations, they recover'd their former Hopes and Bravery; when, transform'd into other Men, they gave their Horſes the Rein, and charg'd the Enemy with ſo much Fury, as threw them into the greateſt Diſ-

order, and oblig'd them to fly. *Alexander* came up that Inſtant, and, overjoy'd to find the Scale turn'd in his Favour, and the Enemy quite defeated, again began (in Concert with *Parmenio*) the Purſuit of *Darius*. He rode as far as *Arbela*, where he fancy'd he ſhould come up with that Monarch, and all his Baggage; but *Darius* had only juſt paſs'd by it, and left his Treaſure a Prey to the Enemy, with his Bow and Shield.

Such was the Succeſs of this famous Battle, which gave Empire to the Conqueror: According to *Arrian*, the *Perſians* loſt Three hundred thouſand Men, beſides thoſe who were taken Priſoners; which, at leaſt, is a Proof that the Loſs was very great on their ſide. That of *Alexander* was very inconſiderable, he not loſing, according to the laſt mention'd Author, Twelve hundred Men, moſt of whom were Horſe. This Engagement was fought in the Month of *October*, about the ſame Time, that the Battle of *Iſſus* was fought, two Years before. As *Gangamela* in *Aſſyria*, the Spot where the two Armies engag'd, was a ſmall Place of very little Note, 'twas call'd the Battle of *Arbela*; this being the City that lay neareſt to the Field of Battle.

Alexander's firſt Care, after his obtaining the Victory, was to offer magnificent Sacrifices to the Gods, by Way of Thanks. He afterwards rewarded ſuch as had ſignaliz'd themſelves remarkably in Battle; beſtow'd Riches upon them with a very Liberal Hand; and gave to each of them Houſes, Employments, and Governments. But, being deſirous of expreſſing, more particularly, his Gratitude towards the *Greeks*, for having appointed him Generaliſſimo againſt the *Perſians*; he gave Orders for aboliſhing, the ſeveral tyrannical Inſtitutions, that had ſtarted up in *Greece*; that the Cities ſhould be reſtor'd to their Liberties, and all their Rights and Privileges. He wrote particularly to the *Platæans*, declaring, that it was his Deſire their City ſhould be rebuilt, to reward the Zeal and Bravery, by which their Anceſtors had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, in defending the common Liberties of *Greece*. He alſo ſent Part of the Spoils to the *Crotonienſes* in *Italy*; to honour, though ſo many Years after, the Good-will and Courage of *Phayllus*, the Champion, a Native of their Country; who (whilſt War was carrying on with the *Perſians*, and when all the Reſt of the *Greeks*, that were ſettled in *Italy*, had abandon'd the ancient *Grecians*, imagining they were intirely undone) fitted out a Galley at his own Expence, and ſail'd to *Salamis*, to partake of the Danger to which his Countrymen were expos'd. "So "great a Friend, and Rewarder (ſays *Plutarch*) "was *Alexander*, to every Kind of Virtue; look- "upon himſelf, as it were, oblig'd to perpetuate "the Remembrance of all great Actions; to "give Immortality to Merit, and propoſe them "to Poſterity, as ſo many Models for their Imi- "tation."

Darius, after his Defeat, having but very few Attendants, had rode towards the River *Lycus*: After croſſing it, ſeveral adviſ'd him to break down the Bridge, becauſe the Enemy purſu'd him. But he made this generous Anſwer following; *That Life was not ſo dear to him, as to make him deſire to preſerve it, by the Deſtruction of ſo many Thouſands of his Subjects, and faithful Allies; who, by that Means, would be delivered up to the Mercy of the Enemy; that they had us much Right to paſs over this Bridge as their Sovereign, and conſequently, that it ought to be as open to them.* After riding a great Number of Leagues full Speed, he arriv'd, at Midnight, at *Arbela*. From thence he fled towards *Media*, over the *Armenian* Mountains; follow'd by a great Number of the Nobility, and a few of his Guards. The Reaſon of his going that Way was, his ſuppoſing, that *Alexander* would proceed towards *Babylon* and *Suſa*, there to enjoy the Fruits of his Victory: Beſides, a numerous Army could not purſue him by this Road; whereas, in the other, Horſes and Chariots might advance with great Eaſe; not to mention that the Soil was very fruitful.

A few Days after, *Arbela* ſurrender'd to *Alexander*, who found in it a great Quantity of Furniture belonging to the Crown, rich Cloaths and other precious Moveables, with four thouſand Talents, and all the Riches of the Army, which *Darius* had left therein, at his ſetting out againſt *Alexander*, as was before obſerv'd. But he was ſoon oblig'd to leave that Place, becauſe of the Diſeaſes that ſpread in his Camp; occaſion'd by the Infection of the dead Bodies, which cover'd all the Field of Battle. That Prince advanc'd, therefore, over the Plains, towards *Babylon*; and, after four Days March, arriv'd at *Memnis*, where, in a Cave, is ſeen the celebrated Fountain, which throws out ſo vaſt a Quantity of *Bitumen*, that, we are told, it was us'd as Cement, in building the Walls of *Babylon*.

But what *Alexander* admir'd moſt was, a great Gulph, whence ſtream'd, perpetually, Rivulets of Fire, as from an inexhauſtible Spring; and a Flood of *Naphtha*, which overflowing, from the prodigious Quantities of it, form'd a great Lake pretty near the Gulph. This *Naphtha* is exactly like *Bitumen*, but has one Quality more; *viz.* its catching Fire ſo very ſuddenly, that, before it touches a Flame, it takes Fire, meerly from the Light that ſurrounds the Flame, and burns up the Air between both. The *Barbarians*, being deſirous of ſhewing the King, the Strength and Subtilty of this combuſtible Subſtance, ſcatter'd ſeveral Drops of it up and down, after his Arrival in *Babylon*, in that Street, which went up to the Houſe he had choſen for his Reſidence. After this, going to the other End of the Street, they brought Torches near the Places where thoſe Drops were fallen (for it was Night) and the Drops which were nigheſt the Torches, taking Fire on a ſudden, the Flame ran, in an Inſtant, to the other End; by which Means, the whole Street ſeem'd in one general Conflagration.

When *Alexander* was got near *Babylon*, *Mazæus*, who had retir'd thither after the Battle of *Arbela*, ſurrender'd himſelf, with his Children, who were grown up; and gave the City into his Hands. The King was very well pleas'd with his Arrival; for he would have met with great Difficulties, in beſieging a City of ſuch Importance, and ſo well provided with every Thing. Beſides his being a Perſon of great Quality, and very brave, he alſo had gain'd great Honour in the laſt Battle; and others might have been prompted, from the Example he ſet them, to imitate him. *Alexander* enter'd the City, the

Head

Head of his whole Army, as though he had been marching to a Battle: The Walls of *Babylon* were lin'd with People, notwithſtanding the greateſt Part of the Citizens were gone out before, from the impatient Deſire they had to ſee their new Sovereign, whoſe Renown had far outſtripp'd his March. *Bagophanes*, Governor of the Fortreſs, and Guardian of the Treaſure, unwilling to diſcover leſs Zeal than *Mazæus*, ſtrew'd the Street with Flowers, and rais'd, on both Sides of the Way, Silver Altars, which ſmoak'd not only with Frankincenſe, but the moſt fragrant Perfumes of every Kind. Laſt of all, came the Preſents, which were to be made the King, *viz.* Herds of Cattle, and a great Number of Horſes; as alſo, Lions and Panthers, which were carry'd in Cages. After theſe, the *Magi* walk'd, ſinging Hymns after the Manner of their Country; then the *Chaldeans*, accompany'd by the *Babyloniſh* Soothſayers and Muſicians: It was cuſtomary for the latter to ſing the Praiſes of their King to their Inſtruments; and the *Chaldeans* to obſerve the Motion of the Planets, and the Viciſſitude of the Seaſons. The Rear was brought up by the *Babyloniſh* Cavalry, which, both the Men and Horſes, were ſo ſumptuous, that Imagination can ſcarce reach their Magnificence. As for the King himſelf, he enter'd the City, ſurrounded, with his Guards, and ſeated on a Chariot; and in that Manner rode to the Palace, as though it had been a Triumph: The next Day, he took a View of all the Money, and Moveables of *Darius*. Of the Treaſure he found in *Babylon*, he gave, by Way of extraordinary Recompence, to each *Macedonian* Horſeman, ſix *Minæ*; to each mercenary Horſeman, two *Minæ*; to every *Macedonian* Foot-Soldier, two *Minæ*; and to every one of the reſt, two Months of their ordinary Pay. He likewiſe gave Orders, purſuant to the Advice of the *Magi*, with whom he had ſeveral Conferences, for rebuilding the Temples, which *Xerxes* had demoliſh'd; and, among others, that of *Belus*, who was had in greater Veneration at *Babylon*, than any other Deity. He gave the Government of the Province to *Mazæus*, and the Command of the Forces he left there, to *Apollodorus* of *Amphipolis*.

Alexander, in the Midſt of the Hurry and Tumult of War, ſtill preſerv'd a Love for the Sciences. He us'd often to converſe with the *Chaldeans*, who had always apply'd themſelves to the Study of Aſtronomy, ever ſince its Birth; and gain'd great Fame, by their Knowledge in it. They preſented him with Aſtronomical Obſervations, taken by their Predeceſſors, during the Space of 1903 Years; which, conſequently, went as far backward as the Age of *Nimrod*. Theſe were ſent by *Calliſthenes*, who accompany'd *Alexander*, to *Ariſtotle*.

The King reſided longer in *Babylon*, than he had done in any other City, which was of great Prejudice to the Diſcipline of his Forces: The People of that City, even from a religious Motive, abandon'd themſelves to Pleaſures, to Voluptuouſneſs, and the moſt infamous Exceſſes; nor did Ladies, though of the higheſt Quality, obſerve any Decorum, or ſhew the leaſt Reſerve in their immoral Actions, but glory'd therein, far from endeavouring to conceal them, or bluſhing at their Enormity. It muſt be confeſs'd, that this Army of Soldiers, which had triumph'd over *Aſia*, after having thus enervated themſelves, and rioted, as it were, in the ſoft Delights of the City of *Babylon*, for Thirty-four Days together, would have been ſcarce able to have made farther Conqueſts, had they been oppos'd by an Enemy of any Spirit, and Courage. But, as they were reinforc'd, from Time to Time, theſe Irregularities were not ſo viſible; for *Amyntas* brought ſix Thouſand Foot, and five Hundred *Macedonian* Horſe, which were ſent by *Antipater*; and ſix Hundred *Thracian* Horſes, with Three thouſand, five hundred Foot of the ſame Nation; beſides four Thouſand Mercenaries from *Peloponneſus*, with near four hundred Horſes.

The abovemention'd *Amyntas* had alſo brought the King fifty *Macedonian* Youths; Sons to Noblemen of the higheſt Quality in the Country; to ſerve as his Guards. Theſe waited upon him at Table, brought him his Horſes, when in the Field, attended upon him in Parties of hunting, and kept Guard at the Door of his Apartment by Turns: And theſe were as the firſt Steps to the higheſt Employments both in the Army, and the State.

After *Alexander* had left *Babylon*, he enter'd the Province of *Sitacena*, the Soil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every Thing valuable, which made him continue longer in it. But, for Fear leſt Indolence ſhould enervate the Courage of his Soldiers, he propos'd Prizes, for ſuch of them, as ſhould exert the greateſt Bravery; and he appointed, as Judges of the Actions, of thoſe who ſhould diſpute this Honour, Perſons, who themſelves had been Eye-Witneſſes, of the Proofs of Bravery, which each Soldier had given in the former Battles; for, on theſe only the Prizes were to be beſtow'd. To each of the Eight Men, who were pronounc'd moſt valiant, he gave a Regiment, conſiſting of a Thouſand Men; whence thoſe Officers were call'd *Chiliarchi*. This was the firſt Time, that Regiments were compos'd of ſo great a Number of Soldiers; they conſiſting before but of five hundred, and had not, till then, been the Reward of Valour. The Soldiers ran in Crowds to view this illuſtrious Sight; not only as Eye-Witneſſes of the Actions of all, but as Judges over the Judges themſelves; becauſe they might perceive, very eaſily, whether Rewards were beſtow'd on Merit, or merely by Favour; a Circumſtance, in which Soldiers can never be impos'd upon. The Prizes ſeem to have been diſtributed with the utmoſt Equity and Juſtice.

He likewiſe made ſeveral very advantagious Changes in military Diſcipline, as eſtabliſh'd by his Predeceſſors; for he form'd one ſingle Body of his whole Cavalry, without ſhewing any Regard to the Difference of Nations; and appointed ſuch Officers to command them, as they themſelves thought fit to nominate; whereas before, the Horſemen of every Nation us'd to fight under his own particular Standard, and was commanded by a Colonel of that Country. The Sound of the Trumpet us'd to be the Signal for the March; but, as it very frequently could not be well heard, becauſe of the great Noiſe made in decamping, he gave Orders, that a Standard ſhould be ſet up over his Tent, which might be ſeen by his whole Army. He alſo appointed Fire to be the Signal in the Night-Time, and Smoke in the Day.

Alexan-

Alexander march'd afterwards towards *Susa*, where he arriv'd twenty Days after his leaving *Babylon*. As he came near it, *Abulites*, Governor of the Province, sent his Son to meet him, with a Promise to surrender up the City into his Hands; whether he was prompted to this, from his own Inclination, or did it in Obedience to the Orders of *Darius*, to amuse *Alexander* with the Hopes of Plunder. The King indulg'd this young Nobleman a very gracious Reception, who attended upon him as far as the River *Choaspes*, the Waters of which were famous, upon Account of their exquisite Taste. The Kings of *Persia* never drank of any other; and, whithersoever they went, a Quantity of it, after having been put over the Fire, was always carry'd after them in Silver Vessels. It was here *Abulites* came to wait upon him, bringing Presents worthy of a King; among which were Dromedaries of incredible Swiftness, and twelve Elephants, which *Darius* had sent for from *India*. Being come into the City, he took immense Sums out of the Treasury, with fifty Thousand Talents of Silver in Oar, and Ingots, besides Moveables, and a Thousand other Things of infinite Value. This Wealth was the Produce of the Exactions drawn, for several Centuries, from the common People, from whose Sweat and Poverty immense Revenues were rais'd. The *Persian* Monarchs fancy'd, they had amass'd them for their Children, and their Posterity; but, in one Hour, they fell into the Hands of a foreign King, who knew how to make a right Use of them; for *Alexander* seem'd to be meerly the Guardian, or Trustee, of the immense Riches which he found hoarded up in *Persia*; and apply'd them to the recompensing Merit and Courage.

Among other Things, there was found five hundred thousand Weight of *Hermione* Purple, the finest in the World; which had been treasuring up there, during the Space of one hundred and ninety Years; notwithstanding which, its Beauty and Lustre was no Ways diminish'd. Here likewise was found Part of the Rarities, which *Xerxes* had brought from *Greece*; and, among others, the Brazen Statues of *Harmodius*, and of *Aristogiton*; which *Alexander* sent afterwards to *Athens*, where they were standing in the Time of *Arrian*.

The King, being then resolv'd to march into *Persia*, appointed *Archelaus* Governor of the City of *Susa*, with a Garrison of three thousand Men; *Mazarus*, one of the Lords of his Court, was made Governor of the Citadel, with a thousand *Macedonian* Soldiers, who could not follow him, because of their great Age. He gave the Government of *Susiana* to *Abulites*.

He left the Mother, and Children of *Darius* in *Susa*; and, having receiv'd a great Quantity of *Persian* Stuffs, and rich Habits, made after the Fashion of the Country, he presented them to *Sysigambis*, together with the Artificers who had wrought them; for, he paid her every Kind of Honour, and lov'd her as tenderly, as though she had been his Mother. He likewise commanded the Messengers to tell her, that, in case she fancy'd those Stuffs, she might make her Grand-Children learn the Art of weaving them, by Way of Amusement; and to give them as Presents, to whomsoever they should think proper. At these Words, the Tears, which fell from her Eyes, shew'd but too evidently, how greatly she was displeas'd at these Gifts; the working in Wool being look'd upon by the *Persian* Women, as the highest Ignominy. Those who carry'd these Presents, having told the King, that *Sysigambis* was very much dissatisfy'd, he thought himself oblig'd, to make an Apology for what he had done, and administer some Consolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a Visit, when he spoke thus *Mother, the Stuff in which you see me cloath'd, was not only a Gift of my Sisters, but wrought by their Fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, that the Custom of my Country misled me; and do not look upon that as an Insult, which was owing intirely to Ignorance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any Thing, which I knew interfer'd with your Manners and Customs. I was told, that, among the* Persians, *it is a Sort of a Crime, for a Son to seat himself in his Mother's Presence, without first obtaining her Leave. You are sensible how cautious I have always been in this Particular; and that I never sat down, till you had first laid your Commands upon me for that Purpose. And every Time that you was going to fall prostrate before me, I only ask you, whether I would suffer it? As the highest Testimony of the Veneration I have for you, I always call'd you by the tender Name of Mother, though this belongs properly to* Olympias *only, to whom I owe my Birth.*

What we have just now related, may suggest two Reflections, both which, in our Opinion, are very natural, and, at the same Time, of the utmost Importance.

First, We see to how great a Height the *Persians* (so vain, and haughty in other Respects) carry'd the Veneration they shew'd their Parents. The Reader, doubtless, remembers, that *Cyrus the Great*, in the Midst of his Conquests, and the most exalted Pitch to which Fortune had rais'd him, would not accept of the advantagious Offer made him by *Cyaxares*, his Uncle, *viz.* of giving him his Daughter in Marriage, and *Media* for her Dowry, till he had first advis'd with his Father and Mother, and obtain'd their Consent. History informs us here, that, among the *Persians*, a Son never dar'd to seat himself before his Mother, till he had first obtain'd her Leave; and that, to do otherwise, was look'd upon as a Crime. Alas! how widely do our Manners differ from so excellent an Institution?

Secondly, We discover, in the same Relation, several valuable Footsteps of that happy Simplicity, which prevail'd in ancient Times; when Ladies, though of the greatest Distinction, us'd to employ themselves in useful, and sometimes laborious Works. Every one knows what is told us in Scripture, to this Purpose, concerning *Rebecca*, *Rachel*, and several others. We read in *Homer*, of Princesses drawing themselves Water from Springs; washing, with their own Hands, the Linnen of their respective Families. Here the Sisters of *Alexander*, that is, the Daughters of a powerful Prince, are employ'd in making Cloaths for their Brother. The celebrated *Lucretia* us'd to spin in the Midst of her Female Attendants. *Augustus*, who was Sovereign of the World, wore, for several Years together, no other Cloaths but what his Wife and Sister made him. It was a Custom in the *Northern* Parts of the World,

World, not many Years ſince, for the Princeſs, who then ſate upon the Throne, to prepare ſeveral of the Diſhes at every Meal. In a Word, Needle-Work, the Care of domeſtick Affairs, a ſerious and retir'd Life, is the Lot of Women; and to this they were deſign'd by Providence. The Depravity of the Age has, indeed, affix'd to theſe Cuſtoms, which are very near as old as the Creation, an Idea of Meanneſs and Contempt: But then, what has it ſubſtituted in the Room, of the harſh and vigorous Exerciſes, which a juſt Education enabled the Sex to undertake; to that laborious and uſeful Life, which was ſpent at home? A ſoft Indolence; a ſtupid Idleneſs; frivolous Converſations; vain Amuſements; a ſtrong Paſſion for publick Shows; and the Fury of Gaming. Let us compare theſe two Characters, and then pronounce, which of them may juſtly boaſt its being founded on good Senſe, ſolid Judgment, and a Taſte for Truth and Nature. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſs'd, in Honour of the fair Sex, and of our Nation, that ſeveral Ladies among us, and thoſe of the higheſt Quality, make it not only a Duty, but a Pleaſure, to employ themſelves in Needle-Works, not of a trifling, but of the moſt uſeful Kind; and to make Part of their Furniture with their own Hands. We might alſo add, that Numbers of theſe adorn their Minds with agreeable, and, at the ſame Time, ſerious and uſeful Studies.

Alexander, having taken his Leave of *Syſigambis*, who was then extremely well ſatisfy'd, arriv'd on the Banks of a River, call'd by the Inhabitants *Paſi-Tigris*. Having croſs'd it with nine thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, conſiſting of *Agrians*, as well as of *Grecian* Mercenaries, and a Reinforcement of three thouſand *Thracians*, he came into the Country of the *Uxii*. This Region lies near *Suſa*, and extends to the Frontiers of *Perſia*; a narrow Paſs only lying between it and *Suſiana*. *Madathes* commanded this Province. This Man was not a Time-ſerver, nor a Follower of Fortune; but, faithful to his Sovereign, he reſolv'd to hold out to the laſt Extremity; and, for this Purpoſe, had withdrawn into his own City, which ſtood in the midſt of craggy Rocks, and was ſurrounded with Precipices. Having been forc'd from thence, he retir'd into the Citadel, whence the Beſieg'd ſent thirty Deputies to *Alexander*, to ſue for Quarter; which they obtain'd, at laſt, by the Interceſſion of *Syſigambis*. The King not only pardon'd *Madathes*, who was a near Relation of that Princeſs, but likewiſe ſet all the Captives, and thoſe who had ſurrender'd themſelves, at Liberty; permitted them to enjoy their ſeveral Rights and Privileges; would not ſuffer the City to be plunder'd, but let them plough their Lands, without paying any Tax or Tribute. Could *Syſigambis* have poſſibly obtain'd more from her own Son on this Occaſion, had he been the Victor?

The *Uxii* being ſubdu'd, *Alexander* gave Part of his Army to *Parmenio*, and commanded him to march it through the Plain; whilſt himſelf, at the Head of the Forces, who were lightly arm'd, croſs'd the Mountains, which extend as far as *Perſia*. The fifth Day, he arriv'd at the Paſs of *Suſa*: *Ariobarzanes*, with four thouſand Foot, and ſeven hundred Horſe, had taken Poſſeſſion of thoſe Rocks, which are very ſteep on all Sides, and poſted the *Barbarians* at the Summit, out of the Reach of Arrows. He alſo had built a Wall in thoſe Paſſes, and incamp'd his Forces under it. Aſſoon as *Alexander* advanc'd, in order to attack him, the *Barbarians* roll'd, from the Top of the Mountain, Stones of a prodigious Size, which falling from Rock to Rock, ruſh'd forward with the greater Violence, and, at once, cruſh'd to Pieces whole Bands of Soldiers. The King, being very much terrify'd at this Sight, commanded a Retreat to be ſounded; and it was with the utmoſt Grief, he ſaw himſelf not only ſtopp'd at this Paſs, but depriv'd of all Hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilſt he was taken up with theſe gloomy Thoughts, a *Grecian* Priſoner, ſurrender'd himſelf to *Alexander*, with a Promiſe, to conduct him to the Top of the Mountain by another Way. The King, with Joy, accepted of the Offer; and leaving the Care of the Camp, and the Army to *Craterus*, he commanded him to cauſe a great Number of Fires to be lighted, in order that the *Barbarians*, might thereby be more ſtrongly induc'd to believe, that he was there in Perſon. After this, taking ſome choſen Troops with him, he ſet out, going through all the By-Ways, as his Guide directed. But, beſides, that theſe Paths were very ſteep, and the Rocks ſo ſlippery, that their Feet could ſcarce ſtand upon them; the Soldiers were alſo very much annoy'd by the Snows, that the Winds had brought together, and which were ſo high, that the Men fell into them, as into ſo many Ditches; and, when their Comrades endeavour'd to draw them out, they themſelves likewiſe ſunk into them; not to mention, that their Fears were greatly increas'd, by the Horrors of the Night, by their being in an unknown Country, and conducted by a Guide, whoſe Fidelity was doubtful. However, after having gone through a great Number of Difficulties and Dangers, they, at laſt, got to the Top of the Mountain. Then going down, they diſcover'd the Enemy's *Corps de Garde*, and appear'd behind them, Sword in Hand, at a Time when they leaſt expected it. Such as made the leaſt Defence, who were but few, were cut to Pieces; by which Means, the Cries of the Dying, on one Side, and on the other, the Terror of thoſe who were flying to their main Body, ſpread ſo great a Terror, that they fled, without ſtriking a Blow. At this Noiſe *Craterus* advanc'd, as *Alexander* had commanded when he went away, and ſeiz'd upon the Paſs, which, till then, had reſiſted his Attacks; and, at the ſame Time, *Philotas*, advanc'd forwards by another Way, with *Amyntas*, *Cœnus*, and *Polyperchon*; and broke quite through the *Barbarians*, who were then attack'd on every Side. The greateſt Part of them were cut to Pieces, and thoſe who fled fell into Precipices. *Ariobarzanes*, with Part of the Cavalry, eſcap'd, by flying over the Mountains.

Alexander, from an Effect of the good Fortune, which for ever attended all his Undertakings, having thus extricated himſelf happily out of the Danger to which he was ſo lately expos'd, march'd immediately towards *Perſia*. Being on the Road, he receiv'd Letters from *Tiridates*, Governor of *Perſepolis*, which inform'd him, that the Inhabitants of that City, upon the Report of his advancing towards him, were determin'd to plun-

plunder the Treasures of *Darius*, with which he was intrusted; and therefore, it was necessary for him to make all the Haste imaginable to seize them himself; that he had only the *Araxes* to cross, after which, the Road was smooth and easy. *Alexander*, upon this News, leaving his Infantry behind, march'd, the whole Night, at the Head of his Cavalry; who were very much harrass'd, by the Length, and Swiftness of this March, and went over the *Araxes*, on a Bridge, which, by his Order, had been built some Days before.

But, as he drew near the City, he perceiv'd a large Body of Men, who exhibited a memorable Example of the greatest Misery: These were about four thousand *Greeks*, very far advanc'd in Years, who, having been made Prisoners of War, had suffer'd all the Torments, which the *Persian* Tyranny could inflict. The Hands of some had been cut off, the Feet of others; and others, again, had lost their Nose and Ears: After which, having impress'd, by Fire, barbarous Characters on their Faces, they had the Inhumanity to keep them as so many Laughing-Stocks, with which they sported perpetually. They appear'd like so many Shadows, rather than like Men; Speech being almost the only Thing by which they were known to be such. *Alexander* could not refrain from Tears at this Sight; and, as they unanimously besought him to commiserate their Condition, he bid them, with the utmost Tenderness, not to despond, and assur'd them, that they should again see their Wives and Country. This Proposal, which, one would have thought, should naturally have fill'd them with Joy, perplex'd them very much, various Opinions arising on this Occasion. "How will it be possible (*said some of* "*them*) for us to appear publickly before all "*Greece*, in the dreadful Condition to which we "are reduc'd; a Condition still more shameful "than dissatisfactory? The best Way to bear Mi- "sery, is to conceal it; and no Country is so "sweet to the Wretched, as Solitude, and an "Oblivion of their past Calamities. Besides, "how will it be possible for us to undertake so "long a Journey? Driven to a great Distance "from *Europe*, banish'd to the most remote Parts "of the *East*, worn out with Age, and most of "our Limbs maim'd; can we pretend to undergo "Fatigues, which have even weary'd a trium- "phant Army? The only Thing that now re- "mains for us, is to hide our Misery, and end "our Days among those, who are already so "accustom'd to our Misfortunes." Others, in whom their Country's Love extinguish'd all Sensations, represented, "That the Gods offer'd "them what they should not even have dar'd to "with, *viz.* their Country, their Wives, their "Children, and all those Things, for whose Sake "Men are fond of Life, and despise Death. "That they had long enough born the sad Yoke "of Slavery; and that nothing happier could "present itself, than their being indulg'd in the "Bliss of going, at last, to breathe their native "Air, to resume their ancient Manners, Laws "and Sacrifices, and to die in the Presence of "their Wives and Children."

However, the former Opinion prevail'd; and accordingly, they besought the King, to permit them to continue in a Country, where they had spent so many Years. He granted their Request, and presented each of them three thousand *Drachmas*; five Mens Suits of Cloaths, and the same Number for Women; two Couple of Oxen to plough their Lands, and Corn to sow them. He likewise commanded the Governor of the Province, not to suffer them to be molested in any Manner; and order'd, that they should be free from Taxes, and Tributes of every Kind. Such Behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impossible for *Alexander* to restore them the Limbs, of which the *Persians* had so cruelly deprived them; but then, he restor'd them to Liberty, to Tranquillity, and Abundance. Thrice happy those Princes, who are affected with the Pleasure, which arises from the doing of good Actions, and who are touch'd with Pity for the Unfortunate!

Next Day, *Alexander*, having call'd together, the Generals of his Army, represented to them, "That no City in the World had ever been more "fatal to the *Greeks* than *Persepolis*; the ancient "Residence of the *Persian* Monarchs, and the "Capital of their Empire. For that, it was from "thence all those mighty Armies pour'd, which "had overflow'd *Greece*; and whence *Darius*, and "afterwards *Xerxes*, had carry'd the Firebrand "of the most accurs'd War, which had laid "waste all *Europe*; and therefore, it was incum- "bent on them to revenge the *Manes* of their "Ancestors." It was already abandon'd by the *Persians*, who all fled separately, as Fear drove them. *Alexander* enter'd it, therefore, without Opposition, with his *Phalanx*; when the victorious Soldiers soon met with Riches sufficient to satiate their Avarice, and immediately cut to Pieces all those, who still remain'd in the City. However, the King soon put an End to the Massacre, and publish'd an Order, by which his Soldiers were forbid to violate the Chastity of the Women. *Alexander* had, before, possess'd himself, either by Force, or Capitulation, of a great Number of incredibly rich Cities; but all this was a Trifle, compar'd to the Treasures he found here. The *Barbarians* had laid up at *Persepolis*, as in a Store-house, all the Wealth of *Persia*. Gold and Silver were never seen there but in Heaps; not to mention the Cloaths and Furniture of inestimable Value, for this was the Seat of Luxury. There was found in the Treasury, one hundred and twenty thousand Talents, which were design'd to defray the Expence of the War. To this prodigious Sum, he added six thousand Talents, taken from *Pasagarda*. This was a City, which *Cyrus* had built; and wherein the Kings of *Persia* us'd to be crown'd.

During *Alexander*'s Stay in *Persepolis*, a little before he set out upon his March against *Darius*, he entertain'd his Friends at a Banquet, at which the Guests drank to Excess. Among the Women, who were admitted to it, mask'd, was *Thais*, the Courtezan, a Native of *Attica*, and, at that Time, Mistress to *Ptolemy*, who, afterwards, was King of *Egypt*. About the End of the Feast, during which she had studiously endeavour'd, to praise the King, in the most artful and delicate Manner (a Stratagem too often practis'd by Women of this Character) she said, with a gay Tone of Voice, "It would be Matter of inexpressible Joy to her, "were she permitted (mask'd, as she then was,

"and

" and in order to end this Feſtival nobly) to burn " the magnificent Palace of *Xerxes*, who had " burnt *Athens*; and ſet it on Fire with her own " Hand, in order that it might be ſaid in all " Parts of the World, that the Women, who had " follow'd *Alexander*, in his Expedition to *Aſia*, " had taken much better Vengeance of the *Per-* " *ſians*, for the ſeveral Calamities they had " brought upon the *Grecians*, than all the Ge- " nerals who had fought for them both by Sea " and Land." All the Gueſts applauded the Diſcourſe; when immediately the King roſe from Table (his Head being crown'd with Flowers) and taking a Torch in his Hand, he advanc'd forward to execute this mighty Exploit. The whole Company follow him, breaking into loud Acclamations, and afterwards, ſinging and dancing, they ſurround the Palace. All the reſt of the *Macedonians*, at this Noiſe, ran in Crowds with lighted Tapers, and ſet Fire to every Part of it. However, *Alexander* was ſorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave Orders for extinguiſhing the Fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great Succeſſes increas'd this beneficent Diſpoſition; and he accompany'd the Preſents he made, with ſuch Teſtimonies of Humanity and Kindneſs, and ſo obliging a Carriage, as very much inhanc'd their Merit. He exerted this Indulgence, in a particular Manner, towards the fifty *Macedonian* young Lords, who ſerv'd under him as Guards. Hereupon, *Glympias*, his Mother, thinking him too profuſe, wrote to him as follows: " I don't " blame you (ſaid ſhe) for being beneficent to- " wards your Friends, for that is acting like a " King: But then, a *Medium* ought to be ob- " ſerv'd on this Occaſion. You equal them all " to Kings; and, by heaping Riches on them, " you give them an Opportunity of making a " great Number of Friends, of all whom you " deprive yourſelf." As ſhe often wrote the ſame Advice to him, he always kept her Letters very ſecret, and did not ſhew them to any Perſon; but, happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, *Hephæſtion* drew near him, and read it over his Shoulder; which the King obſerving, did not offer to hinder him; but taking only his Ring from his Finger, he put the Seal of it upon the Lips of his Favourite, as an Admonition to him, not to divulge what he had then read.

He us'd to ſend magnificent Preſents to his Mother; but then he would never let her have any Concern in Affairs, or in the Government. She us'd frequently to make very ſevere Complaints upon that Account, but he always ſubmitted to her Ill-humour with great Mildneſs and Patience. *Antipater* having, one Day, written a long Letter againſt her, the King, after reading it, cry'd out, *Antipater does not know that one ſingle Tear, ſhed by a Mother, will blot out ten thouſand ſuch Letters as this.* A Behaviour like this, and ſuch an Anſwer, ſhew, at one and the ſame Time, that *Alexander* was both a kind Son, and an able Politician; and that he was perfectly ſenſible, how dangerous it would have been, had he inveſted a Woman of her Character with the ſupreme Authority.

CHAP. VII.

Darius *leaves* Ecbatana; *Is betray'd, and put in Chains, by* Beſſus *and* Nabarzanes; *Is baſely murder'd by thoſe Traytors; the* Spartans *revolt from the* Macedonians, *and are defeated*; Alexander *purſues* Beſſus; *Is viſited by* Thaleſtris, *Queen of the* Amazons; *A Conſpiracy is form'd againſt him; for which* Parmenio *and* Philotas *are put to Death*; Beſſus *is deliver'd up to him; Who is put to Death with great Severity*; Alexander *defeats the* Scythians; *And takes* Petra, *a Fortreſs before thought impregnable.*

AFTER he had taken *Perſepolis*, and *Paſagarda*, *Alexander* was reſolv'd again to purſue *Darius*, who was arriv'd, by that Time, at *Ecbatana*, the Capital of *Media*. There remain'd ſtill with this Fugitive-Prince thirty thouſand Foot, among whom were four thouſand *Greeks*, who were faithful to him, to the laſt. Beſides theſe, he had four thouſand Slingers, and upwards of three thouſand Cavalry, moſt of them *Bactrians*; and commanded by *Beſſus*, Governor of *Bactria*. With theſe Forces, *Darius* march'd a little out of the common Road, having order'd his Baggage to go before; then aſſembling his principal Officers, he ſpoke to them as follows: " Dear Companions, among ſo many thouſand " Men who compos'd my Army, you only have " not abandon'd me, during the whole Courſe of " my ill Fortune; and, in a little Time, nothing " but your Fidelity and Conſtancy, will be able " to make me fancy myſelf a King. Deſerters " and Traitors now govern in my Cities; not " that they are thought worthy of the Honour " which is beſtow'd on them; but Rewards are " given them, only in View of tempting you, " and to ſtagger your Perſeverance. You ſtill " choſe to follow my Fortune, rather than that " of the Conqueror: for which you, certainly, " have merited a Recompence from the Gods; " and doubt not but they'll be beneficent to- " wards you, in Caſe this Power is deny'd me.

" With

" With ſuch Soldiers and Officers, I would brave, " without the leaſt Dread, the Enemy, how for- " midable ſoever he may be. What! would any " one have me ſurrender myſelf up to the Mercy " of the Conqueror; and expect from him, as a " Reward of my Baſeneſs, and Meanneſs of Spi- " rit, the Government of ſome Province, which " he may condeſcend to leave me? No — It " never ſhall be in the Power of any Man, ei- " ther to take away, or fix upon my Head, the " Diadem I wear; the ſame Hour ſhall put a " Period to my Reign, and to my Life. If you " are all inſpir'd with a Courage and Reſolution, " like that I have deſcrib'd, and which I can no " Ways doubt; I then will promiſe, you ſhall " recover your Liberty, and not be expos'd to " the Pride and Inſults of the *Macedonians*. You " carry in your Hands that, which may either " revenge, or terminate all your Evils." Having ended this Speech, the whole Body of Soldiers reply'd with Shouts, That they were ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould go; and would ſpill, to the laſt Drop of their Blood, in his Defence.

Such was the Reſolution of the Soldiery; but *Nabarzanes*, one of the greateſt Lords of *Perſia*, and General of the Horſe, had conſpir'd with *Beſſus*, General of the *Bactrians*, to commit the blackeſt of all Crimes, and this was, to ſeize upon the Perſon of the King, and throw him in Chains; which they might eaſily do, becauſe of the great Number of Soldiers each of them had under his Command. Their Deſign was, if *Alexander* purſu'd them, to ſecure themſelves, by giving up *Darius*, alive, into his Hands; and, in caſe they eſcap'd, to murther *Darius*, and afterwards uſurp his Crowe, and begin a new War. Theſe Traitors ſoon won over the Troops, by repreſenting to them, that they were dragging to Deſtruction; that they would ſoon be cruſh'd under the Ruins of an Empire, which was juſt ready to fall; at the ſame Time that *Bactria* was open to them, and offer'd them immenſe Riches. Though theſe Practices were carry'd on very ſecretly, they yet came to the Ear of *Darius*, who could not believe them. *Patron*, who commanded the *Greeks*, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his Tent among them, and truſt the Guard of his Perſon to Men, on whoſe Fidelity he might depend. *Darius* could not prevail with himſelf to put ſo great an Affront upon the *Perſians*, and therefore, made this Anſwer: " It would be leſs Affliction to him to be " deceiv'd by, than to condemn them. That he " would ſuffer the worſt of Evils amidſt thoſe of " his own Nation, rather than ſeek for Strangers, " how faithful and affectionate ſoever he might " believe them: And, that he could not but die " too late, in caſe the *Perſian* Soldiers thought " him unworthy of Life." It was not long before *Darius* experienc'd the Truth of this Counſel; for the Traitors ſeiz'd him, bound him in Chains of Gold, by Way of Honour, as he was a King, and then laying him in a cover'd Chariot, they ſet out towards *Bactria*.

Alexander being arriv'd at *Ecbatana*, was inform'd, *Darius* had left that City five Days before. He then commanded *Parmenio* to lay up all the Treaſures of *Perſia* in the Caſtle of *Ecbatana*, under a ſtreng Guard, which he left there. According to *Strabo*, theſe Treaſures amounted to an hundred and eighty thouſand Talents (five hundred and forty Millions) and, according to *Juſtin*, to ten Talents more (thirty Millions). He order'd him to march afterwards to *Hyrcania*, by the Country of the *Caduſii*, with the *Thracians*, Foreigners, and the reſt of the Cavalry, the royal Companies excepted. He ſent Orders to *Clitus*, who ſtay'd behind in *Suſa*, where he fell ſick, that, aſſoon as he was arriv'd at *Ecbatana*, he ſhould then take the Forces which were left in that City, and come to him in *Parthia*.

Alexander, with the reſt of his Army, purſu'd *Darius*, and arriv'd, the eleventh Day, at *Rhaga*, which is a long Day's Journey from the *Caſpian* Streights; but *Darius* had already paſs'd through them. *Alexander* now deſpairing to overtake him, what Diſpatch ſoever he might make, ſtaid there five Days to reſt his Forces. He then march'd againſt the *Parthians*, and that Day pitch'd his Camp near the *Caſpian* Streights, and paſs'd them the next. News was ſoon brought him, that *Darius* had been ſeiz'd by the Traitors; that *Beſſus* had caus'd him to be drawn in a Chariot, and had ſent the unhappy Monarch before, to be the ſurer of his Perſon; that the whole Army obey'd that Wretch, *Artabazus*, and the *Greeks* excepted, who, not having a Soul baſe enough to conſent to ſo abominable a Deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had, therefore, left the High-Road, and march'd towards the Mountains.

This was a freſh Motive for him to haſten his March. The *Barbarians*, at his Arrival, were ſeiz'd with Dread; though the Match would not have been equal, had *Beſſus* been as reſolute for fighting, as for putting in Execution the deteſtable Act above-mention'd; for they exceeded the Enemy both in Number and Strength, and were all cool, and ready for the Combat; whereas, *Alexander*'s Troops were quite fatigu'd with the Length of their March. But the Name, and Reputation of *Alexander* (a Motive that is all-powerful in War) fill'd them with ſuch prodigious Terror, that they all fled. *Beſſus*, and his Accomplices, being come up with *Darius*, they requeſted him to mount his Horſe, and fly from the Enemy: But he reply'd, " The Gods were ready to revenge " the Evils that he had ſuffer'd;" and beſeeching *Alexander* to do him Juſtice, he refus'd to follow a Band of Traitors. At theſe Words they fell into ſuch a Fury, that all threw their Darts at him, and ſo cover'd him with Wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid Crime, they ſeparated, in order to leave different Footſteps of their Flight, and by this Means, elude the Purſuit of the Enemy, in caſe he ſhould follow them; or, at leaſt, oblige him to divide his Forces. *Nabarzanes* took the Way of *Hyrcania*, and *Beſſus* that of *Bactria*, both being follow'd by a very few Horſe-men; and, as the *Barbarians* were, by this Means, deſtitute of Leaders, they diſpers'd themſelves up and down, as Fear or Hope directed their Steps.

After ſearching about in different Places, *Darius* was, at laſt, found in a Solitude, his Body run through with Spears, lying in a Chariot, and drawing near his End. However, he had Strength before he dy'd, to call for Drink, which a *Macedonian*, *Polyſtratus* by Name, gave him. He had a *Perſian* Priſoner, whom he employ'd as his Inter-

terpreter. *Darius*, after drinking the Liquor that had been given him, turn'd to the *Macedonian*, and ſaid: "That in the deplorable State to which "he was reduc'd, he, however, ſhould have the "Comfort to ſpeak to one who could underſtand "him; and that his laſt Words would not be loſt. "He, therefore, charg'd him to tell *Alexander*, "that he dy'd in his Debt, though he had never "oblig'd him. That he gave him a Multitude "of Thanks, for the great Humanity he had ex-"ercis'd towards his Mother, his Wife, and his "Children, whoſe Lives he had not only ſpar'd, "but reſtor'd them to their former Splendor. "That he beſought the Gods to give Victory to "his Arms, and make him Monarch of the U-"niverſe. That he thought he need not intreat "him to revenge the execrable Murther, which "was committed on his Perſon, inaſmuch as this "was the common Cauſe of Kings."

After this, taking *Polyſtratus* by the Hand, "Give him (ſaid he) thy Hand, as I give thee "mine; and carry him, in my Name, the only "Pledge I am able to give of my Gratitude and "Affection." Saying theſe Words, he breath'd his laſt. *Alexander* coming up a Moment after, and ſeeing the Body of *Darius*, he wept bitterly; and, by the ſtrongeſt Teſtimonies of Affection that could be given, prov'd how intimately he was afflicted at the Unhappineſs of a Prince, who deſerv'd a better Fate. He immediately pull'd off his military Cloak, and threw it on the Body of *Darius*; then cauſing it to be embalm'd, and his Coffin to be adorn'd with a royal Magnificence, he ſent it to *Syſigambis*, in order that it might be interr'd with the Honours uſually paid to the deceas'd *Perſian* Monarchs, and be intomb'd with his Anceſtors.

Thus dy'd *Darius*, in the third Year of the 112th *Olympiad*, at about fifty Years of Age, ſix of which he had reign'd. He was a gentle and pacifick Prince; his Reign having been unſully'd with Injuſtice or Cruelty, which was owing either to his natural Lenity, or his not having had an Opportunity of acting otherwiſe, becauſe of the perpetual War he had carry'd on againſt *Alexander*, all the Time he had ſat upon the Throne. In him the *Perſian* Empire ended, after having exiſted two hundred and nine Years, computing from the Beginning of the Reign of *Cyrus* the Great (the Founder of it) under thirteen Kings, *viz. Cyrus*, *Cambyſes*, *Smerdis Magus*, *Darius*, Son of *Hyſtaſpis*, *Xerxes* I. *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, *Xerxes* II. *Sogdianus*, *Darius Nothus*, *Artaxerxes Memnon*, *Artaxerxes Ochus*, *Arſes*, *Darius Codomannus*.

The Death of *Darius Codomannus* may very juſtly be conſider'd as the *Æra*, but not as the ſole Cauſe, of the Deſtruction of the *Perſian* Monarchy. When we take a general View of the Hiſtory of the Kings above-mention'd, and conſider, with ſome Attention, their different Characters, and Methods of governing, whether in Peace, or War, we eaſily perceive, that this Declenſion was prepar'd at a great Diſtance, and carry'd on to its End, by viſible Steps, which denoted a total Ruin.

We may declare, at firſt Sight, the Declenſion of the *Perſian* Empire, and its Fall, are owing to its Origin, and primitive Inſtitution. It had been form'd by the Union of two Nations, who differ'd very much in Manners and Inclinations. The *Perſians* were a ſober, laborious, and modeſt People; but the *Medes* were wholly devoted to Pride, Softneſs, and Voluptuouſnes. The Example of Frugality and Simplicity, which *Cyrus* had ſet them; and their being oblig'd to be always under Arms to gain ſo many Victories, and ſupport themſelves in the midſt of ſo many Enemies, prevented thoſe Vices from ſpreading for ſome Time. But, after thoſe Nations had ſubjected all Things, the Fondneſs which the *Medes* had naturally for Pleaſure and Magnificence, ſoon leſſen'd the Temperance of the *Perſians*, and became, in a little Time, the prevailing Taſte of the two Nations.

Several other Cauſes conſpir'd to this. *Babylon*, when conquer'd, intoxicated its Victors with her poiſon'd Cup, and inchanted them with the Charms of Pleaſure. She furniſh'd them with ſuch Miniſters and Inſtruments, as were adapted to promote Luxury, and to foment and cheriſh Delights with Art and Delicacy: And the Wealth of the richeſt Provinces in the World, being at the intire Diſpoſal of new Sovereigns, they thereby were enabled to ſatiate all their Deſires

Even *Cyrus* himſelf, as I obſerv'd elſewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the Conſequence of it; and prepar'd Mens Minds, by the ſplendid Banquet he gave, after having ended his Conqueſts; and when he ſhew'd himſelf in the midſt of his Troops, who had ſhar'd in his Victories, with ſuch a Pomp and Oſtentation, as were moſt capable of dazling the Eye. He began, by raiſing in their Minds an Admiration for Parade and Vain-glory, which they had hitherto deſpis'd. He ſuggeſted to them, that Magnificence and Riches were worthy of crowning the moſt glorious Exploits, and the End and Fruit of them: And by thus inſpiring his Subjects with a ſtrong Thirſt for Things they ſaw ſo highly eſteem'd by a moſt accompliſh'd Prince, his Example authoriz'd them to abandon themſelves to theſe without Reſerve.

He alſo ſpread this Evil, by his obliging Judges, Officers, and Governors of Provinces, to appear in Splendor before the People, the better to repreſent the Majeſty of the Prince. On one Side, theſe Magiſtrates and Commanders eaſily miſtook this Outſide and Trappings of their Employments for the moſt eſſential Parts of them; they endeavouring to diſtinguiſh themſelves by nothing but this glittering Exterior: And on the other Side, Men of the greateſt Wealth in the Provinces propos'd them as ſo many Patterns for their Imitation, and were ſoon follow'd by Perſons of a moderate Fortune, whom thoſe in the loweſt Stations of Life endeavour'd to equal.

So many Cauſes of Degeneracy uniting together, and being authoriz'd publickly, ſoon deſtroy'd the ancient Virtue of the *Perſians*. They did not ſink, like the *Romans*, by imperceptible Decays, which had been long foreſeen, and often combated. Scarce was *Cyrus* dead, but there roſe up, as it were, another Nation, and Kings of a quite different Genius and Character. Men no longer diſcours'd of that maſculine, that ſevere Education, which was beſtow'd on the *Perſian* Youth; of thoſe publick Schools of Sobriety, Patience, and Emulation for Virtue, nor of thoſe laborious and warlike Exerciſes; of all theſe there did not re-

main the ſmalleſt Footſtep: Their young Men being brought up in Splendor and Effeminacy, which they now ſaw was had in Honour, immediately began to deſpiſe the happy Simplicity of their Forefathers, and form'd, in the Space of one Generation, an intire new Set of People, whoſe Manners, Inclinations, and Maxims, were directly oppoſite to thoſe of ancient Times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in Treaties; and got this peculiar Character, that they, of all People, were the moſt abandon'd to Splendor, Luxury, Feaſting, and even to Drunkenneſs: So that we may affirm, the Empire of the *Perſians* was, almoſt at its Birth, what other Empires grew up to, through Length of Time only, and began where others end. It bore the Principle of its Deſtruction in its own Boſom, and this internal Vice increas'd every Reign.

After the unſucceſsful Expeditions of *Darius* and *Xerxes* againſt *Scythia* and *Greece*, the Princes their Succeſſors became inſenſible to the Ambition of making Conqueſts, and gave themſelves up a Prey to Idleneſs and Effeminacy: They grew careleſs of military Diſcipline and ſubſtituted, in the Place of regular Soldiers, who were inur'd to the Toils of War, a confus'd Multitude of Men, who were taken by Force out of their reſpective Countries. The Reader may have obſerv'd, on more than one Occaſion, that the whole Strength, and almoſt the only Reſource of the *Perſian* Army, lay in the *Greeks* in their Service; that they, properly, depended on them only, and always took great Care to oppoſe them to the beſt Troops of the Enemy: They were the only Soldiers in the Army of *Darius*, who perform'd their Duty, and continu'd faithful to him to the laſt; and we have ſeen, that *Memnon*, the *Rhodian*, was the ſole great General, who fought againſt *Alexander*.

Inſtead of chuſing, for the Command of their Forces, Officers of Skill and Experience, they uſed to appoint Perſons of the greateſt Quality of every Nation; who frequently had no other Merit than their exalted Birth, their Riches and Credit; and who were diſtinguiſh'd by nothing but the Sumptuouſneſs of their Feaſts and Entertainments, by the Magnificence of their Equipages, and by the Croud with which they were ever ſurrounded, of Guards, Domeſticks, Eunuchs, and Women; ſuch an Aſſemblage, form'd merely for vain Parade and Oſtentation, rather than for warlike Expeditions, incumbred an Army (already but too numerous) with uſeleſs Soldiers, made ſlow in its Marches and Movements, by its too heavy Baggage, and render'd incapable of ſubſiſting long in a Country, and of compleating mighty Enterprizes, in Sight of an Enemy.

The *Perſian* Monarchs ſhutting themſelves up in their Palaces, in order to abandon themſelves to Pleaſures; and appearing ſeldom abroad, gave up their whole Confidence, and by that Means all their Authority, to Eunuchs, to Women, to Slaves, and to flattering Courtiers; whoſe ſole Thoughts and Endeavours were to baniſh far true Merit, which was offenſive to 'em; to give the Rewards appointed for Services, to their own Creatures; and to entruſt the greateſt Employments of the State to Perſons devoted to their intereſted and ambitious Views, rather than to ſuch whoſe Abilities render'd them capable of ſerving their Country.

Another Character of theſe Princes, which is but too often met with, contributed very much to the Ruin of the Empire. They were accuſtom'd from their Infancy to have their Ears ſooth'd with falſe Praiſes, and the moſt extravagant Compliments; and a blind Submiſſion was paid to their Will. They were educated in ſo exalted an Idea of their own Grandeur, as perſuaded 'em that the reſt of Men were form'd merely to ſerve them, and adminiſter to their Pleaſures. They were not taught their Duties, nor the Maxims of a wiſe and good Government; the Principles by which Men judge of ſolid Merit, and are capable of chuſing Perſons able to govern under them. They did not know, that they were raiſed to ſovereign Power, merely to protect their Subjects and make them happy. They were not told, the exquiſite Pleaſure that Monarch feels, who is the Delight of his Subjects, and is the publick Source, whence the Felicity of ſo wide-extended an Empire ſprings; as *Cyrus* the Great had been, who was ſo dear to his People, that every individual Family look'd upon him as their Father, and bewail'd his Death as a publick Calamity. So far from this, a Monarch's Grandeur was declar'd to conſiſt in making himſelf to be fear'd, and in his being able to gratify all his Paſſions with Impunity.

So ill-judg'd an Education muſt neceſſarily form either weak or vicious Princes. They were not able to ſuſtain the Weight of ſo mighty an Empire, nor to graſp the ſeveral Parts of ſo extenſive and painful an Adminiſtration. Idleneſs, and a Love for Pleaſure, made 'em careleſs, and averſe to Buſineſs of every kind; and they ſacrificed Matters of the higheſt Importance to their vain Amuſements. Some of them were born with ſuch happy Diſpoſitions, that they would have become good Princes, had they not been enervated by the Charms of a voluptuous Life; and abandon'd themſelves to the Allurements of a too deſpotic Power, and an over-great Proſperity. By Flattery, they were render'd incapable of liſtning, in their Councils, to any Expreſſion that was deliver'd with Freedom, or of ſuffering the leaſt Oppoſition to their Wills.

'Tis no Wonder they were not beloved by their Subjects, ſince their whole Study was to aggrandize themſelves, and to ſacrifice all Conſiderations to this ſingle one. *Darius*, in his Misfortunes, was abandon'd by the Generals of his Armies, by the Governors of his Provinces, by his Officers, his Domeſticks, and his Subjects; and did not meet, in any Place, with a ſincere Affection, nor a real Attachment to his Perſon and Intereſt. The dazling Splendor of the *Perſian* Monarchy conceal'd a real Weakneſs; and this unweildy Power, heighten'd by ſuch Pomp and Pride, was abhorred by the People; ſo that this Coloſſus, at the very firſt Blow, fell to the Ground.

Whilſt all theſe Things were doing in *Aſia*, as has been related above, ſome Tumults broke out in *Greece* and *Macedonia*. *Memnon*, whom *Alexander* had ſent into *Thrace*, having made an Inſurrection there, and thereby drawn the Forces of *Antipater* on that Side; the *Lacedæmonians* thought this a proper Opportunity to throw off the *Macedonian* Yoke, and engaged almoſt all *Peloponneſus* in their Deſign. Upon this News, *Antipater*, after

ter having ſettled, to the beſt of his Power, the Affairs of *Thrace*, return'd, as quick as poſſible, into *Greece*; whence he immediately diſpatch'd Couriers, in order to give *Alexander* an Account of theſe ſeveral Tranſactions. As ſoon as *Antipater* was come up with the Enemy, he reſolv'd to venture a Battle. The *Spartan* Army conſiſted of no more than Twenty thouſand Foot, and Two thouſand Horſe, under the Command of *Agis* their King; whereas, that of *Antipater* was twice that Number. *Agis*, in order to make the Superiority of Numbers of no Effect, had made Choice of a narrow Spot of Ground. The Battle began with great Vigour, each Party endeavouring to ſignalize themſelves in an extraordinary Manner, for the Honour of their reſpective Countries; the one being fir'd with the Remembrance of their priſtine Glory, and the other animated by their preſent Greatneſs; both fought with equal Courage, the *Lacedæmonians* for Liberty, and the *Macedonians* for Empire. So long as the Armies continued on the Spot where the Battle began, *Agis* had the Advantage; but *Antipater*, by pretending to fly, drew the Enemy into the Plains, after which, extending his whole Army, he gain'd the Superiority, and made a proper Uſe of his Advantage. *Agis* was diſtinguiſh'd by his Suit of Armour, his noble Mein, and ſtill more ſo by his Courage. The Battle was hotteſt round his Perſon, and himſelf perform'd the moſt aſtoniſhing Feats of Bravery. At laſt, after having been wounded in ſeveral Parts of his Body, his Soldiers laying him upon his Shield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their Courage, for having ſeiz'd upon an advantageous Poſt, where they kept cloſe in their Ranks, they reſiſted with great Vigour the Onſet of the Enemy. After having withſtood it a long Time, the *Lacedæmonians* began to give Ground, being ſcarce able to hold their Arms, which were all cover'd with Sweat; they afterwards retir'd very faſt, and at laſt ran quite away. The King, ſeeing himſelf cloſely purſu'd, ſtill make ſome Efforts, notwithſtanding the weak Condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppoſe the Enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the laſt, but, oppreſs'd by Numbers, he died Sword-in-Hand.

In this Engagement, upwards of Three thouſand *Lacedæmonians* loſt their Lives, and a Thouſand *Macedonians* at moſt; but very few of the latter return'd home unwounded. This Victory, not only ruin'd the Power of *Sparta*, and its *Allies*, but alſo the Hopes of thoſe, who only waited the Iſſue of this War, in order to declare themſelves. *Antipater* immediately ſent the News of this Succeſs to *Alexander*; but then, like an experienc'd Courtier, he drew up the Account of it in the moſt modeſt and circumſpect Terms; in ſuch as were beſt adapted to diminiſh the Luſtre of a Victory, which might expoſe him to Envy. He was ſenſible that *Alexander*'s Delicacy, with Regard to Honour, was ſo very great, that he look'd upon the Glory which another Perſon obtain'd, as a Diminution of his own. And indeed, he could not forbear, when this News was brought him, to let drop ſome Words, which diſcover'd his Jealouſy. *Antipater* did not dare to diſpoſe of any Thing by his own Authority, and only gave the *Lacedæmonians* Leave to ſend an Embaſſy to the King, in order that they themſelves might tell him the ill Succeſs they had met with. *Alexander* pardon'd them; ſome of thoſe who had firſt rais'd the Inſurrection excepted, and thoſe he puniſh'd.

Darius's Death did not hinder *Alexander* from purſuing *Beſſus*, who had withdrawn into *Bactria*, where he had aſſum'd the Title of King, by the Name of *Artaxerxes*. But, finding at laſt, that it would be impoſſible for him to come up with him, he return'd into *Parthia*; and ſo journeying ſome Days in *Hecatompylos*, commanded Proviſions of all Sorts to be brought thither.

During his Stay here, a Report prevail'd throughout the whole Army, that the King, content with the Conqueſts he had atchiev'd, was preparing to return into *Macedonia*. That very Inſtant the Soldiers, as if a Signal had been made for their ſetting out, ran like frantic Wretches to their Tents, began to pack up their Baggage, load the Waggons, with the utmoſt Diſpatch, and fill the whole Camp with Noiſe and Tumult. *Alexander* was ſoon inform'd of this, when terrify'd at the Diſorder, he ſummon'd the Officers to his Tent, where, with Tears in his Eyes, he complain'd, that in the Midſt of ſo glorious a Career, he was ſtopp'd on a Sudden, and forc'd to return back into his own Country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a Conqueror. The Officers comforted him, by repreſenting, that this ſudden Motion was a mere Sally, and a tranſient Guſt of Paſſion, which would not be attended with any ill Conſequences; and aſſur'd him, that the Soldiers, to a Man, would obey him, provided he would addreſs 'em in tender Expreſſions; which he promiſed to do. The Circumſtance which had given Occaſion to this falſe Report, was, his having disbanded ſome *Grecian* Soldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful Manner; ſo that the *Macedonians* imagin'd they alſo were to fight no more.

Alexander having ſummon'd the Army, made the following Speech. "I am not ſurpriz'd, O "Soldiers, if, after the mighty Things we have "hitherto perform'd, you ſhould be ſatiated with "Glory, and endeavour after nothing but Eaſe "and Repoſe. I will not now enumerate the va"rious Nations we have conquer'd: We have ſub"dued more Provinces than others have Cities. "Could I perſuade myſelf, that our Conqueſts are "well ſecured, over Nations, who were ſo ſoon "overcome, I would think as you do (for I won't "diſſemble my Thoughts) and would make all "the Haſte imaginable, to reviſit my domeſtick "Gods, my Mother, my Siſters, and my Subjects; "and enjoy, in the Midſt of my Country, the "Glory which I have gain'd in Concert with you. "But this Glory will all vaniſh very ſoon, if we "don't put the laſt Hand to the Work: Do you "imagine, that ſo many Nations, accuſtom'd to "other Sovereigns, and who have no manner of "Conformity with us, either in Religion, Man"ners, or Language, were compleatly ſubdued "the Moment they were conquer'd; and that "they will not take up Arms, in caſe we return "back with ſo much Precipitation? What will "become of the reſt, who ſtill remain unconquer'd? "How! ſhall we leave our Victory incomplete, "merely for Want of Courage! But, that which "touches me much more, ſhall we ſuffer the de"teſtable Crime of *Beſſus* to go unpuniſh'd? Can "you bear to ſee the Scepter of *Darius* in the ſan"guinary Hands of that Monſter; who, after "having loaded him with Chains, as though he

"had

" had been a Captive, at last assassinated his Sove-
" reign, in order to deprive us of the Glory of
" saving him? As for myself, I shall not be easy
" till I see that infamous Wretch hanging on a
" Gibbet, there to pay, to all Kings and Nations
" of the Earth, the just Punishment due to his exe-
" crable Crime. I don't know whether I am
" mistaken; but methinks I read his Sentence of
" Death in your Countenances; and that the An-
" ger which sparkles in your Eyes, declares, you
" will soon imbrue your Hands in the Blood of
" that Traitor.

The Soldiers would not suffer *Alexander* to proceed; but, clapping their Hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow, whithersoever he would lead them. All the Speeches of this Prince generally produced the same Effect. In how despondíng a Condition soever they might be, one single Word from him reviv'd their Courage on a Sudden, and inspir'd 'em with that martial Gaiety and Ardour, which appear'd always in his Face. The King, taking Advantage of this favourable Disposition of the whole Army, cross'd *Partkia*, and, in three Days, arriv'd on the Frontiers of *Hyrcania*, which submitted to his Arms. He afterwards subdu'd the *Mardi*, the *Arii*, the *Drangæ*, the *Arachosii*, and several other Nations, into which his Army march'd, with greater Swiftness than People generally travel. He frequently would pursue an Enemy for whole Days and Nights together, without scarce suffering his Troops to take any Rest. By this prodigious Rapidity, he came unawares upon Nations, who thought him at a great Distance, and subdu'd them before they had Time to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. Under this Image, *Daniel*, the Prophet, describ'd that Monarch, many Ages before *Alexander*'s Birth; representing him as a *Panther*, a *Leopard*, and a *Goat*, who rush'd forward with so much Swiftness, that his Feet seem'd not to touch the Ground.

At the same Time arrived *Thalestris*, Queen of the *Amazons*: A violent Desire of seeing *Alexander*, had prompted that Princess to leave her Dominions, and travel through a great Number of Countries to gratify her Curiosity. Being come pretty near his Camp, she sent Word that a Queen was come to visit him; and that she had a prodigious Inlination to cultivate his Acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little Distance from that Place. *Alexander*, having return'd her a favourable Answer, she commanded her Train to stop, and herself came forward, with three hundred Women; and the Moment she perceived the King, she leap'd from her Horse, having two Lances in her Right-hand. The Dress the *Amazons* used to wear, did not quite cover the Body; for their Bosom being uncover'd on the Left-side, every other Part (this excepted) of their Body was hid; their Gowns being tuck'd up with a Knot, and so descended no farther than the Knee. They preserv'd their Right-breast to suckle the Girls who were born to 'em, but us'd to burn the Left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the Bow, and hurl the Dart, whence they were call'd *Amazons*.

Thalestris look'd upon the King without discovering the least Sign of Admiration, and surveying him attentively, did not think his Stature answerable to his Fame; for the *Barbarians* are very much struck with a majestick Air, and think those only capable of mighty Atchievements, on whom Nature has bestow'd bodily Advantages. She did not scruple to tell him, that the chief Motive of her Journey, was to have Posterity by him; adding, that she was worthy of giving Heirs to his Empire. *Alexander*, upon this Request, was obliged to make some Stay in this Place; after which *Thalestris* return'd to her Kingdom, and the King into the Province inhabited by the *Parthians*. This Story, and whatever is related of the *Amazons*, is look'd upon, by some very judicious Authors, as entirely fictitious.

Alexander devoted himself afterwards wholly to his Passions, changing into Pride and rioting, the Moderation and Continence for which he had hitherto been so greatly admir'd; Virtues, so very necessary, in an exalted Station of Life, and in the Midst of a Series of Prosperities. He was then no longer the same Man: Though he was invincible, with regard to the Dangers and Toils of War, he was far otherwise with respect to the Charms of Ease. The Instant he enjoy'd a little Repose, he abandon'd himself to Sensuality; and he, whom the Arms of the *Persians* could not conquer, fell a Victim to their Vices. Nothing was to be seen but Games, Parties of Pleasures, Women, tumultuous Feastings, in which he us'd to revel, whole Days and Nights. Not satisfy'd with the Buffoons, and the Performers on instrumental Musick, whom he had brought with him out of *Greece*; he obliged the captive Women, whom he carry'd along with him, to sing Songs after the Manner of their Country. It happen'd, that among these Women, he perceiv'd one who appear'd in deeper Affliction than the rest; and who, by a modest, and, at the same Time, a noble Confusion, discover'd a greater Reluctance than the others, to appear in Publick. She was a finish'd Beauty, which was very much heighten'd by her Bashfulness; she throwing her Eyes to the Ground, and doing all that lay in her Power to conceal her Face. The King soon imagin'd, by her Air and Mien, that she was not of vulgar Birth; and enquiring himself into it, the Lady answer'd, that she was Grand-daughter to *Ochus*, who not long before had sway'd the *Persian* Scepter, and Daughter of his Son; that she had married *Hystaspes*, who was related to *Darius*, and General of a great Army. *Alexander* being touch'd with Compassion, when he heard the unhappy Fate of a Princess of the Blood Royal, and the sad Condition to which she was reduced; he not only restor'd her to Liberty, but return'd all her Possessions; and caus'd her Husband to be sought for, in order that she might be restor'd to him.

This Prince was naturally of so tender and human a Disposition, as made him sensible of the Affliction of Persons in the lowest Condition. A poor *Macedonian* was one Day leading before him a Mule, laden with Gold for the King's Use; the Beast being so tir'd, that he was not able either to go on, or sustain the Load, the Mule-driver took it up and carry'd it, but with great Difficulty, a considerable Way. *Alexander* seeing him just sinking under his Burden, and going to throw it on the Ground, in order to ease himself, cry'd out, *Friend, don't be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy Tent, for 'tis all thy own.*

Alexander, in a very difficult March, through barren

barren Places, at the Head of a ſmall Body of Horſe, when he purſu'd *Darius*, met ſome *Macedonians*, who were carrying, upon Mules, Water, put up in Goat-skins. Theſe *Macedonians* perceiving this Prince was almoſt parch'd with Thirſt, occaſion'd by the raging Heat (the *Sun* being then at the *Meridian*) immediately fill'd a Helmet with Water, and were running to preſent him with it: *Alexander* asking, to whom they were carrying all that Water, they reply'd, *We were going to carry it to our Children; but don't let your Majeſty be uneaſy, for if your Life is but ſav'd, we ſhall get Children enough, in Caſe we ſhould loſe theſe.* At theſe Words *Alexander* takes the Helmet, and looking quite round him, he ſaw all his Horſemen hanging down their Heads, and with Eyes fix'd earneſtly on the Liquor he held, ſwallow'd it, as it were, with their Glances; upon which he return'd it, with Thanks, to thoſe who had offer'd it him, and did not drink ſo much as a ſingle Drop, but cry'd, *There is not enough for my whole Company; and ſhould I drink alone, it would make the Reſt be thirſtier, and they will quite die away.* The Officers, who were on Horſeback round him, ſtruck in the moſt ſenſible Manner, with his wonderful Temperance and Magnanimity, intreated him, with Shouts, to carry them whitherſoever he could march, and not ſpare them in any Manner; that now they were not the leaſt tir'd, nor felt the leaſt Thirſt; and that ſo long as they ſhould be commanded by ſuch a King, they could not think themſelves mortal Men.

Such Sentiments as theſe, which ariſe from a generous and tender Diſpoſition, reflect a greater Honour on a Prince, than the greateſt Victories and Conqueſts. Had *Alexander* always cheriſh'd them, he would juſtly have merited the Title of *Great*; but his illuſtrious and uninterrupted Series of Proſperity, which is too heavy for Mortals to ſuſtain, raz'd them inſenſibly from his Mind, and made him forget that he was of the human Species: For now, contemning the Cuſtoms of his own Country, as though they were no more worthy the Sovereign of the Univerſe, he laid aſide the Dreſs, the Manners, and Way of Life, of the *Macedonian* Monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and ſimple, and derogatory to his Grandeur. He even went ſo far, as to imitate the Pomp of the *Perſian* Kings, in that very Circumſtance, in which they ſeem'd to equal themſelves to the Gods; I mean, by requiring thoſe, who had conquer'd Nations, to fall proſtrate at his Feet, and pay him a Kind of Homage, which became Slaves only. He had turn'd his Palace into a Seraglio, filling it with Three hundred and ſixty Concubines, (the ſame Number as *Darius* kept) and with Bands of Eunuchs, who, of all Men, are the moſt infamous. Not ſatisfy'd with wearing a *Perſian* Robe himſelf, he alſo oblig'd his Generals, his Friends, and all the Grandees of his Court, to put on the ſame Dreſs, which gave them the greateſt Uneaſineſs, and yet not one among them dar'd to ſpeak againſt this Innovation, or contradict the Prince in any Manner.

The veteran Soldiers, who had fought under *Philip*, not having the leaſt Idea of Senſuality, inveigh'd publickly againſt this prodigious Luxury, and the ſeveral Vices which the Army had learnt in *Suſa* and *Ecbatana*. The Soldiers would frequently expreſs themſelves in the following Terms: *That they had loſt more by Victory than they had gain'd; that as the* Macedonians *had thus aſſum'd the Manners and Cuſtoms of Foreigners, 'twas they who might be ſaid to be conquer'd; that therefore the only Benefit they ſhould reap from their long Abſence, would be, to return back into their Country in the Habit of* Barbarians; *that* Alexander *was aſham'd of, and deſpiſed them; that he choſe to reſemble the Vanquiſh'd, rather than the Victorious; and that he, who before had been King of* Macedonia, *was now become one of* Darius's *Lieutenants.*

The King was not ignorant of the Diſcontent which reign'd both in his Court and his Army, and he endeavour'd to recover the Eſteem and Friendſhip of it by his Beneficence: But Slavery, though it be purchaſed at ever ſo high a Rate, muſt neceſſarily be odious to independent Perſons. He therefore thought, that the ſafeſt Remedy would be to employ them; and for that Purpoſe, he led them againſt *Beſſus*. But, as the Army was encumber'd with Booty, and a uſeleſs Train of Baggage, that it could ſcarce move, he firſt cauſed all his own Baggage to be carry'd into a great Square, and afterwards that of his Army, (ſuch Things excepted as were abſolutely neceſſary;) then order'd the whole to be carry'd from thence in Carts, to a large Plain. Every one was in great Pain to know the Meaning of all this; but, after he had ſent away the Horſes, he himſelf ſet Fire to his own Things, and commanded every one to follow his Example. Upon this, the *Macedonians* lighted up the Fire with their own Hands, and burnt the rich Spoils they had purchaſed with their Blood, and often forc'd out of the Midſt of the Flames. Such a Sacrifice muſt certainly have been made with the utmoſt Reluctance; but the Example the King ſet them, ſilenc'd all their Complaints, and they ſeem'd leſs affected at the Loſs of their Baggage, than at their Neglect of military Diſcipline. A ſhort Speech the King made, ſooth'd all their Uneaſineſs; and, being now more able to exert themſelves hereafter, they ſet out with Joy, and march'd towards *Bactria*. In this March they met with Difficulties, which would have quite damp'd any one, except *Alexander*; but nothing could daunt his Soul, or check his Progreſs; for he put the ſtrongeſt Confidence in his good Fortune, which indeed never forſook that Hero, but extricated him from a thouſand Perils, wherein one would have naturally ſuppoſed both himſelf and his Army muſt periſh.

Being arriv'd among the *Drangæ*, a Danger to which he had not been accuſtom'd, gave him very great Uneaſineſs; and this was, the Report of a Conſpiracy, that was form'd againſt his Perſon. One *Dymnus*, a Man of no Figure at Court, was the Contriver thereof; and the Motive of it was, ſome private Diſguſt which he had receiv'd. He had communicated his execrable Deſign to a young Man, *Nicomachus* by Name, who reveal'd it to *Cebalinus* his Brother. The latter immediately whiſper'd it to *Philotas*, earneſtly intreating him to acquaint the King with it, becauſe every Moment was of the utmoſt Conſequence, and that the Conſpirators were to execute the horrid Deed in three Days. *Philotas*, after applauding his Fidelity, waited immediately upon the King, and diſcours'd him on a great Variety of Subjects, but without taking the leaſt Notice of the Plot. In the Evening, *Cebalinus* meeting him as he was

coming out, and asking whether he had done as he had requeſted; he anſwer'd, that he had not found an Opportunity of mentioning it to his Majeſty, and went away. The next Day, this young Man went up to him, as he was going into the Palace, and conjur'd him not to forget what he had told him the Day before. *Philotas* then reply'd, that he would be ſure not to forget it; and yet did not perform his Promiſe. This made *Cebalinus* ſuſpect him; and fearing, that, in caſe the Conſpiracy ſhould be diſcover'd by another Perſon, his Silence would be interpreted as criminal, he, therefore, got another Perſon to diſcloſe it to *Alexander*. The Prince having heard the Whole from *Cebalinus* himſelf, and told how often he had conjur'd *Philotas* to acquaint him with it, firſt commanded *Dymnus* to be brought before him. The latter gueſſing upon what Account he was ſent for by the King, ran himſelf through with his Sword; but the Guards having prevented this Wretch from compleating the Deed, he was carry'd to the Palace. The King ask'd him, why he thought *Philotas* more worthy than he was of the Kingdom of *Macedon*; but he was quite ſpeechleſs; ſo that, after fetching a deep Sigh, he turn'd his Head aſide, and breath'd his laſt

The King afterwards ſent for *Philotas*, and ſpeaking to him (having firſt commanded every one to withdraw) he ask'd, whether *Cebalinus* had really urg'd him ſeveral Times to tell him of a Plot, which was carrying on againſt him. *Philotas*, without diſcovering the leaſt Confuſion in his Countenance, confeſs'd ingenuouſly that he had; but made his Apology, by ſaying, that the Perſon, who had whiſper'd this, did not appear to him worthy of the leaſt Credit. He confeſs'd, however, that the Death of *Dymnus* plainly ſhew'd he had acted very imprudently, in concealing thus long a Deſign of ſo black a Nature: Upon which, acknowledging his Fault, he fell at the King's Feet; which he embrac'd, and beſought him to conſider his paſt Life, rather than the Fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any evil Deſign, but from the Fear he was under of alarming, very unſeaſonably, the King, ſhould he communicate a Deſign, which he really ſuppos'd was without Foundation. 'Tis no eaſy Matter to ſay, whether *Alexander* believ'd what *Philotas* ſaid, or only diſſembled his Anger: But however this be, he gave him his Hand, in Token of Reconciliation; and told him, *That he was perſuaded he had deſpiſed, rather than concealed the Notice.*

Philotas was both envy'd and hated by a great Number of Courtiers; and indeed, it was hardly poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, becauſe none of them was more familiar with the King, or more eſteem'd by him. Now, inſtead of ſoftening and diminiſhing the Luſtre of this diſtinguiſh'd Favour he enjoy'd, by an Air of Sweetneſs and Humanity; he ſeem'd, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing ſo much as to raiſe the Envy of others, by his affecting a ſilly Pride, which generally diſplay'd itſelf in his Dreſs, his Retinue, his Equipage, and his Table; and ſtill more ſo, by the haughty Airs he aſſum'd, which made him univerſally hated. *Parmenio*, his Father, diſguſted at his Pride, ſaid one Day to him, *My Son, make thyſelf leſs.* The ſtrongeſt Senſe is couch'd under theſe Words; and it is evident, the Man, who utter'd them, was perfectly acquainted with the Genius of Courts. He us'd often to give *Philotas* ſuch Advice as this; but too exalted a Proſperity is apt to make Men both deaf and blind; and they cannot perſuade themſelves, that Favour which is eſtabliſh'd on ſo ſeemingly a ſolid Foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which *Philotas* found to his Sorrow.

His former Conduct, with Regard to *Alexander*, had given the latter juſt Reaſon to complain of him; for he us'd to take the Liberty to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the King, and applaud himſelf in the moſt haughty Terms. Opening, one Day, his Heart to a Woman, *Antigona* by Name, with whom he was in Love, he began to boaſt, in a very inſolent Manner, his Father's Services, and his own: "What would *Philip* (ſaid he) have "been, had it not been for *Parmenio?* And, what "would *Alexander* be, were it not for *Philotas?* "What would become of his pretended Divinity, "and his Father AMMON, ſhould we undertake "to combat this Fiction?" All theſe Things were repeated to *Alexander*, and *Antigona* herſelf made Oath, that ſuch Words had been ſpoke. The King had, nevertheleſs, taken no Notice of all this, nor ſo much as once let drop the leaſt Word, which ſhew'd his Reſentment upon that Occaſion, whenever he was moſt intoxicated with Liquor; nor had ever hinted it to his Friends, not even to *Hephæſtion*, from whom he ſcarce conceal'd any Thing. But the Crime *Philotas* was now accus'd of, recall'd to his Memory the Diſguſt he had formerly entertain'd.

Immediately after the Converſation he had with *Philotas*, he held a Council, compos'd of his chief Confidents. *Craterus*, for whom *Alexander* had a great Eſteem, and who envy'd *Philotas* the more upon that very Account, look'd upon this as a very happy Opportunity for him to ſupplant his Rival. Concealing, therefore, his Hatred under a ſpecious Pretence of Zeal, he ſuggeſted to the King, "The Apprehenſions he might juſtly be "under, both from *Philotas* himſelf, becauſe "Mercy is not apt to work any Change in a "Heart, which could be corrupt enough to en"tertain ſo deteſtable a Crime; and from *Par*"*menio* his Father, who, ſaid he, will never be "able to bear the Thoughts of his owing his "Son's Life to the King's Clemency. Some be"neficial Acts are ſo great, that they become a "Weight to thoſe to whom they are indulg'd; "and for which Reaſon, they do all that lies in "their Power to eraſe them from their Memory. "And farther, who can aſſure us, that both Fa"ther and Son are not engag'd in the Conſpi"racy? When a Prince's Life is in Danger, every "Thing is then of Importance; and all Things, "even to the ſlighteſt Suſpicions, are ſo many "Proofs. Can we conceive it poſſible, that a "Favourite, on whom his Sovereign has beſtow'd "the moſt ſhining Marks of his Beneficence, "ſhould be calm and undiſturb'd, upon his be"ing told an Affair of ſuch mighty Importance? "But we are told, that this Deſign was commu"nicated by young People, who deſerv'd very "little Credit. Wherefore did he keep them in "Suſpence two Days, in ſuch a Manner, as tho' "he believ'd what they told him; and ſtill pro"mis'd them, that he would reveal the whole "Affair to the King? Who does not ſee, that he "did this, meerly to prevent their having Ac-

"ceſs,

" ceſs, by another Way, to his Majeſty? Sir,
" (continu'd he) it is neceſſary for your own Sake,
" and that of the State, for us to put *Philotas* to
" the Torture; in order to force, from his own
Mouth, an Account of this Plot, and the ſe-
" veral Perſons who are his Accomplices in it."
This being the Opinion of all the Members of the Council, the King yielded to it. He then diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly, having firſt injoin'd them Secreſy; and the better to conceal his Reſolution, he gave Orders for the Army's marching the next Day, and even invited *Philotas* to Supper with him.

In the Beginning of the Night, various Parties of Guards having been poſted in the ſeveral Places neceſſary, ſome enter'd the Tent of *Philotas*, who was then in a deep Sleep; when ſtarting from his Slumbers, as they were putting Manacles on his Hands, he cry'd, *Alas! my Sovereign, the Inveteracy of my Enemies has got the better of your Goodneſs.* After this, they cover'd his Face, and brought him to the Palace, without uttering a ſingle Word. The next Morning, the *Macedonians*, according to an Order publiſh'd for that Purpoſe, came thither under Arms, being about Six Thouſand. It was a very ancient Cuſtom, for the Army, in War-Time, to take Cognizance of capital Crimes; and, in Times of Peace, for the People to do this; ſo that the Prince had no Power on theſe Occaſions, unleſs a Sanction were given to it by the Conſent of one of theſe Bodies; and the King was forc'd to have Recourſe to Perſuaſion, before he employ'd his Authority.

Firſt, The Body of *Dymnus* was brought out; very few then preſent knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his Death. Afterwards the King came into the Aſſembly; an Air of Sorrow appearing in his Countenance, as in that of his whole Court, every one waiting for the Iſſue of this gloomy Scene. *Alexander* continu'd a long Time with his Eyes caſt on the Ground; but, at laſt, having recover'd his Spirits, he made the following Speech: *I narrowly eſcaped, O Soldiers, being torn from you, by the Treachery of a ſmall Number of Wretches; but, by the Providence, and Mercy of the Gods, I now again appear before you, alive: And I proteſt to you, that nothing encourages me more to go in Purſuit of the Traitors, than the Sight of this Aſſembly, whoſe Life is much dearer to me than my own; for I deſire to live for your Sakes only; and the greateſt Happineſs I ſhould find in living (not to ſay the only one) would be, the Pleaſure I ſhall receive, in having it once in my Power to reward the Services of ſo many brave Men, to whom I owe all Things.* Here he was interrupted by the Cries and Groans of the Soldiers, who all burſt into Tears. *Alas! How will you behave, when I ſhall name the Perſons, who formed ſo execrable an Attempt? I myſelf cannot think of it, without ſhuddering. They, on whom I have been moſt laviſh of my Kindneſſes; on whom I had beſtowed the greateſt Marks of Friendſhip; in whom I had put my whole Confidence, and in whoſe Breaſts I lodg'd my greateſt Secrets* ——— Parmenio *and* Philotas. At theſe Names, all the Soldiers gaz'd one upon the other, not daring to believe their Eyes or Ears, nor any Thing they ſaw or heard. Then *Nicomachus*, *Metron*, and *Cebalinus* were ſent for, who made the ſeveral Depoſitions of what they knew. But, as not one of them charg'd *Philotas* with engaging in the Plot, the whole Aſſembly, being ſeiz'd with a Trouble and Confuſion, which is eaſier conceiv'd than expreſs'd, continu'd in a ſad and gloomy Silence.

Philotas was then brought in, his Hands ty'd behind him, and his Head cover'd with a coarſe, worn-out Piece of Cloth. How ſhocking a Sight was this! Loſt to himſelf, he did not dare to lift up his Eyes, or open his Lips; but the Tears ſtreaming from his Eyes, he fainted away in the Arms of the Man who held him. As the Standers-by wip'd off the Tears, in which his Face was bath'd; recovering his Spirits and his Voice, by inſenſible Degrees, he ſeem'd deſirous of ſpeaking. The King then told him, that he ſhould be judg'd by the *Macedonians*, and withdrew. *Philotas* might have juſtify'd himſelf very eaſily; for, not one of the Witneſſes, and thoſe who had been put on the Rack, had accus'd him of being an Accomplice in the Plot. *Dymnus*, who firſt form'd it, had not nam'd him to one of the Conſpirators; and, had *Philotas* been concern'd in it, and been the Ring-leader, as was pretended, *Dymnus* would certainly have nam'd him, at the Head of all the Reſt, in order to engage them the more ſtrongly. Had *Philotas* been conſcious to himſelf of Guilt in this Particular, as he was ſenſible, that *Cebalinus*, who knew the Whole, ſought earneſtly to acquaint the King with it, is it any Way probable, that he could have lain quiet two Days together, without once endeavouring, either to diſpatch *Cebalinus*, or to put his dark Deſign in Execution? Which he might eaſily have done. *Philotas* ſet theſe Proofs, and a great many more, in the ſtrongeſt Light; and did not omit to mention the Reaſons, which had made him deſpiſe the Information that had been given him, as groundleſs and imaginary. Then directing, on a ſudden, himſelf to *Alexander*, as though he had been preſent; *O King*, ſays he, *whereſoever you may be* (for it is thought *Alexander* heard all that paſs'd from behind a Curtain) *if I have committed a Fault in not acquainting you with what I heard, I confeſſed it to you, and you pardon'd me. You gave me your Royal Hand, as a Pledge of this; and you did me the Honour to admit me at your Table. If you believed me, I am innocent; if you pardon'd me, I am clear'd; I refer all this to your own Judgment. What new Crime have I committed ſince? I was in a deep Sleep when my Enemies waked me, and loaded me with Chains. Is it natural for a Man, who is conſcious that he is guilty of the moſt horrid of all Crimes, to be thus eaſy and undiſturbed? The Innocence of my own Conſcience, and the Promiſe Your Majeſty made me, gave my Soul this Calm. Do not let the Envy of my Enemies prevail over your Clemency and Juſtice.*

The Reſult of this Aſſembly was, that *Philotas* ſhould be put on the Rack. The Perſons, who preſided on that Occaſion, were his moſt inveterate Enemies, and they made him ſuffer every Kind of Torture. *Philotas*, at firſt, diſcover'd the utmoſt Reſolution and Strength of Mind; the Torments he ſuffer'd not being able to force from him a ſingle Word, nor even ſo much as a Sigh. But, at laſt, conquer'd by Pain, he confeſs'd himſelf guilty; nam'd ſeveral Accomplices, and even accus'd his own Father. The next Day, the Anſwers

ſwers of *Philotas* were read in a full Aſſembly, he himſelf being preſent. Upon the whole, he was unanimouſly ſentenc'd to die; immediately after which he was ſton'd, according to the Cuſtom of *Macedonia*, with ſome other of the Conſpirators.

They alſo judg'd, at the ſame Time, and put to Death, *Lynceſtes Alexander*, who had been found guilty of conſpiring the Death of the King, and kept three Years in Priſon.

The Condemnation of *Philotas* brought on that of *Parmenio*; whether it were, that *Alexander* really believ'd him guilty, or was afraid of the Father, now he had put the Son to Death. *Polydamus*, one of the Lords of the Court, was appointed to ſee the Execution perform'd. He had been one of *Parmenio*'s moſt intimate Friends, if we may give that Name to Courtiers, whoſe only Endeavour is to make their own Fortune. This was the very Reaſon of his being nominated, becauſe no one could ſuſpect that he was ſent with any ſuch Orders againſt *Parmenio*. He therefore ſet out for *Media*, where that General commanded the Army, and was entruſted with the King's Treaſures, which amounted to an hundred and fourſcore thouſand Talents, or, five hundred and forty Millions. *Alexander* had given him ſeveral Letters for *Cleander*, the King's Lieutenant in that Province; and for the principal Officers. Two were for *Parmenio*; one of them from *Alexander*, and the other ſeal'd with the Seal of *Philotas*, as though he had been living, to prevent the Father from harbouring the leaſt Suſpicions. *Polydamus* was but eleven Days in his Journey, and alighted in the Night-time at *Cleander*'s. After having taken all the Precautions neceſſary, they went together, with a great Number of Attendants, to meet *Parmenio*, who, at this Time, was walking in a Park of his own. The Moment *Polydamus* ſpy'd him, though at a great Diſtance, he ran to embrace him, with an Air of the utmoſt Joy; and after Compliments, intermix'd with the ſtrongeſt Indications of Friendſhip, had paſt on both Sides, he gave him *Alexander*'s Letter. In opening it, he ask'd him what the King was doing, to which *Polydamus* reply'd, that he would know by his Majeſty's Letter. *Parmenio*, after peruſing it, ſaid as follows: *The King is preparing to march againſt the* Arachoſii: *How glorious a Prince is this, who will not ſuffer himſelf to take a Moment's Reſt! However, he ought to be a little tender of himſelf, now he has acquir'd ſo much Glory.* He afterwards open'd the Letter which was written in the Name of *Philotas*; and, by his Countenance, ſeem'd pleaſed with the Contents of it. At that very Inſtant *Cleander* thruſt a Dagger into his Side, then made another Thruſt in his Throat; and the reſt gave him ſeveral Wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great Man ended his Life; a Man, illuſtrious both in Peace and War; who had perform'd many glorious Actions without the King; whereas the King had never atchiev'd any Thing conſpicuous, but in Concert with *Parmenio*. He was a Perſon of great Abilities and Execution; was very dear to the Grandees, and much more ſo to the Officers and Soldiers, who repos'd the higheſt Confidence in him; and look'd upon themſelves as certain of Victory when headed by him, ſo ſtrongly they rely'd on his Capacity and good Fortune. He was then threeſcore and ten Years of Age; and had always ſerv'd his Sovereign with inviolable Fidelity and Zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his Son and himſelf having been put to Death, merely on a ſlight Suſpicion uninforc'd with any real Proof, which nevertheleſs obliterated, in a Moment, all the real Services, both had done their Country.

Alexander was ſenſible, that ſuch cruel Executions might alienate the Minds of the Soldiers from him; of which he had a Proof, by the Letters the Soldiers ſent into *Macedonia*, which were intercepted by his Order; concluding therefore, that it would be proper for him to ſeparate, from the reſt of the Army, ſuch Soldiers, as had moſt diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Murmurs and Complaints, for Fear, leſt their ſeditious Diſcourſes ſhould ſpread the ſame Spirit of Diſcontent, he form'd a ſeparate Body of theſe, the Command of which he gave to *Leonidas*; this kind of Ignominy being the only Puniſhment he inflicted them: But they were ſo ſtrongly affected with it, that they endeavour'd to efface the Diſgrace which this brought upon them, by a Bravery, a Fidelity, and an Obedience, which they obſerv'd for ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill Conſequences that might ariſe from this ſecret Diſcontent, *Alexander* ſet out upon his March, and continu'd to purſue *Beſſus*; on which Occaſion he was expoſed to great Hardſhips and Dangers. After having paſs'd through *Drangania*, *Arachoſia*, and the Country of the *Arimaſpi*, where all Things ſubmitted to his Arms, he arriv'd at a Mountain, call'd *Paropamiſus* (a Part of *Caucaſus*) where his Army underwent inexpreſſible Fatigues, through Wearineſs, Thirſt, Cold, and the Snows; which kill'd a great Number of his Soldiers. *Beſſus* laid waſte all the Country that lay between him and Mount *Caucaſus*, in order that the Want of Proviſions and Forage might deprive *Alexander* of an Oportunity of purſuing him. He indeed ſuffer'd very much, but nothing could check his Vigour: After making his Army repoſe for ſome Time at *Drapſaca*, he advanc'd towards *Aornos* and *Bactra*, the two ſtrongeſt Cities of *Bactria*, and took them both: At his Approach, about ſeven or eight Thouſand *Bactrians*, who, till then, had adher'd very ſtrenuouſly to *Beſſus*, abandon'd him to a Man, and retir'd each to his reſpective Dwelling. *Beſſus*, at the Head of a ſmall Number of Forces, who continued faithful to him, croſs'd the River *Oxus*, burnt all the Boats he himſelf made uſe of, to prevent *Alexander* from croſſing it, and withdrew to *Nautacus*, a City of *Sogdiana*, fully determin'd to raiſe a new Army there. *Alexander*, however, did not give him Time to do this; and, not meeting with Trees or Timber, ſufficient for the Building of Boats, and Rafts or floats of Timber, he ſupply'd the Want of theſe, by diſtributing to his Soldiers a great Number of Skins, ſtuff'd with ſtraw, and ſuch like dry and light Materials; which laying under them in the Water, they croſs'd the River in this Manner; thoſe, who went over firſt, drawing up in Battle Array, whilſt their Commanders were coming after them: In this Manner his whole Army paſs'd over in ſix Days.

Whilſt theſe Things were doing, *Spitamenes*, who was the chief Confident of *Beſſus*, form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him, in Concert with two more of his principal Officers. Having ſeiz'd his Perſon, they

they threw him in Chains, forc'd his Diadem from his Head, tore to Pieces the royal Robe of *Darius* he had put on, and ſet him on Horſeback, in order to give him up to *Alexander*.

This Prince arriv'd at a little City, inhabited by the *Branchidæ:* Theſe were the Deſcendants of a Family who had dwelt at *Miletus*, whom *Xerxes*, at his Return from *Greece*, had formerly ſent into *Upper Aſia*, where he had ſettled them in a very wealthy Condition, in Return for their having deliver'd up to him the Treaſure of the Temple, call'd *Didymaon*, with which he had been entruſted. Theſe receiv'd the King with the higheſt Demonſtrations of Joy, and ſurrender'd both themſelves and their City to him. *Alexander* ſent for ſuch *Mileſians* as were in his Army, who preſerv'd an hereditary Hatred againſt the *Branchidæ*, becauſe of the Treachery of their Anceſtors. They then left them the Choice, either of revenging the Injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in conſideration of their common Extraction. The *Mileſians* being ſo much divided in Opinion, that they could not agree among themſelves, *Alexander* undertook the Deciſion himſelf. Accordingly, the next Day, he commanded his *Phalanx* to ſurround the City; and, a Signal being given, they were order'd to plunder this Haunt of Traitors, and put every one of them to the Sword; which inhuman Order was executed, with the ſame Order as it had been given out. All the Citizens, at the very Time that they were going to pay Homage to *Alexander*, were murder'd in the Streets, and in their Houſes; no Manner of Regard being had to their Cries and Tears, nor the leaſt Diſtinction made of Age or Sex. They even pull'd up the very Foundations of the Walls, in order that not the leaſt Footſteps might remain of that City. But, of what Crimes were theſe ill-fated Citizens guilty? Were they reſponſible for thoſe their Fathers had committed, upwards of a hundred and fifty Years before? We don't know whether Hiſtory furniſhes another Example of ſo brutal and frantick an Action.

A little after *Alexander* had *Beſſus* brought him, not only bound, but ſtark naked. *Spitamones* held him by a Chain, which went round his Neck; and 'twas difficult to ſay, whether that Object was more agreeable to the *Barbarians* or *Macedonians*. In preſenting him to the King, he ſaid theſe Words: *I have, at laſt, reveng'd both you and* Darius, *my Kings, and my Maſters: I bring you a Wretch, who aſſaſſinated his Sovereign, and who is now treated in the ſame Manner as himſelf gave the firſt Example of. Alas! why cannot* Darius *himſelf ſee this Spectacle! Alexander*, after having greatly applauded *Spitamenes*, turn'd about to *Beſſus*, and ſpoke thus: *Thou ſurely muſt have been inſpir'd with the Rage and Fury of a Tyger, otherwiſe thou wouldeſt not have dar'd to load a King, from whom thou hadſt receiv'd ſo many Benefits, with Chains, and afterwards murder him! Be gone from my Sight, thou Monſter of Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs.* The King ſaid no more, but ſending for *Oxatres*, Brother to *Darius*, he gave up *Beſſus* to him, in order that he might ſuffer all the Ignominy he deſerv'd; ſuſpending, however, his Execution, in order that he might be judg'd in the General Aſſembly of the *Perſians*.

Alexander, who was ever fir'd with the Thirſt of Conqueſt, ſtill march'd forward, in Search of new Nations, whom he might ſubdue: After recruiting his Cavalry, which had ſuffer'd much, by their long and dangerous Marches, he advanc'd to the *Ixarthes*.

Not far from this River, the *Barbarians* ruſhing ſuddenly from their Mountains, came and attack'd the Forces of *Alexander*; and, having carry'd off a great Number of Priſoners, they got back to their lurking Holes, in which were twenty thouſand, who fought with Bows and Slings. The King went and beſieg'd them in Perſon, and being one of the foremoſt of thoſe who carry'd on the Attack, he was ſhot, with an Arrow, in the Bone of his Leg, and the iron Point ſtuck in the Wound. The *Macedonians*, who were greatly alarm'd and afflicted, carry'd him off immediately, yet not ſo ſecretly, but the *Barbarians* knew of it; for they ſaw, from the Top of the Mountain, every Thing that was doing below. The next Day they ſent Embaſſadors to the King, who order'd them to be immediately brought in, when, taking off the Bandage which cover'd his Wound, he ſhew'd them his Leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. Theſe aſſur'd him, that aſſoon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted, as the *Macedonians* could poſſibly be; and that had it been poſſible for them to find the Perſon who ſhot that Arrow, they would have deliver'd him up to *Alexander*; that none, but impious Wretches, would wage War againſt the Gods: In ſhort, that being vanquiſh'd by his unparallel'd Bravery, they ſurrender'd themſelves to him, with the Nations who follow'd them. The King, having engag'd his Faith to them, and taken back his Priſoners, accepted of their Homage.

After this, he ſet out upon his March, and getting into a Litter, a great Diſpute aroſe between the Horſe and Foot, who ſhould carry it; each of thoſe Bodies pretending that this Honour belong'd to them only; and there was no other Way of reconciling them, but by giving Orders that they ſhould carry it in their Turns.

From hence he got, the fourth Day, to *Maracanda*, a very conſiderable City, and Capital of *Sogdiana*, which he won; and after leaving a conſiderable Garriſon there, he burnt and laid waſte all the Plains.

There came an Embaſſy to him from the *Abian Scythians*, who, ever ſince the Death of *Cyrus* had liv'd free and independent; theſe ſubmitted to *Alexander*. They were conſider'd as the moſt equitable of all the *Barbarians*; they never making War, but to defend themſelves; and the Liberty that was eſtabliſh'd among them, and which they no Ways abuſed, took away all Diſtinction, and equall'd the meaneſt among them with the greateſt. A Love of Poverty and Juſtice was their peculiar Characteriſtick, and enabled them to live happy together, without their wanting either Kings or Laws. *Alexander* received them kindly, and ſent one of his chief Courtiers to take a View of their Country, and even of the *Scythians*, who inhabit above the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*.

He had mark'd out a Spot of Ground, proper for building a City, on the River *Iaxarthes*, in order to curb the Nations he had already conquer'd, and thoſe he intended to ſubdue. But this Deſign was retarded by the Rebellion of the *Sogdii*, which was ſoon after follow'd by that of the *Bactrians*.

Alexander diſpatch'd *Spitamenes*, who had deliver'd up *Beſſus* into his Hands, believing him a very fit Perſon to bring them back to their Allegiance; but he himſelf had been chiefly inſtrumental in this Inſurrection. The King, greatly ſurprized at this Treachery, was determin'd to take Vengeance of him in the moſt ſignal Manner. He then march'd to *Cyropolis*, and beſieg'd it: This was the laſt City of the *Perſian* Empire, and had been built by *Cyrus*, after whoſe Name it was call'd. At the ſame Time he ſent *Craterus*, with two more of his general Officers, to beſiege the City of the *Memaceni*, to whom fifty Troopers were ſent, to deſire them to ſue for *Alexander*'s Clemency: Theſe met with a very kind Reception at firſt, but in the Night-time they were all cut to Pieces. *Alexander* had reſolv'd to ſpare *Cyropolis*, purely for the Sake of *Cyrus*; for, of all the Monarchs who had reign'd over theſe Nations, there were none he admir'd more than this King, and *Semiramis*, becauſe they had ſurpaſs'd all the reſt, in Courage and glorious Actions. He therefore offer'd very advantageous Conditions to the Beſieg'd, but they were ſo blindly obſtinate as to reject them, and that even with Pride and Inſolence; upon which he ſtorm'd their City, abandoning the Plunder of it to his Soldiers, and ras'd it to the very Foundations. From hence he went to the other City which *Craterus* was beſieging: No Place ever made a more vigorous Oppoſition; for *Alexander* loſt his beſt Soldiers before it, and he himſelf was expoſed to very great Danger; a Stone ſtriking him with ſo much Violence on the Head, that he quite fainted away. The whole Army indeed thought him dead, which threw them into Tears; but this Prince, whom no Danger or Diſappointment could depreſs, puſh'd on the Siege with greater Vigour than before, the Inſtant he was recover'd, without ſtaying till his Wound was heal'd; Anger adding freſh Fuel to the Ardour which was natural to him. Having therefore caus'd the Wall to be ſapp'd, he made a large Breach in it, and there enter'd the City, which he burnt to the Ground, and put all the Inhabitants to the Sword. Several other Cities met with the ſame Fate. This was a third Rebellion of the *Sogdii*, who would not be quiet, though *Alexander* had pardon'd them twice before. They loſt above an hundred and twenty thouſand Men, in theſe different Sieges. The King afterwards ſent *Menedemus*, with three thouſand Foot and eight hundred Horſe, to *Maracanda*, whence *Spitamenes* had drove the *Macedonian* Garriſon, and ſhut himſelf up there.

With Regard to himſelf, he returned back, and encamp'd on the *Iaxarthes*, where he ſurrounded with Walls, the whole Spot of Ground which his Army had cover'd, and built a City on it, containing ſixty Furlongs in Circumference, which he alſo called *Alexandria*; he having before built ſeveral under that Name. He cauſed the Workmen to make ſuch Diſpatch, that in leſs than twenty Days the Ramparts were rais'd, and the Houſes built: And, indeed, there was a great Emulation among the Soldiers, who ſhould get his Work done ſooneſt, every one of them having had his Portion allotted him: And, to people this new City, he ranſom'd all the Priſoners he could meet with, ſettled ſeveral *Macedonians* there, who were worn out in Camps, and permitted many Natives of the Country, at their own Requeſt, to inhabit it.

But the King of thoſe *Scythians*, who live on the other Side of the *Iaxarthes*, ſeeing that this City, built on the River, was a kind of Yoke to them, they ſent a great Body of Soldiers to demoliſh it, and to repulſe the *Macedonian* Forces at a great Diſtance. *Alexander*, who had no Deſign of attacking the *Scythians*, finding them make ſeveral Incurſions, even in his Sight, in a very inſolent Manner, was very much perplex'd; eſpecially when Advice was brought him, at the ſame Time, that the Body of Troops he had order'd to *Maracanda*, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to Pieces. Such a Number of Obſtacles united, would have diſhearten'd any one but an *Alexander*; for the *Sogdii* had taken up Arms, and the *Bactrians* alſo; his Army was harraſs'd by the *Scythians*; he himſelf was brought ſo low, that he was not able to ſtand upright, to mount on Horſeback, to ſpeak to his Forces, or give out a ſingle Order. To increaſe this Affliction, he found his Army noways inclin'd to attempt the Paſſage of the River, in the Sight of the Enemy, who were drawn up in Battle-array. The King continued in the utmoſt Perplexity all Night-long; however, his Courage ſurmounted all Things: Being told, that the Auſpices were not propitious, he forced the Soothſayers to ſubſtitute favourable ones in their Stead. The Day beginning to break, he put on his Coat of Mail, and ſhew'd himſelf to the Soldiers, who had not ſeen him ſince the laſt Wound he had receiv'd. Theſe had their King in ſuch high Veneration, that his Preſence only, at once remov'd all their Fears, inſomuch that they ſhed Tears of Joy, and went unanimouſly, and paid him their Reſpects; intreating him to bring them Face to Face with the Enemy, againſt whom, they before had refus'd to march. They work'd ſo hard, at the Rafts or Floats, that in three Days Time they had made twelve thouſand; and they likewiſe prepar'd a great Number of Skins for that Purpoſe.

As every Thing was ready for the March, ſeveral *Scythian* Ambaſſadors arriv'd, they being twenty in Number, according to the Cuſtom of their Country; who all rode through the Camp, deſiring to ſpeak with the King. *Alexander* having ſent for them into his Tent, deſired them to ſit down: They gaz'd attentively upon him a long Time, without ſpeaking a ſingle Word, being very probably ſurpriz'd (as they form'd a Judgment of Men from their Air and Stature) not to find him anſwer the high Idea they entertain'd of his Fame. The oldeſt of the Embaſſadors made this Speech; which, as *Quintus Curtius* relates it, is pretty long; however, as 'tis very curious, I ſhall preſent my Readers with the greateſt Part of it.

Had the Gods given thee a Body proportionable to thy Ambition, the whole Univerſe would have been too little for thee. With one Hand thou wouldeſt touch the Eaſt, *and with the other, the* Weſt; *and, not ſatisfy'd with this, thou would'ſt follow the* Sun, *and know where he hides himſelf. Such as thou art, thou yet aſpireſt after what it will be impoſſible for thee to attain. Thou croſſeſt over from* Europe *into* Aſia; *and when thou ſhalt have ſubdued all the Race of Men, thou then wilt make War againſt Rivers, Foreſts, and wild Beaſts. Doſt thou not know, that tall Trees are many Years a growing, but may be tore up in an Hour's Time; that the Lion ſerves ſometimes for Food to*

the

the ſmalleſt Birds; that Iron, though ſo very hard, is conſumed by Ruſt: In a Word, that there is nothing ſo ſtrong, which may not be deſtroyed by the weakeſt Thing?

What have we to do with thee? We never ſet Foot in thy Country. May not thoſe who inhabit Woods, be allowed to live, without knowing who thou art, and whence thou comeſt? We will neither command over, or ſubmit to any Man. And, that thou mayeſt be ſenſible what Kind of People the Scythians *are, know, that we received from Heaven, as a rich Preſent, a Yoke of Oxen, a Plough-Share, a Dart, a Javelin, and a Cup. Theſe we make uſe of, both with our Friends, and againſt our Enemies. To our Friends we give Corn, which we procure by the Labour of our Oxen; with them we offer Wine to the Gods in our Cup: And with Regard to our Enemies, we combat them at a Diſtance with our Arrows, and near at Hand with our Javelins. 'Tis with theſe we formerly conquered the moſt warlike Nations, ſubdued the moſt powerful Kings, laid waſte all* Aſia, *and opened to ourſelves a Way as far as* Egypt.

But thou, who boaſteſt thy coming to extirpate Robbers, thou thyſelf art the greateſt Robber upon Earth. Thou haſt plundered all Nations thou overcameſt. Thou haſt poſſeſſed thyſelf of Lydia, *invaded* Syria, Perſia, *and* Bactriana: *Thou art forming a Deſign to march as far as* India; *and thou now comeſt hither to ſeize upon our Herds of Cattle. The great Poſſeſſions thou haſt, only make thee covet more eagerly what thou haſt not. Doſt thou not ſee how long the* Bactrians *have check'd thy Progreſs? Whilſt thou art ſubduing theſe, the* Sogdii *break into open Rebellion; and Victory ſerves thee only as Fuel to light up a freſh War.*

Croſs but the Iaxarthes, *and then thou wilt behold the great Extent of our Plains. 'Twill be in vain for thee to purſue the* Scythians; *and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our Poverty will be more active than thy Army, loaded with the Spoils of ſo many Nations; and, when thou ſhalt fancy us at a great Diſtance, thou wilt ſee us ruſh ſuddenly on thy Camp; for we purſue, and fly from our Enemies, with equal Speed. I am informed, that the* Greeks *ſpeak jeſtingly of the* Scythian *Solitudes; and that it is even become a Proverb: But we are fonder of our Deſarts, than of thy great Cities, and fruitful Plains. Let me then obſerve to thee, that Fortune is ſlippery; hold her faſt, therefore, for Fear ſhe ſhould eſcape thee. Put a Curb to thy Felicity, if thou deſireſt to have her at thy Diſpoſal.*

If thou art a God, thou oughteſt to do Good to Mortals, and not deprive them of their Poſſeſſions: If thou art a mere Man, reflect always on what thou art. Thoſe whom thou doſt not moleſt, will be thy true Friends; the ſtrongeſt Friendſhips being contracted between Equals; and they are eſteemed Equals, who have not tried their Strength one againſt the other: But, do not imagine, that thoſe, whom thou conquereſt, can love thee; for, there's no ſuch Thing as Friendſhip between a Maſter and his Slave; and a forced Peace is ſoon followed by a War.

To conclude, do not fancy that the Scythians *will take an Oath in their concluding an Alliance. The only Oath among them, is to keep their Word without ſwearing. Such Cautions as theſe do, indeed, become* Greeks, *who ſign their Treaties, and call upon the Gods to witneſs them; but, with Regard to us, our Religion conſiſts in being ſincere, and keeping the Promiſes we have made. That Man, who is not aſhamed to break his Word with Men, is not aſhamed of deceiving the Gods; and of what Uſe could Friends be to thee, whom thou couldeſt not truſt? Conſider, that we will guard both* Europe *and* Aſia *for thee. We extend as far as* Thrace, *and are told, that this Country is contiguous to* Macedonia. *The River* Iaxarthes *only divides us from* Bactriana. *Thus we are thy Neighbours, on both Sides. Conſider, therefore, whether thou wilt have us for Friends, or for Enemies.*

Thus ſpake the *Barbarian*: To whom the King made but a very ſhort Anſwer; *That he would take Advantage both of his own good Fortune, and their Counſel; of his good Fortune, by ſtill continuing to rely upon it; and of their Counſel, by not attempting any Thing raſhly.* Having diſmiſs'd the Embaſſadors, his Army went on the Rafts, which, by this Time, were got ready. In the Front, he plac'd ſuch as carry'd Bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to ſecure themſelves from the Arrows of the Enemy. Behind theſe were thoſe, who ſet up the Engines for hurling Arrows and Stones, cover'd on all Sides with Soldiers, arm'd *Cap-a-pee*. The Reſt, who follow'd after the Engines, had their Shields fix'd together over their Heads, in Form of a Tortoiſe, by which they defended the Sailors, who wore Corſlets. The like Order and Diſpoſition was obſerv'd in the other Rafts, or Floats, which carry'd the Horſe.

The Army found great Difficulty in croſſing. Every Thing conſpir'd to intimidate them; the Clamour and Confuſion, that are inſeparable from ſuch an Enterprize; the Rapidity of the Stream, which carry'd away every Thing with it; and the Sight of a numerous Army drawn up in Battle-Array, on the oppoſite Shore. However, the Preſence of *Alexander*, who was ever the foremoſt in ruſhing upon Dangers, made them neglect their own Safety, and be concern'd for his only. As ſoon as the *Macedonians* began to draw near the Shore, they who carry'd Shields roſe up together, when hurling their Javelins with a ſtrong Arm, every Weapon they threw did Execution. When they perceiv'd, that the Enemy, overpower'd with that Shower of Shafts, began to retire, and draw their Horſes back, they leap'd on the Shore with incredible Swiftneſs, and, animating one another, charged the Enemy with Vigour. In this Diſorder, the Troopers, whoſe Horſes were ready bridled, ruſh'd upon the Enemy, and quite broke them. The King could not be heard, by Reaſon of the Faintneſs of his Voice; but the Example he ſet ſpoke for him. And now nothing was heard in the *Macedonian* Army but Shouts of Joy and Victory, they charging the *Barbarians* with the utmoſt Fury. The latter not being able to ſtand ſo fierce an Onſet, fled as faſt as their Horſes could carry them; for theſe were the Cavalry only. Tho' the King was very weak, he, nevertheleſs, purſu'd them briskly a long Way, till being, at laſt, quite ſpent, he was oblig'd to ſtop. After commanding his Troops to purſue them, as long as they could ſee, he withdrew to the Camp, in order to repoſe himſelf, and wait the Return of his Forces. The *Macedonians* had already gone beyond the Boun-

Boundaries, or Limits of *Bacchus*, which were mark'd out by great Stones ranged pretty close one to the other; and by great Trees, the Trunks of which were cover'd with Ivy. However, the Heat of the Purſuit carry'd them ſtill farther, and they did not return back into the Camp till after Midnight; having kill'd a great Number of the Enemy, and taken many more Priſoners, with Eighteen hundred Horſes, all which they drove before them. On *Alexander*'s Side, there were but Sixty Troopers ſlain, and about an Hundred Foot, with a Thouſand wounded. *Alexander* ſent back to the *Scythians*, all their Priſoners without Ranſom, to ſhew, that not Animoſity, but a Thirſt of Glory, had prompted him to wage War againſt ſo valiant a Nation.

The Report of this Victory, and much more the Clemency, which the King indulg'd the Vanquiſh'd, greatly increas'd his Reputation. The *Scythians* had always been conſider'd as invincible; but, after their Defeat, it was own'd, that every Nation in the World ought to yield to the *Macedonians*. The *Sacæ*, who were a powerful Nation, ſent an Embaſſy to *Alexander*, by which they ſubmitted themſelves to him, and requeſted his Friendſhip. The *Scythians* themſelves made an Apology, by their Embaſſadors; throwing the whole Blame of what had happen'd on ſome few Perſons, and declaring likewiſe, that they were ready to obey all the Commands of the Victorious Prince.

Alexander, being ſo happily freed from the Care and Trouble of this important War, bent his whole Thoughts on *Maracanda*, in which the Traitor *Spitamenes* had fortify'd himſelf. At the firſt News of the Approach of *Alexander*, he fled away, and withdrew himſelf into *Bactriana*. The King purſu'd him thither, but deſpairing to come up with him, he return'd back, and ſack'd *Sogdiana*, which is water'd by the River *Polytimetus*.

Among others of the *Sogdii*, who were taken Priſoners, there were Thirty young Men, well-ſhap'd, and very comely, and the greateſt Lords in the Country. Theſe being told, that they were led to Execution by *Alexander*'s Command, began to chant forth Songs of Joy, to leap, and dance, diſcovering all the Indications of an immoderate Joy. The King, ſurpriz'd to ſee them go to Death with ſo much Gaiety, had them brought before him; when he ask'd them, how they came to break into ſuch Tranſports of Joy, when they ſaw Death before their Eyes. They anſwer'd, that they ſhould have been afflicted, had any other Perſon but himſelf put them to Death; but, as they would be reſtor'd to their Anceſtors, by the Command of ſo great a Monarch, who had vanquiſh'd all Nations, they bleſs'd this Death; a Death ſo glorious, that the braveſt Men would wiſh to die the ſame. *Alexander*, admiring their Magnanimity, ask'd, whether they would deſire to be pardon'd, upon Condition that they ſhould no longer be his Enemies: They anſwer'd, he might be aſſur'd they had never been his Enemies; but that, as he attack'd them, they had made a Defence; and that, had they been addreſs'd in a ſoft and gentle Manner, and not attack'd by Force and Violence, they would have vy'd with him in Politeneſs and Generoſity. The King ask'd them farther, what Pledge they would give him of their Faith and Sincerity: *No other* (anſwer'd they) *but the ſame Life we receive from your Goodneſs, and which we ſhall always be ready to give back, whenever you ſhall require it.* And, indeed, they were as good as their Word: Four of them, whom he took into his Body-Guard, endeavour'd to rival the *Macedonians* in Zeal and Fidelity.

The King, after having left a ſmall Number of Forces in *Sogdiana*, march'd to *Bactria*, where, having aſſembled all his Generals, he commanded *Beſſus* to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his Treachery, and cauſing his Noſe and Ears to be cut off, he ſent him to *Ecbatana*, there to ſuffer whatever Puniſhment the Mother of *Darius* ſhould think proper to inflict upon him. *Plutarch* has left us an Account of this Execution. Several Trees were bent by main Force, one towards the other; and to each of theſe Trees, one of the Limbs of the Body of this Traitor was faſtned. Afterwards, theſe Trees being let return to their natural Poſition, they flew back with ſo much Violence, that each tore away the Limb that was fix'd to it, and ſo quarter'd him. The ſame Puniſhment is, at this Day, inflicted on Perſons convicted of High-Treaſon, who are torn to Pieces by four Horſes.

Alexander receiv'd at this Time, both from *Macedonia* and *Greece*, a large Number of Recruits, making upwards of Sixteen Thouſand Men. By this conſiderable Reinforcement, he was inabled to ſubdue all thoſe who had rebell'd; and, to curb them for the future, he built ſeveral Fortreſſes in *Margiana*.

All Things were now reſtor'd to a profound Tranquillity. There remain'd but one ſtrong Hold call'd *Petra Oxiana*, or the Rock of *Oxus*, which was defended by *Arimazes*, a Native of *Sogdiana*, with Thirty Thouſand Soldiers under his Command, and Ammunition, and Proviſions for two Years. This Rock, which was very high, and ſteep on all Sides, was acceſſible but by a ſingle Path that was cut in it. The King, after viewing the Fortreſſes, was a long Time in Suſpence whether he ſhould beſiege it; but, as it was his Character, to ſeek for the Marvellous in all Things, and attempt Impoſſibilities, he reſolv'd to try if he could not overcome, on this Occaſion, Nature itſelf, which ſeem'd to have fortify'd this Rock, in ſuch a Manner, as had rendred it abſolutely impregnable. However, before he form'd the Siege, he ſummon'd thoſe *Barbarians*, but in very mild Terms, to ſubmit to him. *Arimazes* receiv'd this Offer in a very haughty Manner; and, after uſing ſeveral inſulting Expreſſions, ask'd, *Whether* Alexander, *who was able to do all Things, could fly alſo; and whether Nature had, on a ſudden, given him Wings.*

Alexander was highly exaſperated at this Anſwer. He, therefore, gave Orders for ſelecting, from among the Mountaineers, who were in his Army, Three Hundred of the moſt active and dexterous. Theſe being brought to him, he addreſs'd them thus: *It was in your Company, brave young Men, that I ſtormed ſuch ſtrong Holds, as were thought impregnable; that I made my Way over Mountains covered with eternal Snows; croſſed Rivers, and broke through the Paſſes of* Cilicia. *This Rock, which you ſee, has but one Outlet, which alone is defended by the* Barbarians, *who neglect every other*

Part.

Part. There is no Watch, or Centinel, except on that Side which faces our Camp. If you ſearch very narrowly, you certainly will meet with ſome Path, that leads to the Top of the Rock. Nothing has been made ſo inacceſſible by Nature, as not to be ſurmounted by Valour; and it was only by our attempting, what no one before had Hopes of compaſſing, that we have poſſeſſed ourſelves of Aſia. *Get up to the Summit, and when you ſhall have made yourſelves Maſters of it, ſet up a white Standard there as a Signal; and be aſſured, that I then will certainly diſengage you from the Enemy, and draw them upon myſelf, by making a Diverſion.* At the ſame Time, that the King gave out this Order, he made them the moſt noble Promiſes; but the pleaſing him, was look'd upon by them as the greateſt of all Rewards. Fir'd, therefore, with the nobleſt Ardor, and fancying they had already reach'd the Top, they ſet out; after having provided themſelves with Iron Wedges to drive into the Stones, with Cramp-Irons, and thick Ropes.

The King went round the Mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their March, at the ſecond Watch of the Night, by that Part, which ſhould ſeem to them of eaſieſt Acceſs; beſeeching the Gods to guide their Steps. They then took Proviſions for two Days; and being arm'd with Swords and Javelins only, they began to aſcend the Mountain, walking ſome Time on Foot; afterwards, when it was neceſſary for them to climb, ſome forc'd their Wedges into the Stones, which projected forwards, and, by that Means, rais'd themſelves; others thruſt their Cramp-Irons into the Stones that were frozen, to keep themſelves from falling in ſo ſlippery a Way; in fine, others driving in their Wedges with great Strength, made them ſerve as ſo many Scaling-Ladders. They ſpent the whole Day in this Manner, hanging againſt the Rock, and expos'd to numerous Dangers and Difficulties; being oblig'd to ſtruggle at the ſame Time, with Snow, Cold, and Wind. Nevertheleſs, the hardeſt Task was yet to come; and the farther they advanc'd, the higher the Rock ſeem'd to riſe. But, that which terrify'd them moſt, was the ſad Spectacle, of ſome of their Comrades falling down Precipices; whoſe unhappy Fate was a Warning to them, of what they themſelves might expect. Notwithſtanding this they ſtill advanc'd forward, and exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that, in Spite of all theſe Difficulties, they, at laſt, got to the Top of the Rock. They were then all inexpreſſibly weary, and many of them had even loſt the Uſe of ſome of their Limbs. Night and Drouſineſs came upon them at the ſame Time, ſo that, diſperſing themſelves in ſuch diſtant Parts of the Rock, as were free from Snows, they laid down in them, and ſlept till Day-break. At laſt, waking from a deep Sleep, and looking on all Sides, to diſcover the Place where ſo many People could lie hid, they ſaw Smoke below them, which diſcover'd the Haunt of the Enemy. They then put up the Signal, as had been agreed; and their whole Company drawing up, Thirty two were miſſing, who had loſt their Lives in the Aſcent.

In the mean Time, the King, equally fir'd with a Deſire of ſtorming the Fortreſs, and ſtruck with the viſible Dangers to which thoſe Men were expos'd, continu'd on Foot the whole Day, gazing upon the Rock, and he himſelf did not retire to Reſt till dark Night. The next Morning, by Peep of Day, he was the firſt who perceiv'd the Signal. Nevertheleſs, he was ſtill in Doubt whether he might truſt his Eyes, becauſe of the falſe Splendor which breaks out at Day-break; but the Light increaſing, he was ſure of what he ſaw. Sending, therefore, for *Cophes*, who before, by his Command, had ſounded the *Barbarians*, he diſpatch'd him a ſecond Time, with an Exhortation to think better of the Matter; and, in Caſe, they ſhould ſtill depend upon the Strength of the Place, he was then order'd to ſhew them the Band of Men behind their Backs, who were got to the Summit of the Rock. *Cophes* employ'd all the Arguments poſſible, to engage *Arimazes* to capitulate; repreſenting to him, that he would gain the King's Favour, in Caſe he did not interrupt, the mighty Deſigns he was meditating, by obliging him to make ſome Stay before that Rock. *Arimazes* then ſent a haughtier, and more inſolent Anſwer than before, and commanded him to retire: When *Cophes* taking him by the Hand, deſir'd he would come out of the Cave with him; which the *Barbarian* doing, he ſhew'd him the *Macedonians* poſted over his Head, and ſaid, in an inſulting Tone of Voice, *You ſee now that* Alexander's *Soldiers have Wings.* In the mean Time, the Trumpets were heard to ſound in every Part of the *Macedonian* Camp, and the whole Army ſhouted aloud, and cry'd, *Victory.* Theſe Things, tho' of little Conſequence in themſelves, nevertheleſs, as it often happens, threw the *Barbarians* into ſo great a Conſternation, that, without once reflecting, how few were got to the Summit, they thought themſelves loſt. Upon this *Cophes* was recall'd, and there were ſent back with him, Thirty of the Chiefs among the *Barbarians*, who agreed to ſurrender up the Place, upon Condition only, that their Lives might be ſpar'd: The King, however, notwithſtanding the ſtrong Oppoſition he might ſtill meet with, was ſo exaſperated at the Haughtineſs of *Arimazes*, that he refus'd to grant them any Terms of Capitulation. A blind and raſh Confidence in his own good Fortune, which had always preſerv'd the ſame Tenor, made him inſenſible of every Danger: *Arimazes*, on the other Side, blinded by Fear, and concluding himſelf abſolutely loſt, came down, with his Relations, and the principal Nobility of the Country, into *Alexander*'s Camp. But this Prince, who was not Maſter of his Anger, forgetting what the Laws of Sincerity and Humanity requir'd, on this Occaſion, caus'd them all to be ſcourged with Rods, and afterwards to be fix'd to Croſſes, at the Foot of the ſame Rock. The Multitudes of People who ſurrender'd, with all the Booty, were given to the Inhabitants of the Cities, which had been newly founded in thoſe Parts; and *Artabazus* was left Governor of the Rock, and the whole Province round it.

CHAP. VIII.

Alexander *kills* Clitus *in a drunken Quarrel; And is with Difficulty reſtrain'd from killing himſelf afterwards; He conquers divers Places; Marries* Roxana, *a* Perſian *Lady, with whom he falls in Love, at an Entertainment; He requires to have Divine Honours paid him, after the Manner of the* Perſians, *who ador'd their Kings; The* Macedonians *are diſguſted thereat;* Calliſthenes, *the Philoſopher, oppoſes it in a fine Speech; Which coſts him his Life;* Alexander *ſets out for* India; *Some Account of that Country; He takes divers Cities, which were thought impregnable; Croſſes the Rivers* Indus *and* Hydaſpes; *Two Kings ſubmit to him;* Porus, *a Third, gallantly refuſes, but is defeated in a pitch'd Battle, and taken Priſoner;* Alexander *treats him with great Humanity, and Generoſity.*

ALEXANDER having ſubdu'd the *Maſſagetæ* and the *Dahæ*, enter'd *Bazaria*; in which Province were a great Number of large Parks, ſtock'd with Deer, where the King took the Diverſion of hunting, in which he was expos'd to very great Peril; for a Lion of an enormous Size, advanc'd directly to him, but he kill'd him with a ſingle Thruſt. Although *Alexander* came off victorious, upon this Occaſion, the *Macedonians*, who were juſtly alarm'd at the Danger which he had run, and the whole Army in his Perſon, gave Orders, purſuant to the Cuſtom of their Country, that the King ſhould go no more a-hunting on Foot, and without being attended by ſome of his Courtiers and Officers. They were ſenſible, that a King is not born for his own Sake, but for that of his Subjects; that he ought to be careful of his own Perſon for their Sakes, and reſerve his Courage for other Dangers; and that the being famous for killing wild Beaſts (a Reputation unworthy a great Prince) ought not to be purchas'd ſo dear.

From thence he advanc'd to *Maracanda*, where he quell'd ſome Tumults, which had broke out in that Country; and *Artabazus* requeſting to be diſcharged from the Government of that Province, by Reaſon of his great Age, he appointed *Clitus* his Succeſſor. He was an old Officer, who had fought under *Philip*, and ſignaliz'd himſelf on ſeveral Occaſions. It was he, who in the Battle of *Granicus*, as *Alexander* was fighting with his Helmet cloven, and *Rhœſaces* had his Arm liſted up, in order to ſtrike him behind, cover'd the King with his Shield, and kill'd the *Barbarian*. *Hellanice*, his Siſter, had nurs'd *Alexander*; and he lov'd her with as much Tenderneſs, as if ſhe had been his own Mother. As the King, from theſe ſeveral Conſiderations, had a very great Reſpect for *Clitus*, he intruſted him with the Government of one of the moſt important Provinces of his Empire; and order'd him to ſet out the next Day.

The Evening before his Departure, *Clitus* was invited to an Entertainment, in which the King, after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own Exploits; and was ſo exceſſively laviſh of Self-Commendation, that he even ſhock'd thoſe very Perſons who knew that he ſpoke Truth. However, the oldeſt Men in the Company held their Peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike Acts of *Philip*, he boaſted, *That the famous Victory of* Chæronea, *was won by his Means; and that the Glory of ſo immortal a Battle, had been torn from him by the Malice and Jealouſy of his Father. That, in the Inſurrection, which broke out between the* Macedonians *and mercenary* Greeks, Philip, *fainting away after the Wounds he had received in that Tumult, had laid himſelf on the Ground; and could not think of a better Method to ſave himſelf, than by lying as though he were dead; that, on this Occaſion, he had covered him with his Shield, and killed with his own Hands thoſe who attempted to ruſh upon him; but that his Father could never prevail upon himſelf to confeſs this Circumſtance ingenuouſly; being vex'd that he ow'd his Life to his own Son. That in the War againſt the* Illyrians, *he was the only Perſon who had done any Thing;* Philip *having had no manner of Share in it; and hearing of the Defeat of the Enemy, no otherwiſe than by the Letters he ſent him. That the Perſons worthy of Praiſe, were not ſuch as initiated themſelves in the Myſteries of the* Samothracians, *when they ought to have laid waſte all* Aſia *with Fire and Sword; but thoſe who had atchieved ſuch mighty Exploits as exceeded all Credit.*

Theſe, and ſuch like Diſcourſes, were very pleaſing to the young Men, but very ſhocking to thoſe advanc'd in Years, eſpecially for the Sake of *Philip*, under whom they had fought many Years. *Clitus*, in particular, who alſo was intoxicated, turning about to thoſe who ſat under him at Table, quoted to them a Paſſage from *Euripides*; but in ſuch a Manner, that the King could only hear his Voice, and not the Words diſtinctly. The Senſe of this Paſſage was, *That the* Greeks *had done very wrong, in ordaining, that in the Inſcriptions engraved on Trophies, the Names of the Kings, only, ſhould be mentioned; becauſe, by this Means, brave Men were robb'd of the Glory they had purchaſed with their Blood.* The King, however, ſuſpecting

Clitus

Clitus had let drop ſome diſobliging Expreſſions, ask'd thoſe who ſat neareſt him, what he had ſaid; and as no one anſwer'd, *Clitus*, raiſing his Voice by Degrees, began to relate the Actions of *Philip*, and his Wars in *Greece*; preferring them to whatever was doing at that Time; which created a great Diſpute between the young and old Men. The King was prodigiouſly vex'd in his Mind, but nevertheleſs ſtifled his Reſentment, and ſeem'd to liſten very patiently to all *Clitus* ſpoke to his Prejudice. 'Tis even probable, he would have quite curb'd his Paſſion, had *Clitus* ſtopt there; but the latter growing more and more inſolent, as though he were determin'd to exaſperate and inſult the King, went ſuch lengths, as to defend *Parmenio* publickly; and to aſſert, that the deſtroying of *Thebes*, was but trifling, in compariſon of the Victory, which *Philip* had gain'd over the *Athenians*; and that the old *Macedonians*, though ſometimes unſucceſsful, were greatly ſuperior to thoſe, who were ſo raſh as to deſpiſe them.

Hereupon, *Alexander* telling him, that in giving Cowardiſe the Name of ill Fortune, he was pleading his own Cauſe; *Clitus* roſe up, and his Eyes ſparkling with Wine and Anger, "'Tis, "nevertheleſs, this Hand, (ſaid he to him, ex- "tending it at the ſame Time) that ſav'd your "Life at the Battle of *Granicus*. 'Tis the Blood "and Wounds of theſe very *Macedonians*, who "are accus'd of Cowardiſe, that rais'd you to this "Grandeur; but the tragical End of *Parmenio* "ſhews, what Reward they and myſelf may ex- "pect for all our Services." This laſt Reproach ſtung *Alexander*: However, he ſtill reſtrain'd his Paſſion, and only commanded him to leave the Table. "He is in the right (ſays *Clitus*, as he "roſe up) not to bear, at this Table, Men who "are independent, and incapable of ſpeaking "Falſities! He'll do well to paſs his Life among "*Barbarians* and Slaves, who will be proud to "worſhip his *Perſian* Girdle, and his white Robe." The King, no longer able to ſuppreſs his Rage, ſnatch'd a Javelin from one of his Guards, and would have kill'd *Clitus* on the Spot; had not the Courtiers with-held his Arm, and *Clitus* been forc'd, with great Difficulty, out of the Hall: However, he return'd into it, that Moment, by another Door, ſinging, with an Air of Inſolence, Verſes reflecting highly on the Prince, who ſeeing the General near him, ſtruck him with his Javelin, and laid him dead at his Feet, crying out at the ſame Time, *Go now to* Philip, *to* Parmenio, *and to* Attalus.

The Anger of the King being extinguiſh'd, as it were, on a Sudden, in the Blood of *Clitus*, his Crime diſplay'd itſelf to him, in its blackeſt and moſt dreadful Light. He had murder'd a Man, who had, indeed, abus'd his Patience, but then he had always ſerv'd him with the utmoſt Zeal and Fidelity; and ſav'd his Life, though he was aſham'd to own it. He had that Inſtant perform'd the vile Office of an Executioner, in puniſhing, by an horrid Murder, the uttering of ſome indiſcreet Words, which might be imputed to the Fumes of Wine. With what Face could he appear before the Siſter of *Clitus*, his Nurſe, and offer her a Hand imbru'd in her Brother's Blood? Upon this he threw himſelf on his Friend's Body, forc'd out the Javelin, and would have diſpatch'd himſelf with it; had not the Guards, who ruſh'd in upon him, laid hold of his Hands, and forcibly carry'd him into his own Apartment.

He paſs'd that Night and the next Day in Tears; and after that Groans and Lamentations had quite waſted his Spirits, he continu'd Speechleſs, ſtretch'd on the Ground, and only venting deep Sighs: But his Friends, fearing his Silence would be fatal, forced into his Chamber. However, the King took very little Notice of the Words that were employ'd to comfort him; but *Ariſtander* the Soothſayer, putting him in mind of a Dream, in which he had imagin'd he ſaw *Clitus*, cloath'd in a black Robe, and ſeated at Table; and declaring, that all which had then happen'd, was appointed by the eternal Decree of Fate, *Alexander* appear'd a little eaſier in his Mind. He next was addreſs'd by two Philoſophers, *Calliſthenes* and *Anaxarchus*: The former went up to him with an Air of Humanity and Tenderneſs, and endeavour'd to ſuppreſs his Grief, by inſinuating himſelf agreeably into his Mind; and endeavour'd to bring him to a juſt Way of thinking, by Reflections of a ſolid Nature, and drawn from the very Eſſence of Philoſophy; and by carefully ſhunning all ſuch Expreſſions as might renew his Affliction, and fret a Wound, which, as it was ſtill bleeding, requir'd to be touch'd with the gentleſt Hand. But *Anaxarchus* did not obſerve this Decorum; for the Moment he enter'd, he cry'd aloud, *How! is this* Alexander, *on whom the Eyes of the whole World are fix'd? Behold him here extended on the Floor, ſhedding Floods of Tears, like the meaneſt Slave! Does not he know, that he himſeef is a ſupreme Law to his Subjects; that he conquer'd merely to raiſe himſelf, to the exalted Dignity of Lord and Sovereign, and not to ſubject himſelf to a vain Opinion?* The King was determin'd to ſtarve himſelf; ſo that 'twas with the utmoſt Difficulty that his Friends prevail'd with him to take a little Suſtenance; whereupon, the *Macedonians* declar'd by a Decree, that *Clitus* had been very juſtly kill'd; to which Decree *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher had given Occaſion, by aſſerting, that the Will of Prince is the ſupreme Law. Alas! how weak are all ſuch Reflections, againſt the Cries of a juſtly-alarm'd Conſcience, which can never be quieted, either by Flattery or falſe Arguments!

It muſt be confeſs'd, that *Clitus* had committed a great and inexcuſable Fault: 'Twas indeed his Duty, not to join in Diſcourſes, calculated to ſully the Glory of *Philip* his Benefactor; but to ſhew his Diſlike of what was ſaid, by a gloomy, but mournful Silence. He poſſibly might have been allow'd to ſpeak in Favour of the late Monarch, provided he had expreſs'd himſelf with Prudence and Moderation; and had ſuch a Reſervedneſs been unſucceſsful, he might juſtly have merited Pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and ſhocking Reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the ſacred Character of Kings; to whom, how unjuſtly ſoever they may act, not only every contemptuous and inſulting Expreſſion is forbid, but every diſreſpectful and unguarded Word; they being the Repreſentatives of *God* himſelf.

It muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſs'd, that the Circumſtance of the Banquet, extenuates very much, or throws, in ſome little Meaſure, a Veil over the Fault of *Clitus*. When a Prince invites a Subject to a Feaſt; when he makes him a Companion in

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the Debauch, and he himſelf incites him to quaff immoderately; on ſuch an Occaſion he ſeems to forget his Dignity, and to permit his Subjects to forget it alſo; he gives a Sanction, as it were, to the Liberties, Familiarities, and ſudden Flights which Wine commonly inſpires: And ſhould he be diſpleaſed with a Subject for equalling himſelf to him, he ought to blame himſelf, for having firſt rais'd a Subject ſo high. A Fault committed under theſe Circumſtances, is always a Fault; but then it ought never to be waſh'd away in the Blood of the Offender.

A certain Author compares Anger when united to Power, with Thunder; and indeed, what Havock does it then make? But how dreadful muſt it be, when join'd with Drunkenneſs! We ſee this in *Alexander*. How unhappy was that Prince, not to have endeavour'd to get the Better of theſe two Vices in his Youth; but to have been riveted in them, from the Example of one of his Tutors? For 'tis aſſur'd, that both were the Conſequences of his Education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a King, than drinking to Exceſs? What can be more fatal or ſanguinary, than the Tranſports of Anger? *Alexander*, who had overcome ſo many Nations, was himſelf conquer'd by theſe two Vices, which threw a Shade over the Glory of his brighteſt Actions. The Reaſon of this, ſays *Seneca*, is, he endeavour'd more to vanquiſh others, than to ſubdue himſelf; not knowing, that to triumph over our Paſſions, is, of all Conqueſts, the moſt glorious.

After continuing ten Days in *Maracanda*, in order to recover his Spirits, *Alexander* march'd into *Xenippa*, a Province bordering upon *Scythia*; whither ſome Rebels were retir'd, all whom he ſubjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he ſet forward with his Army, towards the Rock *Chorienſis*, of which *Syſimethres* was Governor. All Acceſs to it ſeem'd abſolutely impracticable; nevertheleſs, he at laſt got near to it, after having paſs'd through numberleſs Difficulties; and, by the Mediation of *Oxartes*, a Prince of that Country, who had adher'd to *Alexander*, he prevail'd with *Syſimethres* to ſurrender. The King, after this, left him the Government of that Place, and promis'd him very great Advantages, in caſe he continued faithful.

He had reſolv'd to attack the *Dahæ*, becauſe *Spitamenes*, the Chief of the Rebels, was among them; but the Felicity which always attended him, ſpar'd him that Labour: The Wife of that *Barbarian*, being no longer able to bear the vagabond wretched Life, her Husband forc'd her to lead; and having often intreated him, but in vain, to ſurrender himſelf to the Conqueror, herſelf murder'd him in the Night; and, quite cover'd with his Blood, went and carry'd his Head to the King; who being ſhock'd at this horrid Spectacle, order'd her to be driven ignominiouſly from the Camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his Army out of the Garriſons, where they had winter'd three Months, march'd towards a Country call'd *Gabez*: In his Way, he met with a dreadful Storm. Flaſhes of Lightning, coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the Eyes of the Soldiers, and made them quite deſpond. It thunder'd almoſt inceſſantly, and the Thunder-bolts fell, every Moment, at the Feet of the Soldiers; ſo that they did not dare either to ſtand ſtill, or advance forward. On a Sudden, a violent Shower of Rain, mix'd with Hail, came pouring down like a Flood; and ſo extreme was the Cold in the Country, that it froze the Rain by that Time it was fallen. The Sufferings of the Army, on this Occaſion, were intollerable: The King alone was not to be conquer'd by theſe Calamities, rode up and down among the Soldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at Smoke which iſſued from ſome diſtant Huts, intreated them to march to them with all the Speed poſſible. Having given Orders for the felling of a great Number of Trees, and laying them in Heaps up and down, he had Fires made in different Places, and by this Means ſaved the Army; but, upwards of a thouſand Men loſt their Lives. The King made up, to the Officers and Soldiers, the ſeveral Loſſes they had ſuſtain'd, during this fatal Storm.

When they were recover'd ſo well as to be able to march, he went into the Country of the *Sacæ*, which he ſoon over-run and laid waſte: Soon after this, *Oxartes* received him in his Palace, and invited him to a ſumptuous Entertainment, in which he diſplay'd all the Magnificence of the *Barbarians*. He had a Daughter call'd *Roxana*, a young Lady, whoſe exquiſite Beauty was heighten'd by all the Charms of Wit and good Senſe. *Alexander* found her Charms irreſiſtible, and ſo made her his Wife; covering his Paſſion, with the ſpecious Pretence, of uniting the two Nations, in ſuch Bands, as ſhould heighten their mutual Harmony; by blending their Intereſts, and throwing down all Diſtinctions, between the Conquerors and the Conquer'd. This Marriage diſpleas'd the *Macedonians* very much; and exaſperated his chief Courtiers, to ſee him make one of his Slaves his Father-in-Law: But as, after his murdering *Clitus*, no one dar'd to ſpeak to him with Freedom, they applauded with their Eyes and their Countenances, which can adapt themſelves wonderfully well to Flattery and a ſervile Complacency.

In ſhort, having reſolv'd to march into *India*, and embark from thence on the *Indian Ocean*, he commanded, (that nothing might be left behind to check his Deſigns) thirty thouſand young Men to be brought him, all completely arm'd, out of the ſeveral Provinces, to ſerve him, at the ſame Time as Hoſtages and Soldiers: In the mean while, he ſent *Craterus* againſt ſome of the Rebels, whom he eaſily defeated. *Polyſperchon* likewiſe ſubdu'd a Country call'd *Bubacene*; ſo that all Things being in perfect Tranquillity, *Alexander* bent his whole Thoughts upon carrying on War with *India*. This Country was look'd upon as the richeſt in the World, not only in Gold, but in Pearls and precious Stones, with which the Inhabitants adorn themſelves, but with more Luxury than Gracefulneſs. 'Twas related, that the Swords of the Soldiers were of Gold and Ivory; and the King, then the greateſt Monarch in the World, being determin'd not to yield to any Perſon whatſoever, in any Circumſtance, caus'd the Swords of his Soldiers to be ſet off with Silver Plates; put golden Bridles to the Horſes; had the Coats of Mail heighten'd with Gold and Silver, and prepar'd to march for this Enterprize, at the Head of an hundred and twenty thouſand Men, all equip'd with the Magnificence above deſcrib'd.

All Things being ready for their ſetting out, he thought proper to reveal the Deſign he had ſo long medi-

meditated, *viz.* to have divine Honours paid him; and he was then reflecting only on the Methods how to put this Design in Execution. He was resolv'd, not only to be call'd, but to be believ'd, the Son of *Jupiter*, as though it had been possible for him to command as absolutely over the Mind, as over the Tongue; and that the *Macedonians* would condescend to fall prostrate, and worship him after the *Persian* Manner.

To sooth and cherish these ridiculous Pretensions, there were not wanting Flatterers, those common Pests of Courts, who are more dangerous to Princes, than the Arms of their Enemies. The *Macedonians*, indeed, would not stoop to this base Adulation; all of them, to a Man, refusing to vary, in any Manner, from the Customs of their Country: The whole Evil was owing to some *Grecks*, whose depraved Manners were a Scandal to their Profession, that of teaching Virtue, and the Sciences. These, though the mean Refuse of *Greece*, were in greater Credit with the King, than either the Princes of his Blood, or the Generals of his Army! 'Twas such Creatures as these that placed him in the Skies; and publish'd wherever they came, that *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, would resign their Seats to this new Deity.

He, therefore, appointed a Festival, and made an incredibly pompous Banquet, to which he invited the greatest Lords of his Court, both *Macedonians* and *Grecks*, with most of the highest Quality among the *Persians*. With these he sat down at Table, for some Time, after which he withdrew; when *Cleon*, one of his Flatterers, began to speak, and expatiated very much on the Praises of the King, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long Detail of the high Obligations they had to him, all which (he observed) they might acknowledge, and repay at a very easy Expence, merely with two Grains of Incense, which they should offer him as a God, without the least Scruple, since they believed him such. To this Purpose he cited the Example of the *Persians*; and took Notice, that *Hercules* himself, and *Bacchus*, were not rank'd among the Deities, till after they had surmounted the Envy of their Cotemporaries; adding, that in case the rest should not care to pay this Justice to the Merit of *Alexander*, he himself was resolv'd to shew them the Way, and to worship him, if he should come into the Hall: But all of them must do their Duty, especially those that profess'd Wisdom, who ought to serve to the rest as an Example, of the Veneration due to so great a Monarch.

It appear'd plainly, that this Speech was directed to *Callisthenes*: He was related to *Aristotle*, who had presented him to *Alexander* his Pupil, that he might attend upon that Monarch in the War of *Persia*. He was look'd upon, on Account of his Wisdom and Gravity, as the fittest Person to give him such wholesome Counsel, as was most capable of preserving him from those Excesses, to which his Youth and fiery Temper might hurry him: But he was accus'd of not being Master of the gentle, insinuating Behaviour of Courts; and of not knowing a certain Medium, between groveling Complaisance, and an inflexible Obstinacy. *Aristotle* had attempted, but to no Purpose, to soften the Severity of his Temper; and foreseeing the ill Consequences, with which this disagreeable Liberty of speaking his Mind might be attended, he used often to repeat the following Verse of *Homer* to him;

My Son, thy Freedom will contract thy Span.

and his Prediction was but too true.

This Philosopher seeing that every one on this Occasion, continued in a deep Silence, and that the Eyes of the whole Assembly were fix'd on him, made a Speech, which appears to us just enough: However, it often happens, when a Subject is bound in Duty, to oppose the Inclinations of his Sovereign, that the most cautious and most respectful Zeal is look'd upon as Insolence and Rebellion. "Had the King, said he, been present "when thou madest thy Speech, none among us "would then have attempted to answer thee; for "he himself would have interrupted thee, and "not have suffer'd thee, to prompt him to assume "the Customs of *Barbarians*, in casting an Odium on his Person and Glory, by so servile an "Adulation. But since he is absent, I'll answer "thee in his Name. I look upon *Alexander* as "worthy of all the Honours that can be paid a "Mortal; but there is a Difference between the "Worship of the Gods and that of Men. The "former includes Temples, Altars, Prayers and "Sacrifices; the latter is confin'd to Praises only, "and awful Respect. We salute the latter, and "look upon it as glorious to pay them Submission, Obedience, and Fidelity; but we adore "the Former; we appoint Festivals to their Honour, and sing Hymns and spiritual Songs to "their Glory. The Worship of the Gods does "itself vary, according to their Rank; and the "Homage we pay to *Castor* and *Pollux*, is not "like that we offer up to *Mercury* and *Jupiter*. "We must not, therefore, confound all Things, "either by bringing down the Gods to the Condition of Mortals, or by raising a Mortal to the "State of a God. *Alexander* would be justly offended, should we pay, to another Person, the "Homage due to his sacred Person only; ought "we not to dread the Indignation of the Gods as "much, should we bestow, upon Mortals, the "Honours to which they only have a just Claim? "I am sensible, that our Monarch is vastly superior to the rest; he is the greatest of Kings, "and the most glorious of all Conquerors; but "then he is a Man, not a God. To obtain this "Title, he must first be divested of his mortal "Frame; but this it is greatly our Interest to wish "may not happen, but as late as possible. The "*Grecks* did not worship *Hercules* till after his "Death; and that not till the Oracle had expressly "commanded it; the *Persians*, therefore, are cited "as an Example for our Imitation; but how long "is it that the Vanquish'd have given Law to the "Victor? Is it forgot, that *Alexander* cross'd the "*Hellespont*, not to subject *Greece* to *Asia*, but "*Asia* to *Greece*?"

The deep Silence, which all the Company observ'd whilst *Callisthenes* spoke, was an Indication, in some Measure, of their Thoughts; and the King, who stood behind the Tapestry all the Time, heard whatever had pass'd. He thereupon order'd *Cleon* to be told, that without insisting any farther, he would only require the *Persians* to fall prostrate, according to their usual Custom; a little after which he came in, pretending he had been busied in some Affair of Importance. Immediately the *Persians* began to worship him; when *Polysperchon*,

who ſtood near him, obſerving that one of them, bow'd ſo low that his Chin touch'd the Ground, bid him, in a rallying Tone of Voice, *ſtrike harder*. The King, offended at this Joke, threw *Polyſperchon* into Priſon, and broke up the Aſſembly; However, he afterwards pardon'd him, but *Calliſthenes* was not ſo fortunate.

To rid himſelf of him, he laid to his Charge a Crime, of which he was no-ways guilty; *Hermolaus*, one of the young Officers, who attended upon the King in all Places, had, upon Account of ſome private Pique, form'd a Conſpiracy againſt him; but it was very happily diſcover'd, the Inſtant it was to be put in Execution. The Criminals were ſeiz'd, put to the Torture, and executed; not one among them had accus'd *Calliſthenes*, but he having been very intimate with *Hermolaus*, that alone was ſufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a Dungeon, loaded with Irons, and the moſt grievous Torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a Confeſſion of Guilt: But he inſiſted upon his Innocence to the laſt, and expir'd in the midſt of his Tortures.

Nothing has reflected ſo much Diſhonour on the Memory of *Alexander*, as this unjuſt and cruel Death of *Calliſthenes*. He truly merited the Name of Philoſopher, from the Solidity of his Underſtanding, the Extent of his Knowledge, the Auſterity of his Life, the Regularity of his Conduct; and above all, from the Hatred, he ſo manifeſtly ſhew'd to Diſſimulation and Flattery of every Kind. He was not born for Courts, the Frequenters of which muſt have a ſupple, pliable, flexible Turn of Mind, ſometimes it muſt be of a knaviſh, and treacherous, at leaſt of an hypocritical, flattering Caſt. He very ſeldom was ſeen at the King's Table, though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevail'd ſo far upon himſelf, as to go thither, his melancholly, ſilent Air, was a manifeſt Indication, that he diſapproved of every Thing that was ſaid and done at it. With this Humour, which was a little too ſevere, he would have been an ineſtimable Jewel, had he been poſſeſs'd by a Prince who hated Falſhood; for among the many Thouſands who ſurrounded *Alexander*, and paid Court to him, *Calliſthenes* only had Courage enough to tell him the Truth. But where do we meet with Princes, who know the Value of ſuch a Jewel, and the Uſe which ought to be made of it? Truth ſeldom pierces thoſe Clouds, which are rais'd by the Authority of the Great, and the Flattery of their Courtiers. And indeed *Alexander*, by this dreadful Example, depriv'd all virtuous Men, of the Opportunity of exhorting him to thoſe Things which were for his true Intereſt. From that Inſtant, no one ſpoke with Freedom in the Council; even thoſe, who had the greateſt Love for the publick Good, and a perſonal Affection for *Alexander*, thought themſelves not oblig'd to undeceive him. After this, nothing was liſten'd to but Flattery, which gain'd ſuch an Aſcendant over that Prince, as quite corrupted him; and juſtly puniſh'd him, for having ſacrific'd to the wild Ambition of having Adoration paid him, the moſt virtuous Man that was near his Perſon.

We muſt obſerve, after *Seneca*, that the Death of *Calliſthenes* is an eternal Reproach to *Alexander*, and ſo horrid a Crime, that no Quality, how beautiful ſoever, no warlike Action, though of the moſt conſpicuous kind, can ever wipe away its Infamy. It is ſaid in Favour of *Alexander*, that he kill'd a numberleſs Multitude of *Perſians*, that he dethron'd and ſlew the moſt powerful King of the Earth; conquer'd innumerable Provinces and Nations; pierc'd to the Ocean, and extended the Bounds of his Empire from the moſt remote Part of *Thrace*, to the Extremities of the *Eaſt*: In Anſwer to each of theſe Particulars, *Yes*, ſays *Seneca*, *but he ſlew* Calliſthenes; a Crime of ſo heinous a Nature, that it quite effaces the Glory of all his other Actions.

After this inhuman and unjuſt Action, *Alexander*, to ſtop the Murmurs, and Diſcontents which aroſe among his Soldiers, ſet out for *India*: Nay, he himſelf wanted Action and Motion; for he always, when unemploy'd, loſt Part of the Glory he had acquir'd in War. An Exceſs of Vanity and Folly prompted him to undertake this Expedition; a Deſign quite uſeleſs in itſelf, and attended with very dangerous Conſequences. He had read, in the ancient Fables of *Greece*, that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, both ſons of *Jupiter*, (as himſelf was call'd) had march'd ſo far: He was determin'd not to be ſurpaſs'd by them; and there were not wanting Flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical Deſign.

Theſe are the Things that conſtitute the Glory and Merit of thoſe pretended Heroes; and 'tis this which many People, dazzled by a falſe Splendor, ſtill admire in *Alexander*; a ridiculous Deſire of rambling up and down the World; of diſturbing the Tranquillity of Nations, who were not bound to him by any Obligations; of treating all thoſe as Enemies, who ſhould refuſe to acknowledge him for their Sovereign; of ranſacking and extirpating ſuch as ſhould preſume to defend their Liberties, their Poſſeſſions, and their Lives, againſt an unjuſt Invader, who came from the Extremity of the Earth to annoy them, without the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon. Add to this glaring Injuſtice, the raſh and ſtupid Deſign he had form'd, of ſubduing with infinite Toil, and the utmoſt Hazard, many more Nations, than it was poſſible for him to keep in Subjection; and the ſad Neceſſity to which he was reduc'd, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them a-new, and puniſh them for their Rebellion. This is a Sketch of the Picture, which the Conqueſt of *India* will exhibit to us; after we ſhall have given ſome little Account of the Situation and Manners of that Country, and ſome of it Curioſities.

Ptolomy divides *India* into two Parts: *India* on this, and *India* on the other Side of the *Ganges*. *Alexander* did not go beyond the former, nor even ſo far as the *Ganges*. This firſt Part is ſituated between two great Rivers; the *Indus*, whence this Country receives its Name, and the *Ganges*. *Ptolomy* ſays, the Limits of it are, to the *Weſt*, *Paropamiſus*, *Arachoſia*, and *Gedroſia*, which either form a Part, or are upon the Confines of the Kingdom of *Perſia*: To the *North*, Mount *Imaus*, which is Part of *Great Tartary*: To the *Eaſt*, the *Ganges*: To the *South*, the *Ocean* or *Indian Sea*.

All the *Indians* are free; and, like the *Lacedæmonians*, have no Slaves among them: The only Difference is, the latter make uſe of foreign Slaves, whereas there are none in *India*. They don't erect any Monuments in Honour of the Dead, but are of Opinion, that the Reputation of illuſtrious Men is their *Mauſolæum*.

They

They may be divided into ſeven Claſſes. The firſt, and moſt honourable, though the ſmalleſt, is that of the *Brachmans*; who are, as it were, the Guardians of Religion. We ſhall have Occaſion to mention them, in the Sequel.

The ſecond, and the greateſt, is that of the Husbandmen: They are had in great Veneration. Their only Employment is to plough the Fields, and they are never taken from this Employment, to carry Arms, and ſerve in the Field, in War-Time: It is an inviolable Law, never to moleſt them, or their Lands.

The third, is that of Herdſmen and Shepherds, who ſuperintend Herds and Flocks, and never come into Cities. They rove up and down the Mountains, and often exerciſe themſelves in Hunting.

The fourth, is of Traders and Artificers, among whom Pilots and Seamen are included. Theſe three laſt Orders pay a Tribute to the King; and none are exempt from it, but thoſe who make Arms; who, inſtead of paying any Thing, receive a Stipend from the Publick.

The fifth, is of Soldiers, whoſe only Employment is War: They are furniſh'd with all Sorts of Neceſſaries; and, in Time of Peace, are abundantly ſupply'd with all Things. Their Life, at all Times, is free, and diſengag'd from Cares of every Kind.

The ſixth Order is, of Overſeers; who look into the Actions of others, and examine every Tranſaction, either in Cities, or the Country, and report the Whole to the Prince. The Virtues, and Qualities requir'd in theſe Magiſtrates, are, Exactneſs, Sincerity, Probity, and a Love for the publick Welfare. None of theſe Magiſtrates (ſays the Hiſtorian) have ever been accus'd of telling an Untruth. Thrice happy Nation, were this really Fact! However, this Obſervation proves, at leaſt, that Truth and Juſtice were had in as great Honour in that Country, a Knavery and Inſincerity were deteſted in it.

Laſtly, the ſeventh Claſs conſiſts of Perſons employ'd in the publick Councils, and who ſhare the Cares of the Government with the Sovereign. From this Claſs are taken Magiſtrates, Governors, of Provinces, and Cities, Generals, and all military Officers, whether for Land or Sea; Comptrollers of the Treaſury, Receivers, and all who are intruſted with the publick Monies.

Theſe different Orders of the State never blend themſelves by Marriage; and an Artificer, for Inſtance, is not allow'd to take a Wife from among the Claſs of Husbandmen, and ſo of the Reſt. None of theſe can follow two Profeſſions at the ſame Time, nor go out of one Claſs into another. It is natural to conclude, this Regulation muſt have contributed very much to the Improvement of all Arts and Trades; as every one added his own Induſtry and Reflexions to thoſe of his Anceſtors, which were deliver'd down to him by an uninterrupted Tradition.

Many Obſervations might be made on theſe *Indian* Cuſtoms, which we are oblig'd to omit, for the Sake of proceeding in our Hiſtory. We only intreat the Reader to obſerve, that in every wiſe Government, every well-govern'd State, the Tilling of Lands, and the Grazing of Cattle (two perpetual, and certain Sources of Riches and Abundance) have always been one of the chief Objects, of the Care of thoſe, who have the Adminiſtration; and that the Neglect of either, is erring againſt one of the moſt important Maxims in Politicks.

We alſo admire very much that Cuſtom of appointing Overſeers, whether they are known for ſuch, or not, who go upon the Spot, in order to inſpect the Conduct of Governors, Magiſtrates, and Judges; the only Method to prevent the Rapine and Outrages, to which an unlimited Authority, and the Diſtance from a Court frequently give Occaſion; the only Method, at the ſame Time, for a Sovereign to know the State of his Kingdom, without which it is impoſſible for him to govern happily the People whom Providence has intruſted him with. The Care of theſe regard him perſonally; and thoſe who labour under him can no more excuſe him from it, than they can uſurp his Diadem.

It is remarkable, that in *India*, from the Month of *June* to thoſe of *September* and *October*, exceſſive Rains fall very often, whereby the croſſing Rivers is render'd much more difficult, and frequent Inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this Seaſon, the Armies of *Alexander* were incommoded, they being at that Time in the Field.

Before we leave what relates in general to *India*, we ſhall ſpeak a Word or two about Elephants, with which that Country abounds more than any other. The Elephant exceeds all terreſtrial Animals in Size. Some are Fourteen, or Fifteen Foot high. The Female goes a whole Year with her Young. It lives ſometimes to the Age of an Hundred, or an Hundred and twenty Years; nay much longer, if ſome ancient Writers may be credited. Its Noſe, call'd its Trunk *Proboſcis*, is long, and hollow, like a large Trumpet; and ſerves the Elephant inſtead of a Hand, which it moves with incredible Agility and Strength, and thereby is of prodigious Service to it. The Elephant, notwithſtanding its prodigious Size, is ſo tractable and induſtrious. one would be almoſt apt to conclude, it is inform'd with ſomething like human Reaſon. It is ſuſceptible of Affection, Fondneſs and Gratitude, ſo far as to pine away with Sorrow, when it has loſt its Maſter; and even ſometimes to deſtroy itſelf, when it happens to have abus'd, or murder'd him, in the Tranſport of its Fury. There is no Kind of Thing which it cannot be taught. *Arrian*, whoſe Authority is not to be queſtion'd, relates, he had ſeen an Elephant dance with two Cymbals fix'd to his Legs, which he ſtruck one after the other, in Cadence with his Trunk; and that the Reſt danc'd round him, keeping Time with a moſt ſurprizing Exactneſs.

He deſcribes very particularly the Manner in which they are taken, *viz.* The *Indians* incloſe a large Spot of Ground, with a Trench about twenty Foot wide, and fifteen high, to which there is Acceſs but in one Part, and this is a Bridge, cover'd with Turf; in order that theſe Animals, who are very ſubtle, may not ſuſpect what is intended. Of the Earth dug out of the Trench, a Kind of Wall is rais'd, on the other Side of which a little Kind of Chamber is made, where People conceal themſelves, in order to watch theſe Animals, and its Entrance is very ſmall. In this Incloſure two or three tame Female Elephants are put. The Inſtant

ſtant the wild Elephants ſee, or ſmell them, they run thither, and go round it ſo often, that, at laſt, they enter the Incloſure, upon which the Bridge is immediately broken down; and the People upon the Watch fly to the neighbouring Villages for Help. After they have been broken, for a few Days, by Hunger and Thirſt, People enter the Incloſure upon tame Elephants, and with theſe they attack them. As the wild ones are, by this Time, very much weakned, it is impoſſible for them to make a long Reſiſtance. After throwing them on the Ground, Men get upon their Backs, having firſt made a deep Wound round their Necks, about which they throw a Rope, in order to put them to great Pain, in Caſe they attempt to ſtir. Being tam'd in this Manner, they ſuffer themſelves to be led quietly to the Houſes with the Reſt, where they are fed with Graſs and green Corn, and tam'd inſenſibly by Blows and Hunger, till ſuch Time as they obey readily their Maſter's Voice, and perfectly underſtand his Language.

Every one knows the Uſe formerly made of theſe Animals in Battle; however, they frequently made greater Havock in the Army to which they belong'd, than in that of the Enemy: Their Teeth, or rather Tuſhes, furniſh us with Ivory: But it is Time to return to *Alexander*.

This Prince having entred *India*, all the petty Kings of thoſe Countries came to meet him, and paid their Submiſſion. They declar'd, he was the third Son of *Jupiter*, who had arriv'd in their Country: That they had known *Bacchus* and *Hercules* no otherwiſe than by Fame; but, as for *Alexander*, they had the Happineſs to ſee him, and enjoy his Preſence. The King receiv'd them with the utmoſt Humanity; commanding them to accompany him, and ſerve as Guides. As no more waited upon him, he detach'd *Hephæſtion*, and *Perdiccas*, with Part of his Forces, commanding them to ſubdue all who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit. But, finding he was oblig'd to croſs ſeveral Rivers, he caus'd Boats to be built, in ſuch a Form, that they could be taken to Pieces; the ſeveral Parts of them be carry'd upon Waggons; and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded *Craterus* to follow him with his *Phalanx*, he himſelf march'd before, with his Cavalry, and Soldiers lightly arm'd; and, after a ſlight Engagement, he defeated thoſe who had dar'd to make Head againſt him, and purſu'd them to the next City, into which they fled. *Craterus* being come up, the King, in order to terrify, on a ſudden, thoſe Nations, who had not yet felt the Power of the *Macedonian* Arms, commanded his Soldiers to burn down the Fortifications of that ſtrong Hold, which he beſieg'd in a regular Way, and to put all the Inhabitants to the Sword: But, as he was riding round the Walls on Horſe-back, he was wounded by an Arrow. Notwithſtanding this Accident, he took the City; after which he made dreadful Havock of all the Soldiers and Inhabitants, and did not ſo much as ſpare the Houſes.

After ſubduing this Nation, which had no very great Name, he march'd towards the City of *Nyſa*; and incamp'd pretty near its Walls, behind a Foreſt that hid it. In the mean Time, it grew ſo very cold in the Night, that they had never yet felt ſo exceſſive a Chill; but, very happily for them, a Remedy was near at Hand. They fell'd a great Number of Trees, and lighted up ſeveral Fires, which prov'd very comfortable to the whole Army. The Beſieg'd having attempted a Sally with ill Succeſs, a Faction arole in the City, ſome being of Opinion, it would be beſt for them to ſurrender, whilſt others were for holding out the Siege. This coming to the King's Ear, he only block'd up the City, and did not do the Inhabitants any farther Injury; till, at laſt, tir'd out with the Length of the Siege, they ſurrendred at Diſcretion, and accordingly, were kindly treated by the Conqueror: They declar'd, their City had been built by *Bacchus*. Hereupon the whole Army, for ſix Days togtheer, celebrated Games, and made Rejoicings on this Mountain, in Honour of the God, who was there worſhip'd.

He march'd from thence to a Country, call'd *Dædala*, which had been abandon'd by the Inhabitants, who had fled for Shelter to inacceſſible Mountains; as alſo thoſe of *Acadera*, into which he afterwards entred, This oblig'd him to change his Method of War, and diſperſe his Forces in different Places, by which Means the Enemy were all defeated at once: Little Reſiſtance was made any-where, and thoſe who were ſo couragious, as to wait the Coming up of the *Macedonians*, were all cut in Pieces. *Ptolomy* took ſeveral little Cities the Inſtant he ſat down before them; whilſt *Alexander* reduc'd the large ones; and, after uniting all his Forces, croſs'd the River *Choaſpes*, and left *Cœnus* to beſiege a rich and populous City, call'd *Bazica* by the Inhabitants.

He afterwards march'd towards *Magoſa*, whoſe King, call'd *Aſſacanus*, was lately dead, and *Cleophes*, his Mother, commanded over the Province, and the City. There were Thirty Thouſand Infantry in it, and both Nature and Art ſeem'd to have united their Endeavours in raiſing its Fortifications; for, towards the *Eaſt*, it was ſurrounded with a very rapid River, the Banks of which were ſteep, and difficult of Acceſs; and on the *Weſt* Side were high, ſteep Rocks, at the Foot whereof were Caves, which were hollow'd prodigiouſly deep, by Time; and where theſe fail'd, a Trench, of an aſtoniſhing Height, was rais'd with incredible Labour.

Whilſt *Alexander* was going round the City, to view its Fortifications, he was wounded by an Arrow in the Calf of his Leg; but he only pull'd out the Weapon; and, without ſo much as binding up the Wound, mounted his Horſe, and continu'd to view the outward Fortifications of the City. But, as he rode with his Leg downward, and the congealing of the Blood put him to great Pain, it is ſaid, he cry'd out: *Every one ſwears that I am the Son of* Jupiter, *but my Wound calls out to me, that I am a Man.* However, he did not leave the Place till he had ſeen every Thing, and given all the neceſſary Orders. Some of the Soldiers, therefore, demoliſh'd ſuch Houſes as ſtood without the City, and with the Rubbiſh of them they fill'd up the Pits, or Quagmires above-mention'd. Others threw great Trunks of Trees, and huge Stones into them; and all labour'd with ſo much Vigour, that in nine Days, the Works were compleated, and the Towers rais'd upon them.

The King, without waiting till his Wound was heal'd, viſited the Works, and, after applauding the

the Soldiers for their great Diſpatch, caus'd the Engines to be brought forward, whence a great Number of Darts were hurl'd againſt thoſe who defended the Walls. But that which moſt terrify'd the *Barbarians*, was thoſe Towers of a vaſt Height, which ſeem'd, to their Eyes, to move of themſelves. This made them imagine, that they were conducted by the Gods; and thoſe Battering-Rams, which beat down Walls, and the Javelins thrown by Engines, the like of which they had never ſeen, could not be the Effect of human Strength; ſo that, perſuaded it would be impoſſible to defend the City, they withdrew into the Citadel; but not finding themſelves more ſecure there, they ſent Embaſſadors to propoſe a Surrender. The Queen afterwards came and met *Alexander*, attended by a great Number of Ladies, who all brought him Wine in Cups, by Way of Sacrifice: And the King gave her a very gracious Reception, and reſtor'd her to her Kingdom.

From hence *Polyſperchon* was ſent with an Army, to beſiege the City of *Ora*, which he ſoon reduc'd; moſt of its Inhabitants having withdrawn to the Rock, call'd *Aornos*; there being a Tradition, that *Hercules* having beſieg'd this Rock, an Earthquake had forc'd him to quit the Siege. There are not on this Rock, as on many others, gentle Declivities of eaſy Acceſs; but it riſes like a Bank; and being very wide at Bottom, grows narrower all the Way to the Top, which terminates in a Point. The River *Indus*, whoſe Source is not far from this Place, flows at the Bottom, its Sides being perpendicular, and high; and on the other Side were vaſt Quagmires, which muſt be fill'd before the Rock could be taken. Very happily for the *Macedonians*, they were near a Foreſt. This the King had cut down, commanding his Soldiers, to carry off nothing but the Trunks, the Branches of which were lopp'd, in order that they might be carry'd with leſs Difficulty; and he himſelf threw the firſt Trunk into the Quagmires. The Army ſeeing this, ſhouted for Joy, and every Soldier labouring with incredible Diligence, the Work was finiſh'd in ſeven Days; immediately after which the Attack began. The Officers were of Opinion, it would not be proper for the King to expoſe himſelf on this Occaſion, the Danger being evidently too great: However, the Trumpet had no ſooner ſounded, but this Prince, who was not Maſter of his Courage, commanded his Guards to follow, himſelf firſt climbing the Rock. At this Sight it appear'd no longer inacceſſible, and every one flew after him. Never were Soldiers expos'd to greater Danger; but they were all reſolv'd to conquer, or die. Several fell from the Rock into the River, whoſe Whirlpools ſwallow'd them up. The *Barbarians* roll'd great Stones on the foremoſt, who, being ſcarce able to keep their Feet (ſo ſlippery was the Rock) fell down the Precipices, and were daſh'd to Pieces. No Sight could poſſibly be more diſmal than this; the King, greatly afflicted, at the Loſs of ſo many brave Soldiers, caus'd a Retreat to be ſounded. Nevertheleſs, though he had loſt all Hopes of taking the Place, and was determin'd to raiſe the Siege, he feign'd as though he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave Orders for bringing forward the Towers, and other Engines. The Beſieg'd, by Way of Inſult, made great Rejoicings; and continu'd their Feſtivity for two Days and two Nights, making the Rock and whole Neighbourhood echo with the Sound of their Drums and Cymbals. But the third Night they were not heard, and the *Macedonians* were ſurpriz'd to ſee every Part of the Rock illuminated with Torches. The King was inform'd, the *Indians* had lighted them to aſſiſt their Flight, and guide them more eaſily in thoſe Precipices, during the Darkneſs of the Night. Immediately the whole Army, by *Alexander*'s Order, ſhouted aloud; which terrify'd the Fugitives ſo much, that ſeveral of them, fancying they ſaw the Enemy, threw themſelves from the Top of the Rock, and periſh'd miſerably. The King having ſo happily, and unexpectedly, poſſeſs'd himſelf of the Rock, in an almoſt miraculous Manner, thank'd the Gods, and offer'd Sacrifices in their Honour.

This done, he reduc'd *Ecbolimus*; and after ſixteen Days March, arriv'd at the River *Indus*, where he found that *Hephæſtion* had got all Things ready for his Paſſage, purſuant to the Orders given him. The King of the Country, call'd *Omphis*, whoſe Father dy'd ſome Time before, had ſent to *Alexander*, to know whether he would give him Leave to wear the Crown; and notwithſtanding the *Macedonian* had anſwer'd, *he might*, he delay'd putting it on till his Arrival. He then went to meet him, with his whole Army; and when *Alexander* was advanc'd pretty near, he puſh'd forward his Horſe, and came up ſingly to him, and the King did the ſame. The *Indian* then told him, by an Interpreter: *That he was come to meet him at the Head of his Army, in order to deliver up all his Forces into his Hands. That he ſurrendred up his Perſon, and his Kingdom to a Monarch, who, he was ſenſible, fought only with the View of acquiring Glory, and dreaded nothing ſo much as Treachery.* The King, greatly ſatisfy'd with the Frankneſs of the *Barbarian*, gave him his Hand, and reſtor'd him his Kingdom. He then made *Alexander* a Preſent of fifty-ſix Elephants, and a great Number of other Animals of a prodigious Size. The King then asking him which were moſt neceſſary for him, *Husbandmen, or Soldiers?* He reply'd; *That, as he was at War with two Princes, the latter were of greateſt Service to him.* Theſe two Monarchs were *Abiſares*, and *Porus*, the latter of whom was moſt powerful and the Dominions of both were ſituated on the other Side of the *Hydaſpes*. *Omphis* aſſum'd the Diadem, and took the Name of *Taxilus*, by which the Kings of that Country were call'd: He alſo made magnificent Preſents to *Alexander*, who did not ſuffer himſelf to be rival'd in Generoſity. The next Day, Embaſſadors from *Abiſares* waiting on the King, ſurrender'd up to him, purſuant to the Power given them, all the Dominions of their Sovereign; and after each Party had promis'd Fidelity, they return'd back.

Hereupon, *Alexander* expecting, that *Porus*, aſtoniſh'd with the Report of his Glory, would not fail to ſubmit to him, ſent a Meſſage to that Prince (as though he had been his Vaſſal) requiring him to pay Tribute, and meet him upon the Frontiers of his Dominions: *Porus* anſwer'd with great Coldneſs, *That he would do ſo, but it ſhould be Sword in Hand.* At the ſame Time, there was ſent to *Alexander* a Reinforcement of

thirty Elephants, which were of great Service: He gave the Conduct of theſe to *Taxilus*, and advanc'd as far as the Borders of the *Hydaſpes*; on the other Side of which *Porus* was incamp'd, in order to diſpute the Paſſage with him; and had poſted at the Head of his Army, eighty-five Elephants of a prodigious Size; and behind them three hundred Chariots, guarded by thirty thouſand Foot; there being not, at moſt, above ſeven thouſand Horſe. This Prince was mounted upon an Elephant of a much larger Size than any of the Reſt, and he himſelf exceeded the uſual Stature of Men; ſo that, cloath'd in his Armour dazling with Gold and Silver, he appear'd at the ſame Time terrible and majeſtick. The Greatneſs of his Courage equal'd that of his Stature; and he was as wiſe, and prudent, as it was poſſible for a ſavage Monarch to be.

The *Macedonians* dreaded not only the Enemy, but alſo the River they were oblig'd to croſs. It was four Furlongs wide (that is about half a Mile) and ſo deep in every Part, it look'd like a Sea; and was no-where fordable. It was vaſtly impetuous, notwithſtanding its great Breadth; for, it flow'd with as much Violence, as if it had been confin'd to a narrow Channel; and its raging, foaming Waves, which broke in many Places, diſcover'd a great Number of Stones and Rocks hid under it. However, nothing was ſo dreadful as the Appearance of the Shore, which was quite cover'd with Men, Horſes, and Elephants. Theſe hideous Animals ſtood like ſo many Towers, and the *Indians* exaſperated them, in order that the horrid Cry they made might fill the Enemy with the greater Terror. However, this could not intimidate an Army of Men, whoſe Courage was Proof againſt all Attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted Series of Proſperity; but then they did not think it would be poſſible for them, as their Barks were ſo crazy, to ſurmount the Rapidity of the Stream, or land with Safety.

This River was full of little Iſlands, to which the *Indians* and *Macedonians* us'd to ſwim, with their Arms over their Heads; and ſlight Skirmiſhes were every Day fought, in Sight of the two Kings; who were well-pleas'd to make theſe Trials of their reſpective Forces, and to form a Judgment from theſe little Combats, of the Succeſs of a general Battle. Amongſt the Reſt, there were two young Officers in *Alexander*'s Army, *Egeſimachus* and *Nicanor*, Men of equal Intrepidity, and who, having been ever ſucceſsful, deſpis'd Dangers of every Kind. They took with them the braveſt Youths in the whole Army; and with no other Weapons than their Javelins, ſwam to an Iſland, in which ſeveral of the Enemy were landed; where, with ſcarce any other Aſſiſtance but their Intrepidity, they made a great Slaughter. After this bold Stroke, they might have retir'd with Glory; were it poſſible for Raſhneſs, when ſucceſsful, to keep within Bounds. But, as they waited with Contempt, and an inſulting Air, for thoſe who came to relieve their Companions, they were ſurrounded by a Band of Soldiers, who had ſwam unperceiv'd, to the Iſland, and overpower'd by the Darts which were ſhot from far; thoſe who endeavour'd to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, were carry'd away by the Waves, or ſwallow'd up by the Whirl-pools. The Courage of *Porus*, who ſaw all from the Shore, was ſurprizingly increas'd at this Succeſs.

In the mean While, *Alexander* was in great Perplexity; but, finding, at laſt, he could not croſs the *Hydaſpes* by Force of Arms, he reſolv'd to have Recourſe to Artifice. Accordingly, he caus'd his Cavalry to attempt ſeveral Times to croſs in the Night; and ſhout, as if they really intended to ford the River, all Things being prepar'd for that Purpoſe. Immediately *Porus* hurry'd thither with his Elephants, but *Alexander* continu'd in Battle-Array on the Bank. This Stratagem having been attempted ſeveral Times, and *Porus* finding the Whole was but meer Noiſe and empty Menaces, he took no farther Notice of theſe Motions, and only ſent Scouts to every Part of the Shore. Hereupon, *Alexander*, being no longer apprehenſive of having the whole Army of the Enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to croſs the River in the Night, began to reſolve ſeriouſly how he might beſt effect it.

There was in the River, at a conſiderable Diſtance from *Alexander*'s Camp, an Iſland of a greater Extent than any of the Reſt. This being cover'd with Trees, was very proper for him, to cover and conceal his Deſign; and therefore, he reſolv'd to attempt the Paſſage that Way. However, the better to conceal the Knowledge of it from the Enemy, and deceive them on this Occaſion, he left *Craterus* in his Camp, with the major Part of the Army, with Orders for them to make a great Noiſe, at a certain Time, which ſhould be appointed, in order to alarm the *Indians*; and make them believe he was preparing to croſs the River, but would not attempt it, till ſuch Time as *Porus* ſhould have rais'd his Camp, and march'd away his Elephants; either with the View of withdrawing, or advancing towards thoſe *Macedonians* who ſhould attempt the Paſſage. Between the Camp and the Iſland he had poſted *Meleager* and *Gorgias*, with the foreign Horſe and Foot, who had Orders to paſs over in Bodies, the Inſtant they ſhould ſee them engag'd in Battle.

After giving theſe Orders, he took the reſt of his Army, as well Cavalry, as Infantry; and, wheeling off from the Shore, in order to go unperceiv'd, advanc'd in the Night-Time towards the Iſland, into which he had reſolv'd to go; and the better to deceive the Enemy, he caus'd his Tent to be pitch'd in the Camp where he had left *Craterus*, which was oppoſite to that of *Porus*. His Life-Guards were drawn up round, in all the Pomp and Splendor, with which the Majeſty of a great King is uſually ſurrounded. He alſo caus'd a Royal Robe to be put upon *Attalus*, who was of the ſame Age as himſelf, and ſo much reſembled the King, both in Stature and Features, eſpecially at ſo great a Diſtance as the Breadth of the River, that the Enemy might ſuppoſe *Alexander* himſelf was on the Bank, and was attempting the Paſſage in that Place. In the mean While, *Alexander* got to the Iſland abovemention'd, and immediately landed upon it, with the reſt of his Troops, whilſt the Enemy was employ'd in oppoſing *Craterus*. Soon after, a ſurious Storm aroſe, which ſeem'd as though it would retard the Execution of his Project, yet prov'd of Advantage to it; for ſo propitious was this Prince, that Obſtacles chang'd into Advan-

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tages in his Favour: The Storm was ſucceeded by a very violent Shower, with impetuous Winds, Flaſhes of Lightning, and Thunder; inſomuch, there was no hearing, or ſeeing one another. Any Man, but *Alexander*, would have abandon'd his Deſign; but he, on the contrary, was animated by Danger, not to mention, that the Noiſe, the Confuſion, and the Darkneſs, aſſiſted his Paſſage. Thereupon, he made the Signal for the Imbarkation of the Troops, and himſelf firſt gave Orders for the Boat to go off, in which he himſelf was. It is pretended, it was on this Occaſion he cry'd: *O* Athenians, *could you think I would expoſe Myſelf to ſuch Dangers, to merit your Applauſe!* And indeed; nothing could contribute more to eternize his Name, than having his Actions recorded by ſuch great Hiſtorians, as *Thucydides* and *Xenophon*; and ſo anxious was he about the Character, which would be given him after his Death, that he wiſh'd it were poſſible for him to return again into the World, for ſo long a Space of Time, as might be neceſſary, in order for him to hear what Kind of Impreſſion the Peruſal of his Hiſtory had made on the Minds of Men.

Scarce any Perſon appear'd to oppoſe their Deſcent, becauſe *Porus* was wholly taken up with *Craterus*, and imagin'd, he had nothing to do but oppoſe his Paſſage. Immediately this General, purſuant to his Orders, made a prodigious Clamour, and ſeem'd to attempt the Paſſage of the River. Upon this, all the Boats came aſhore, one excepted, which the Waves daſh'd in Pieces againſt a Rock. The Moment *Alexander* was landed, he drew up his little Army in Order of Battle, conſiſting of ſix Thouſand Foot, and five Thouſand Horſe. He himſelf headed the latter; and, having commanded the Foot to make all imaginable Diſpatch after him, he march'd before. It was his firm Opinion, in Caſe the *Indians* ſhould oppoſe him with their whole Force, his Cavalry would give him infinite Advantage over them; and that, be this as it would, he might eaſily continue fighting, until ſuch Time as his Foot ſhould be come up; or that, in Caſe the Enemy, alarm'd at the News of his croſſing, ſhould fly, it would be in his Power to carry on the Purſuit, and make a great Slaughter of them.

Upon hearing that *Alexander* had paſs'd the River, *Porus* ſent a Detachment againſt him, commanded by one of his Sons, who headed two Thouſand Horſe, and one Hundred and twenty Chariots. *Alexander* imagin'd them, at firſt, to be the Enemy's Van-Guard, and that the whole Army was behind them; but, being inform'd it was only a Detachment, he charg'd them with great Vigour, inſomuch, that the Son of *Porus* was kill'd upon the Spot, with four Hundred Horſes, and all the Chariots were taken. Each of theſe Chariots carry'd ſix Men; two were arm'd with Bucklers; two Bow-Men ſate on the two Sides; and two guided the Chariot, who, nevertheleſs, always fought when the Battle grew warm, they having a great Number of Darts, which they hurl'd againſt the Enemy. But all theſe did little Execution that Day, becauſe the Rain, which fell in great Abundance, had moiſtned the Earth to ſuch a Degree, that the Horſes could ſcarce ſtand; and the Chariots being very heavy, moſt of them, by that Means, ſunk very deep into the Mud.

Upon receiving Advice of the Death of his Son, the Defeat of the Detachment, and of *Alexander*'s Approach, *Porus* was in ſome Doubt, whether it would be proper for him to continue in his Poſt; becauſe *Craterus*, with the reſt of the *Macedonian* Army, made as if they intended to croſs the River. However he, at laſt, reſolv'd to meet *Alexander*, whom he juſtly ſuppos'd to be at the Head of the choiceſt Forces in his Army. Accordingly, leaving only a few Elephants in his Camp, to amuſe thoſe who were poſted on the oppoſite Shore, he ſet out with Thirty Thouſand Foot, Four Thouſand Horſe, Three Hundred Chariots, and Two Hundred Elephants. Being come into a firm, Sandy Soil, in which his Horſes and Chariots might wheel about with Eaſe, he drew up his Army in Battle-Array, with an Intent to wait the Coming up of the Enemy. He poſted in Front, and on the firſt Line, all the Elephants, at a Hundred Foot Diſtance one from the other, in order to ſerve as a Bulwark to his Foot, who were behind. It was his Opinion, the Enemy's Cavalry would not dare to engage in theſe Intervals, becauſe of the Fear thoſe Horſes would have of the Elephants; and much leſs their Infantry, when they ſhould ſee that of the Enemy poſted behind the Elephants, and in Danger of being trod in Pieces by thoſe Animals. He had poſted ſome of his Foot on the ſame Line with the Elephants, in order to cover their Right and Left; and this Infantry was cover'd by his two Wings of Horſe, before which the Chariots were poſted. Such was the Order and Diſpoſition of the Army of *Porus*.

Alexander being come in Sight of the Enemy, waited the Coming up of his Foot, which march'd with the utmoſt Diligence, and arriv'd a little after; and in order that they might have Time to take Breath, and not be led, as they were very much fatigu'd, againſt the Enemy, he caus'd his Horſe to make a great many Evolutions, in order to gain Time. This done, and every Thing being ready, and the Infantry having ſufficiently recover'd their Vigour, *Alexander* gave the Signal for the Combat. He did not think proper to begin, by attacking the Enemy's main Body, where the Infantry and the Elephants were poſted, for the very Reaſon which had made *Porus* draw them up in that Manner: But, his Cavalry being ſtronger, he drew out the greateſt Part of them, and marching againſt the Left Wing, ſent *Cænus* with his own Regiment of Horſe, and that of *Demetrius*, to charge them at the ſame Time; ordering him to attack the Cavalry, on the Left, behind, whilſt he himſelf would charge them in Front and Flank. *Seleucus*, *Antigonus*, and *Tauron*, who commanded the Foot, were order'd not to ſtir from their Poſts, till ſuch Time as *Alexander*'s Cavalry had put that of the Enemy, as well as their Foot, into Diſorder.

Being come within Arrow-ſhot, he detach'd a Thouſand Bow-Men on Horſe-back, with Orders for them to make their Diſcharge on the Horſe of the Enemy's Left Wing, in order to throw it into Diſorder, whilſt he himſelf would charge the main Body in Flank, before it had Time to rally. In the mean While, the *Indians* having again join'd their Squadrons, and drawn them up into

into a narrower Compaſs, advanc'd againſt *Alexander*. At that Inſtant, *Cœnus* charg'd them in the Rear, according to the Orders given him; inſomuch, that the *Indians* were oblig'd to face about on all Sides, to defend themſelves from the Thouſand Bow-Men, and againſt *Alexander* and *Cœnus*. In the mean While, *Alexander*, to make the moſt Advantage, of the Confuſion into which this ſudden Onſet had thrown them, charg'd with great Vigour thoſe who had made Head againſt him; who being no longer able to ſtand ſo violent an Attack, were ſoon broken, and retir'd, by Means of their Elephants, as to an impregnable Rampart. The Leaders of the Elephants then made them advance againſt the Enemy's Horſe; but, that very Inſtant, the *Macedonian Phalanx* moving on a ſudden, ſurrounded thoſe Animals, and charg'd, with their Pikes, both the Elephants themſelves, and their Leaders. This Battle was very different from all thoſe in which *Alexander* had, till then, been engag'd; for, the Elephants ruſhing upon the Battalions, broke, with inexpreſſible Fury, the thickeſt of them; when the *Indian* Horſe, ſeeing the *Macedonian* Foot ſtopp'd by the Elephants, return'd to the Charge: However, the Cavalry of *Alexander* being ſtronger, and having greater Experience in War, broke this Body a ſecond Time, and oblig'd them to retire towards the Elephants; upon which, the *Macedonian* Horſe being all united together, ſpread Terror and Confuſion wherever they attack'd. The Elephants alſo being all cover'd with Wounds, and the greateſt Part having loſt their Leaders, did not obſerve their uſual Order; but diſtracted, as it were, with Pain, they no longer diſtinguiſh'd Friends from Foes; but running about from Place to Place, overthrew every Thing that came in their Way. Hereupon, the *Macedonians*, who had purpoſely left a greater Interval between their Battalions, either made Way for them, wherever they came forward; or charg'd, with Darts, thoſe who had retir'd backward, through Fear and Confuſion. Then *Alexander*, after having ſurrounded the Enemy with his Horſe, made a Signal for his Foot to march up with all imaginable Speed, in order to make a laſt Struggle, and fall upon them with his whole Force; all which they executed very ſucceſsfully. In this Manner, moſt Part of the *Indian* Cavalry were cut in Pieces; and a Body of their Foot, which ſuſtain'd no leſs Loſs, ſeeing themſelves charg'd on all Sides, at laſt fled. During theſe Tranſactions, *Craterus*, who had continu'd in the Camp, with the reſt of his Army, ſeeing *Alexander* engag'd with *Porus*, croſſed the River, and charging the routed Soldiers with his Troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that Means, kill'd as many Enemies in the Retreat, as had fallen in the Battle.

The *Indians* loſt, on this Occaſion, twenty Thouſand Foot, and three Thouſand Horſe; not to mention the Chariots, which were all broken to Pieces; and the Elephants, that were either kill'd, or taken. The two Sons of *Porus* fell in this Battle; with *Spitacus*, Governor of the Province; and all the Colonels of Horſe and Foot, with thoſe who guided the Elephants, and Chariots. As for *Alexander*, he loſt but Fourſcore of the ſix Thouſand Soldiers, who were at the firſt Onſet, ten Bow-Men of the Horſe, twenty Troopers of his Royal Companies, and two Hundred common Soldiers.

As for *Porus* himſelf, after having perform'd the Duty both of a Soldier, and a General, in the Battle, and fought with incredible Bravery, ſeeing all his Horſe defeated, and the greateſt Part of his Foot, he did not behave like *Darius*; who, in a ſimilar Diſaſter, was the firſt who fled: On the contrary, he continu'd in the Field, as long as one Battalion or Squadron ſtood their Ground; but, at laſt, having receiv'd a Wound in the Shoulder, he retir'd upon his Elephant; and was eaſily diſtinguiſh'd from the Reſt, by the Greatneſs of his Stature, and his unparallel'd Bravery. Hereupon, *Alexander* finding who he was, by theſe glorious Marks, and being deſirous of ſaving ſo brave a Prince, ſent *Taxilus* after him, becauſe he was of the ſame Nation; upon which, the latter advancing as near him, as he might ſafely, without running any Danger of being wounded, call'd out to him to ſtop, in order to hear the Meſſage he had brought him from *Alexander*. But *Porus* turning back, and ſeeing it was *Taxilus*, his old Enemy; *How!* ſays he, *is not this* Taxilus *I hear, that Traitor to his Country and Kingdom?* Immediately after which, he would have tranſfix'd him with his Dart, had he not made the beſt of his Way. Notwithſtanding this, *Alexander* was ſtill deſirous to ſave ſo gallant a Man, and thereupon, diſpatch'd other Officers; among whom was *Meroe*, one of his intimate Friends, who beſought him, in the ſtrongeſt Terms, to wait upon a Conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much Intreaty, *Porus* conſented, and accordingly ſet forward; and *Alexander*, who had been told of his Coming, advanc'd likewiſe, in order to receive him, with ſome of his Train. Being come pretty near, *Alexander* ſtopp'd, purpoſely to take a View of his Stature, and noble Mien, he being above five Cubits in Height. (ſeven Foot and a half) In the mean While, *Porus* did not ſeem dejected at his Misfortune, but came up with a reſolute Countenance, like a valiant Warrior, whoſe Courage in defending his Dominions, ought to gain him the Eſteem of the brave Prince, who had taken him Priſoner. *Alexander* ſpoke firſt, and with an auguſt and gracious Air, ask'd him how he deſir'd to be treated? *Like a King*, reply'd *Porus*. *But*, continu'd *Alexander*, *Do you ask nothing more? No*, reply'd *Porus*; *all Things are included in that ſingle Word:* Whereupon, *Alexander*, ſtruck with this Greatneſs of Soul, the Magnanimity of which ſeem'd heighten'd by Diſtreſs, did not only reſtore him his Kingdom, but join'd other Provinces to it, and gave him the higheſt Teſtimonies of Honour, Eſteem, and Friendſhip; and *Porus* was faithful to him till his Death: It is hard to ſay, whether the Victor, or the Vanquiſh'd, beſt deſerv'd Praiſe on this Occaſion.

This done, *Alexander* built a City, on the Spot where the Battle had been fought; and another in the Place where he had croſs'd the River: He call'd the one, *Nicæa*, from his Victory; and the other, *Bucephalon*, in Honour of his Horſe, who dy'd there, not of his Wounds, but of Old-Age: Then, after having paid the laſt Duties to ſuch of his Soldiers, as had loſt their Lives in Battle, he ſolemniz'd Games, and offer'd up Sacrifices of Thanks, in that Place where he had paſs'd the *Hydaſpes*.

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This Prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his Victories. We are aſtoniſh'd at the Rapidity of the Conqueſts of *Alexander*; the Eaſe with which he ſurmounts the greateſt Obſtacles, and forces almoſt impregnable Cities; the uninterrupted, and unheard of Felicity, that extricates him out of thoſe Dangers into which his Raſhneſs plunges him; and in which, one would have concluded, he muſt a hundred Times have periſh'd. But to unravel theſe myſterious kinds of Events, ſeveral of which are repugnant to the uſual Courſe of Things, we muſt go back to a ſuperior Cauſe, unknown to the profane Hiſtorians, and to *Alexander* himſelf. This Monarch was, like *Cyrus*, the Miniſter and Inſtrument of the ſovereign Diſpoſer of Empires; who raiſes, and deſtroys them at Pleaſure. He had receiv'd the ſame Orders to overthrow the *Perſian* and *Eaſtern* Empires, as *Cyrus* to deſtroy that of *Babylon*. The ſame Power conducted their Enterprizes, aſſur'd them of Succeſs, protected and ſecur'd them from all Dangers, till they had executed their Commiſſion, and compleated their Miniſtry. We may apply to *Alexander*, the Words which *God* ſpake to *Cyrus* in *Iſaiah*; Cyrus, *whoſe Right-hand I have holden, to ſubdue Nations before him; and I will cauſe the Loins of Kings to open before him the two-leaved Gates, and the Gates ſhall not be ſhut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked Paths ſtraight: I will break in Pieces the Gates of Braſs, and cut in ſunder the Bars of Iron. And I will give thee Treaſures of Darkneſs, and hidden Treaſures of ſecret Places.——I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me.* This is the true, and only Cauſe, of the incredible Succeſs with which this Conqueror was attended; of his unparallel'd Bravery; the Affection his Soldiers had for him, the Foreknowledge of his Felicity, and his Certainty of Conqueſt, which aſtoniſh'd his moſt intrepid Captains.

CHAP. IX.

Alexander *advances farther into* India, *and deſigns to paſs the* Hypaſes, *in Search of other Nations, but is deterr'd from it by the Murmurs and Intreaties of the* Macedonians; *He is in the utmoſt Danger, at the Siege of the* Oxydracæ; *He goes as far as the* Ocean, *and prepares for his Return; His Army ſuffers greatly by Famine, and the Plague; He arrives at* Paſſagardæ, *where, moved by the falſe Accuſations of the Eunuch* Bagoas, *he puts* Orſines, *a powerful Lord, to Death wrongfully;* Calanus, *an* Indian *Philoſopher, reſolves upon burning himſelf alive, and executes it with unparallel'd Reſolution; He diſmiſſes his Guard of* Macedonians, *and ſubſtitutes* Perſians, *in their Room; He enters* Babylon, *againſt the Advice of the* Chaldæans, *and celebrates the Death of his Favourite* Hephæſtion, *with the utmoſt Magnificence.*

AFTER his famous Victory over *Porus*, *Alexander* advanc'd into *India*, where he ſubdu'd a great many Nations and Cities. He look'd upon himſelf as a Conqueror by Profeſſion as well as by his Dignity, and engag'd every Day in new Exploits, with ſo much Ardor and Vivacity, that he ſeem'd to fancy himſelf inveſted with a perſonal Commiſſion, and that there was an immediate Obligation upon him, to ſtorm all Cities, to lay waſte all Provinces, to extirpate all Nations, which ſhould refuſe his Yoke; and that he ſhould have look'd upon himſelf as guilty of a Crime, had he forborn viſiting every Corner of the Earth, and carrying Terror and Deſtruction into thoſe ſeveral Places. He croſs'd the *Aceſines*, and afterwards the *Hydraotes*, two conſiderable Rivers; when Advice was brought him, that a great Number of free *Indians* had made a Confederacy to defend their Liberties; and among the reſt, the *Caytheans*, who were the moſt valiant of them, and beſt skill'd in War; and that all theſe were encamp'd near a ſtrong City, *Sangala* by Name: Whereupon, *Alexander* ſet out againſt theſe *Indians*, defeated them in a pitch'd Battle, took the City, and raz'd it to the very Foundations.

One Day, as he was riding at the Head of his Army, ſome Philoſophers, call'd *Brachmans*, in the Language of that Country, were converſing together, as they were walking in a Meadow, and the Inſtant they perceiv'd him, they all ſtampt upon the Ground with their Feet; whereupon, *Alexander*, ſurpriz'd at that extraordinary Tranſport, demanded the Cauſe thereof. They anſwer'd, pointing to the Ground with their Fingers, *That no Man poſſeſs'd any more of that Element, than he could enjoy; that the only Difference between him and other Men, was, that he was more reſtleſs and ambitious than they, and ſcour'd through all Seas and Lands, merely to annoy others, and to injure himſelf: And yet——he would die at laſt.* The King was not diſpleas'd at this Anſwer; but he was hurried along by a Torrent of falſe Glory, and his Actions were the very Reverſe of what he approv'd.

Theſe *Brachmans*, ſays *Arrian*, are highly venerated in their Country: They don't pay any Tribute to the Prince, but aſſiſt him with their Counſel, and perform the ſame Offices as the *Magi* do to the Kings of *Perſia*. They aſſiſt at the publick Sacrifices; and if a Perſon deſires to ſacrifice in

Private, one of these must be present, otherwise the *Indians* are persuaded, that they would not be agreeable to the Gods. They apply themselves particularly to Star-gazing; none but themselves pretend to Prophecy; and they foretel, chiefly, the Change of Weather, and of the Seasons. If a *Brachman* has fail'd thrice in his Predictions, he is silenc'd for ever,

Their Sentements (according to *Strabo*) are not very different from those of the *Greeks*: They believe that the World had a Beginning; that it will end; that its Form is circular; that 'twas created by *God*, who presides over, and fills it with his Majesty; and that Water is the Principle of all Things. With Regard to the Immortality of the Soul, and the Punishment of the Wicked in Hell, they follow the Doctrine of *Plato*; intermixing it, like that Philosopher, with some Fictions, in order to express or describe those Punishments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the *Greeks* give them the Name of *Gymnosophists*. Many incredible Particulars are related, concerning the Austerity of their Lives, and their prodigious Patience: Their only Meat and Drink is Roots and Water. As they admit the *Metempsychosis*, and believe that the Souls of Men transmigrate into those of Beasts, they abstain from the Flesh of Animals. 'Tis thought, that *Pythagoras* borrow'd this Tenet from the *Brachmans*. They continue whole Days standing, with their Faces turn'd towards the *Sun*, and that, in the Season when this Planet darts his Rays with the greatest Violence. Persuaded that 'tis beneath a Man to wait calmly for Death, when he finds himself oppress'd by Age or Sickness, they look upon it as glorious, to prevent their last Hour, and burn themselves alive; and, indeed, they pay no Honours to those who die merely of old Age, and imagine they would pollute their funeral Pile, and the Fire that is to burn them to Ashes, should they go into it otherwise than full of Life and Vigour. Other *Brachmans*, more judicious and human than the former, live in Cities, and associate with their own Species; and so far from considering Self-murder as a virtuous or brave Action, they look upon it as a Weakness in Man not to wait patiently for the Stroke of Death, and as a Crime to dare to anticipate the Order of the Gods.

Cicero, in his *Tusculan* Questions, admires the invincible Patience, not only of the *Indian* Sages, but also of the Women of that Country, who us'd to contend for the Honour of dying with their common Husband. This Privilege was reserv'd for that Wife whom the Husband had lov'd most affectionately; and was given in her Favour, by the Sentence of Persons appointed for that Purpose; who never gave a Judgment till such Time as they made a strict Examination, and heard the Allegations on all Sides. The Wife on whom the Preference was bestow'd, ran to meet Death, and ascended the funeral Pile with incredible Joy and Patience; whilst the surviving Wives withdrew in the deepest Transports of Affliction, and with their Eyes bath'd in Tears.

The Description which *Porphyrius* has left us of these Philosophers, resembles, in many Particulars, that given above. According to this Author, the *Brachmans* live on Herbs, Roots, and Fruits: They abstain from Animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they render themselves by that Means unclean: They spend the greatest Part of the Day and Night in singing Hymns in Honour of their Gods: They fast and pray perpetually: The greatest Part of them live alone, in the deepest Solitude, and neither marry, nor profess any Thing. They wish for nothing so earnestly as for Death; and considering this Life as a Burden, they wait impatiently for that Moment when the Soul will then leave the Body. These Philosophers exist still in *India*, where they are called *Bramins*; and they preserve, in many Points, the Tradition and Tenets of the ancient *Brachmans*.

Alexander, passing near a City wheeein several of these *Brachmans* dwelt, was very desirous to converse with them; and, if possible, to prevail with some of them to follow him: But being inform'd that those Philosophers never made Visits, but that those who had an Inclination to see them, must go to their Houses, he concluded, that it would be beneath his Dignity to go to them; and not just, to force those Sages to any Thing contrary to their Laws and Customs: Whereupon *Onesicritus*, who was a great Philosopher, and had been a Disciple of *Diogenes* the *Cynic*, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the City, with fifteen *Bramins*, who, from Morning till Evening, stood naked, in the same Posture in which they at first had plac'd themselves, and afterwards return'd to the City at Night. He first went up to *Calanus*, and told him the Occasion of his Coming; upon which, the latter, gazing upon the Cloaths and Shoes of *Onesicritus*, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anciently the Earth had been "cover'd with Barley and Wheat, as it was at "that Time with Dust; that, besides Water, the "Rivers used to flow with Milk, Honey, Oil, "and Wine: That Man's Guilt had occasion'd "a Change of this happy Condition; and that "*Jupiter*, to punish their Ingratitude, had sen-"tenc'd them to a long, painful Labour: That "their Repentance afterwards moving him to "Compassion, he had restor'd them their former "Profusion; however, that by the Course of "Things, they seem'd to be returning to their "former Confusion." This Relation shews evidently, that these Philosophers had some Notion of the Felicity of the first Man, and of the Evil to which he had been sentenc'd for his Sins.

After this first Conversation, *Onesicritus* directed himself to *Maudanis*, the Chief, and, as it were, the Superior of the Company; who said, "That "he thought *Alexander* worthy of Admiration, "in seeking thus for Wisdom, in the Midst of "the Cares of his Government: That he was the "first, who had ever united in himself the two "Characters of Conqueror and Philosopher; that "it were to be wish'd, that the Latter should be "found in those, who might inspire the Wisdom "which they themselves possess'd, and command "it by their Authority." He added, That he could not conceive the Motive which had prompted *Alexander* to undertake so long and painful a Journey, nor what he came in Search of, in so far distant a Country.

Onesicritus being very urgent with both of them to quit their austere Way of Life, and follow the Fortune of *Alexander*, said, that they would find in him a generous Master and Benefactor, who would heap upon them Honours, and Riches of all kinds; *Mandanis*, assuming a haughty, philo-

sophical

ſophical Tone, anſwer'd, "That he did not want "*Alexander*, and was the Son of *Jupiter* as well "as himſelf: That he was exempted from Want, "Deſire, or Fear: That as long as he ſhould live, "the Earth would furniſh him all Things neceſ- "ſary for his Subſiſtence, and that Death would "rid him of a troubleſome Companion (meaning "his Body) and ſet him at full Liberty." *Calanus*, however, appear'd more tractable; and, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition, and even the Prohibition of his Superior, who reproach'd him for his abject Spirit, in ſtooping ſo low as to ſerve another Maſter beſides *God*, he follow'd *Oneſicritus*, and went to *Alexander*'s Court, who receiv'd him with great Demonſtrations of Joy.

We find by Hiſtory, that this People us'd often to employ Parables and Similitudes, the better to expreſs their Thoughts. One Day, as he was diſcourſing with *Alexander*, upon the Maxims of a wiſe Policy, and a prudent Adminiſtration, he exhibited to that Prince a ſenſible Image, and a natural Emblem of his Empire. He laid upon the Ground a great Ox-hide, which was very dry, and ſhrunk up, and then ſet his Foot upon one End of it: The Hide being preſs'd at one End, fell lower, and all the other Ends flew up: Going thus quite round the Hide, and preſſing the ſeveral Ends of it, he made him obſerve, that whilſt he lower'd it on one Side, all the reſt roſe up, till treading at laſt upon the Middle, the Hide fell equally on all Sides. By this Image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reſide in the Centre of his Dominions, and not undertake ſuch long Journies. We ſhall ſoon ſhew the Reader, the Manner in which this Philoſopher ended his Days.

Mean while, *Alexander* being determin'd to continue the War ſo long as he ſhould meet with new Nations, and to look upon them as Enemies whilſt they ſhould live independent on him, bent his Thoughts upon croſſing the *Hypaſes*: Whereupon, he was told, that after paſſing that River, he muſt travel eleven Days through Deſarts, and that then he would arrive at the *Ganges*, the greateſt River in all *India*. That farther in the Country liv'd the *Gangaridæ*, and the *Praſii*, whoſe King was preparing to defend the Entrance to his Dominions, at the Head of Twenty thouſand Horſe, and Two hundred thouſand Foot, reinforc'd by Two thouſand Chariots; and, which ſtruck the greateſt Terror, with Three thouſand Elephants. This Report being ſpread through the Army, ſurpriz'd all the Soldiers, and raiſed a general Murmur; particularly the *Macedonians*, who, after having travell'd through ſo many Countries, and being grown grey in the Field, were continually directing their Eyes and Wiſhes towards their dear, native Country, made loud Complaints, that *Alexander* ſhould every Day heap War upon War, and Danger on Danger. They had undergone, but juſt before, inexpreſſible Fatigues, having been expos'd to Rain, accompany'd with Storms and Thunder, for above two Months. Some bewail'd their Calamities in ſuch Terms as raiſed Compaſſion; others inſolently cry'd aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being inform'd of this Tumult, and that ſecret Aſſemblies were made in his Camp, to prevent the ill Conſequences of them, ſent for the Officers into his Tent, and commanding them to call the Soldiers together, he made the following Speech: "I am not ignorant, O Soldiers, that "the *Indians* have publiſh'd ſeveral Things, pur- "poſely to terrify us; but ſuch Diſcourſes and "Artifices are not unuſual to you: Thus the *Per- "ſians* deſcrib'd the *Straits* at *Cilicia*, the wide "extended Plains of *Meſopotamia*, the Rivers *Ty- "gris* and *Euphrates*, as ſo many inſurmount- "able Difficulties; and yet your Bravery conquer'd "them. Do you repent your having follow'd me "thus far? As your glorious Deeds have van- "quiſh'd you a Multitude of Provinces; as you "have extended your Conqueſts beyond the *Iaxar- "thes*, and Mount *Caucaſus*; as you ſee the Ri- "vers of *India* flow through the Midſt of your "Empire; why are you afraid of croſſing the "*Hypaſes*, and of ſetting up your Trophies on the "Banks of it, as on thoſe of the *Hydaſpes*? What! "can the Elephants, whoſe Number is ſo falſly "augmented, terrify you to ſuch a Degree? And "has not Experience taught you, that they are "more deſtructive to their own Maſters, than to "the Enemy? Endeavours are uſed to intimidate "you, by the dreadful Idea of innumerable Ar- "mies; but are they more numerous than thoſe "of *Darius*? 'Tis ſure very late for you to count "the Legions of the Enemy, after your Victories "have made *Aſſa* a Deſart. 'Twas when you "croſs'd the *Helleſpont*, that you ought to have "reflected on the Smallneſs of our Forces: But "now, the *Scythians* form Part of our Army; "the *Bactrians*, the *Sogdians*, and the *Dahæ*, are "with us, and fight for our Glory. However, I "don't depend on thoſe *Barbarians*: 'Tis on you "only that I rely; your victorious Arms only are "preſent to my Imagination, and your Courage "alone promiſes me certain Succeſs. As long as "I ſhall be ſurrounded with you in Fight, I ſhall "not have any Occaſion to count the Number of "my Troops, nor that of the Enemy, provided "you exhibit thoſe Marks of Joy and Confidence "you have hitherto diſcover'd. Not only our "Glory, but even our Safety is at Stake: Should "we now retreat, 'twill be ſuppoſed that we fly "before our Enemies, and from that Moment we "ſhall appear as mean as the Enemy will be judg'd "formidable; for you are ſenſible, that in War "Reputation is every Thing. 'Tis in my Power "to make uſe of Authority, and yet I employ "Entreaties only: Do not abandon (I conjure "you) I don't ſay your King and Maſter, but "your Pupil and Companion in Battles: Don't "break to Pieces, in my Hand, that ſo glorious "Palm, which will ſoon, unleſs Envy ſhould rob "me of ſo great a Glory, equal me to *Hercules*, "and to *Bacchus*." As the Soldiers ſtood with their Eyes caſt on the Ground, and did not once open their Lips; "What! continued he, do I "then ſpeak to the Deaf? Will no one liſten to "me, nor condeſcend to anſwer. Alas! I am "abandon'd, I am betray'd, I am deliver'd up to "the Enemy. But,——I'll advance ſtill farther, "though I go alone. The *Scythians*, and *Bac- "trians*, more faithful than you, will follow me "whitherſoever I may lead them. Return, then, "to your Country, and boaſt, ye Deſerters of your "King, that you abandon'd him. As for me, I will "here meet, either with the Victory you deſpair of, "or with a glorious Death, which henceforward "ought to be the ſole Object of my Wiſhes."

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Notwithſtanding this lively, pathetic Speech, the Soldiers kill kept a profound Silence: They waited in Expectation of hearing their Commanders and chief Officers remonſtrate to the King, that their Affection was as ſtrong as ever; but that, as their Bodies were cover'd with Wounds, and worn out with Toils, it would be impoſſible for them to continue the War. However, not one of them preſum'd to addreſs him in their Favour: The Examples of *Clitus*, and of *Calliſthenes*, were ſtill freſh in their Memories; the Officers, who were then with him, had a hundred Times ventur'd their Lives, in Battle, for their Prince; but they had not the Courage to hazard the loſing of their Fortunes by telling him the Truth. Whilſt therefore the Soldiers, as well as Officers, continued Dumb, without once daring to lift up their Eyes, there roſe, on a Sudden, a Murmur, which increaſing, by inſenſible Degrees, broke into ſuch deep Groans and Floods of Tears, that the King himſelf, whoſe Anger was now changed into Compaſſion, could not forbear weeping.

At laſt, whilſt the whole Aſſembly were in Tears, and in deep Silence, *Cœnus* took Courage, and drew near to the Throne, diſcovering, by his Air and Action, that he deſired to ſpeak. And, when the Soldiers ſaw him take off his Helmet, this being the Cuſtom when any Perſon ſpoke to the King, they beſought him to plead the Cauſe of the Army; and accordingly he ſpoke as follows: "No, Sir, we are not changed with Regard to "our Affection for you; *God* forbid that ſo great "a Calamity ſhould ever befal us. We ſhall al- "ways be inſpir'd with the ſame Zeal, the ſame "Affection and Fidelity: We are ready to follow "you at the Hazard of our Lives, and to march "whitherſoever you ſhall think fit to lead us: But, "if your Soldiers may be allow'd to lay before "you their Sentiments ſincerely, and without Diſ- "guiſe, they beſeech you to condeſcend ſo far, as "to give ear to their reſpectful Complaints, which "nothing, but the moſt extreme Neceſſity, could "have forced from them. The Greatneſs, Sir, of "your Exploits, has vanquiſh'd, not only your Ene- "mies, but even your Soldiers themſelves. We "have done all that it was poſſible for Men to do: "We have croſs'd Seas and Lands. We ſhall ſoon "have march'd to the End of the World; and "you are meditating the Conqueſt of another. by "going in Search of new *Indias*, unknown to the "*Indians* themſelves: Such a Thought may be "worthy of your Courage, but it ſurpaſſes ours, "and our Strength ſtill more. Behold theſe "ghaſtly Faces, and theſe Bodies, quite cover'd "with Wounds and Scars. You are ſenſible how "numerous we were at your firſt ſetting out, and "you ſee what now remains of us. The few, "who have eſcaped ſo many Toils and Dangers, "are neither brave, nor ſtrong enough to follow "you. All of them long to ſee again their Re- "lations and Country, there to enjoy in Peace the "Fruit of their Labours, and your Victories. "Allow them a Deſire which is natural to all "Men: 'Twill be glorious, Sir, for you, to have "fix'd ſuch Boundaries to your Fortune, as your "Moderation only could have ſettled; and to "have vanquiſh'd yourſelf, after having conquer'd "all your Enemies."

Cœnus had no ſooner ſpoke, but there were heard, on all Sides, Cries, and confus'd Voices, intermix'd with Tears, calling upon the King, as *their Lord, and their Father.* Afterwards, all the reſt of the Officers, eſpecially thoſe who aſſum'd a greater Authority, becauſe of their Age, and for that Reaſon could be be better excuſed the Freedom they took, made the ſame humble Requeſt; but ſtill the King would not comply with it. It muſt coſt a Monarch many Pangs, before he can prevail with himſelf to reſign Things againſt his Inclination: *Alexander*, therefore, ſhut himſelf up two Days in his Tent, without once ſpeaking to any one, not even to his familiar Friends; in order to ſee whether ſome Change might not be wrought in the Army, as frequently happens on ſuch Occaſions: But, finding it would be impoſſible to change the Reſolution of the Soldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their Return. This News fill'd the whole Army with inexpreſſible Joy; and *Alexander* never appear'd greater, or more glorious, than on this Day, in which he deſign'd, for the Sake of his Subjects, to ſacrifice ſome Part of his Glory and Grandeur. The whole Camp echo'd with Praiſes and Bleſſings, for *Alexander* having ſuffer'd himſelf to be overcome by his own Army; he, who was invincible to the Reſt of the World. No Triumph is comparable to thoſe Acclamations and Applauſes that come from the Heart, and which are the ſtrong, ſincere Overflowings of it; and 'tis great Pity that Princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not ſpent above three or four Months, at moſt, in conquering all the Country lying between the *Indus* and the *Hypaſes*, call'd to this Day *Pengab*, that is, *the five Waters*, becauſe of the five Rivers which water it. Before his ſetting out, he raiſed twelve Altars, to ſerve as ſo many Trophies and Thankſgivings for the Victories he had obtain'd. He afterwards croſs'd the *Hydraotes*, and left *Porus* all the Lands he had conquer'd, as far as the *Hypaſes*: He alſo reconcil'd this Monarch with *Taxilus*, and ſettled a Peace between them, by Means of an Alliance, equally advantageous to both. From thence he went and encamp'd on the Banks of the *Aceſines*; but great Rains having made this River overflow its Banks, and the adjacent Countries being under Water, he was oblig'd to remove his Camp higher up. Here a Fit of Sickneſs carry'd off *Cœnus*, whoſe Loſs was bewail'd by the King and the whole Army. There was not a greater Officer among the *Macedonians*, and he had diſtinguiſh'd himſelf, in a very peculiar Manner, in every Battle in which he engag'd. He was one of thoſe ſingularly good Men, zealous for the publick Good, all whoſe Actions are free from ſelf intereſted, or ambitious Views, and who bear ſo great a Love to their King, as to dare to tell him the Truth, be the Conſequence what it will. But now *Alexander* was preparing for his Departure.

His Fleet conſiſted of eight hundred Veſſels, as well Gallies as Boats, to carry the Troops and Proviſion. Every Thing being ready, the whole Army embark'd, about the Setting of the *Pleiades* or *Seven Stars*, according to *Ariſtobulus*; that is, about the End of *October*. The fifth Day, the Fleet arriv'd where the *Hydaſpes* and *Aceſines* mix their Streams. Here the Ships were very much ſhatter'd, becauſe theſe Rivers unite with ſuch prodigious Rapidity, that as great Storms ariſe in this Part, as in the open Sea. At laſt he came into

the Country of the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli*, the moſt valiant People in that Country. Theſe were perpetually at War with one another; but, having united for their mutual Safety, they had drawn together Ten Thouſand Horſe, and Four-ſcore Thouſand Foot, all vigorous young Men, and Nine Hundred Chariots. However, *Alexander* defeated them in ſeveral Engagements, diſpoſſeſs'd them of ſome ſtrong Holds, and at laſt, march'd againſt the City of the *Oxydracæ*, whither the greateſt Part were retir'd. Immediately he cauſes the Scaling Ladders to be ſet up; and, as they were not nimble enough for *Alexander*, he forces one of the Scaling Ladders from a Soldier; runs up the firſt (cover'd with his Shield) and gets to the Top of the Wall, follow'd only by *Peuceſtes* and *Limneus*. The Soldiers, believing him in Danger, mounted ſwiftly to ſupport him; but Ladders breaking, the King was left alone. Mean While, *Alexander*, ſeeing himſelf the Butt againſt which all the Darts were levell'd, both from the Towers, and from the Rampart, was ſo raſh, rather than valiant, as to leap into the City, which was crouded with the Enemy; he not having any Room to expect but to be taken, or kill'd, before it would be poſſible for him to riſe, and without once having an Opportunity to defend himſelf, or revenge his Death. But, happily for him, he pois'd his Body in ſuch a Manner, that he fell upon his Feet; and finding himſelf ſtanding, Sword in Hand he repuls'd ſuch as were neareſt him, and even kill'd the Leader of the Enemy, who advanc'd, in order to run him thro'. Happily for him a ſecond Time, not far from thence ſtood a great Tree, againſt the Trunk of which he lean'd, his Shield receiving all the Darts that were ſhot at him from far; for no one dar'd to approach him, ſo great was the Dread, which the Boldneſs of the Enterprize, and the Fire that ſhot from his Eyes, had ſtruck into the Enemy. At laſt, an *Indian* let fly an Arrow three Foot long (this being the Length of their Arrows) which piercing his Coat of Mail, enter'd a conſiderable Way into his Body, a little above the Right Side. So great a Quantity of Blood iſſued from the Wound, that he dropp'd his Arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this mighty Conqueror, this Vanquiſher of Nations, upon the Point of loſing his Life, not at the Head of his Armies, but in a Corner of an obſcure City, into which his Raſhneſs had driven him. The *Indian*, who had wounded *Alexander*, ran, in the greateſt Tranſports of Joy, to ſtrip him; however, the King no ſooner felt the Hand of his Enemy upon him, but, fir'd with the Thirſt of Revenge, he recall'd his Spirits; and, laying hold of this *Indian*, as he had no Armour, he at laſt plung'd his Dagger into his Side. Some of his chief Officers, as *Peuceſtes*, *Leonatus*, and *Timæus*, who had got to the Top of the Wall with ſome Soldiers, came up that Inſtant, and attempting Impoſſibilities, for the Sake of ſaving their Sovereign's Life, they form'd themſelves as a Bulwark round his Body, and ſuſtain'd the whole Effort of the Enemy. 'Twas then that a mighty Battle was fought round him. Nevertheleſs, the Soldiers, who had climb'd up with the Officers abovemention'd, having broken the Bolts of a little Gate ſtanding between two Towers, by that Means, let in the *Macedonians*: Soon after the Town was taken, and all the Inhabitants were put to the Sword, without Diſtinction of Age or Sex.

The firſt Care they took, was to carry *Alexander* into his Tent; where being got, the Surgeons cut off, ſo very dexterouſly, the Wood of the Shaft which had been ſhot into his Body, that they did not move the Steel-Point; and, after undreſſing him, they found it was a bearded Arrow; and that it could not be pull'd out, without Danger, unleſs the Wound was widen'd. The King bore the Operation with incredible Reſolution, ſo that there was no Occaſion for People to hold him. The Inciſion being made, and the Arrow drawn out of the Wound, ſo great a Quantity of Blood ruſh'd from it, that the King fainted away. Every one thought him dead; but the Blood being ſtopp'd, he recover'd by inſenſible Degrees, and knew the ſeveral Perſons about him. All that Day, and the whole Night after, the Army continu'd under Arms round his Tent; and would not ſtir from their Poſts, till certain News was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little Reſt.

At the End of the ſeven Days he had employ'd for his Recovery, before this Wound was clos'd, as he knew that the Report of his Death increas'd among the *Barbarians*, he caus'd two Veſſels to be join'd together, and had his Tent pitch'd in the Middle, in Sight of every one; purpoſely to ſhew himſelf to thoſe who imagin'd him dead, and to ruin, by this Means, all their Projects, and the Hopes with which they flatter'd themſelves. He afterwards went down the River, going before, at ſome Diſtance from the reſt of the Fleet, for Fear leſt the Noiſe of the Oars ſhould keep him from Sleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the Soldiers, who were upon Guard, brought him his Litter, but he refus'd it; and, calling for his Horſe, mounted him. At this Sight; all the Shore, and the neighbouring Foreſts echo'd with the Acclamations of the Army, who imagin'd they ſaw him riſe, in ſome Meaſure, from the Grave. Being come near his Tent, he alighted, and walk'd a little Way, ſurrounded with a great Number of Soldiers, ſome of whom kiſs'd his Hands, whilſt others claſp'd his Knees; others again were contented with only touching his Cloaths, and with ſeeing him; but all, in general, burſt into Tears, and calling for a Thouſand Bleſſings from Heaven, wiſh'd him long Life, and an uninterrupted Series of Proſperity.

At this Inſtant Deputies came from the *Malli*, with the Chiefs of the *Oxydracæ*, being one Hundred and ſixty, beſides the Governors of the Cities, and of the Province, who brought him Preſents, and paid Homage to him, pleading, in Excuſe for not having done it before, their ſtrong Love of Liberty. They declar'd, that they were ready to receive for their Governor, whomſoever he pleas'd to nominate; that they would pay him Tribute, and give him Hoſtages. He requir'd them to ſurrender up a Thouſand of the chief Perſons of their Nation, whom he alſo might make uſe of in War, till ſuch Time as he had ſubjected all the Country. They put into his Hands ſuch of his Countrymen as were handſomeſt, and beſt ſhap'd, with five hundred Chariots, though not demanded by him; at which the King was ſo well pleas'd, that he gave them back their Hoſtages,

tages, and appointed *Philip* for their Governor.

Alexander, who was overjoy'd at this Embaſſy, and found his Strength increaſe daily, taſted with ſo much the greater Pleaſure, the Fruits both of his Victory and Health, as he had like to have loſt them for ever; whereupon, his chief Courtiers, and moſt intimate Friends, thought it a proper Juncture, during this Calm and Serenity of his Mind, for them to pour out their Souls, and expoſe their Fears to him: 'Twas *Craterus* ſpoke on this Occaſion. "We begin, Royal Sir, to "breathe and live, now we find you in the Con- "dition to which the Goodneſs of the Gods has "reſtor'd you. But how great were our Fears "and our Griefs! How ſeverely did we reproach "ourſelves, for having abandon'd, in ſuch an "Extremity, our King, our Father! 'Twas not "in our Power to follow him; but this did not "extenuate our Guilt, and we look upon our- "ſelves as Criminals, in not having attempted "Impoſſibilities for your Sake. But, Sir, never "plunge us in ſuch deep Affliction hereafter. "Does a wretched, paltry Town, deſerve to be "bought at ſo dear a Price, as the Loſs of your "Life? Leave thoſe petty Exploits and Com- "bats to us, and preſerve your Perſon for ſuch "Occaſions only as are worthy of it. We ſtill "ſhudder with Horror, when we reflect on what "we ſo lately were Spectators of. We have ſeen "the Moment, when the moſt abject Hands upon "Earth were going to ſeize the greateſt Prince "in the Univerſe, and deſpoil him of his Robes. "Permit us, Sir, to ſay, you are not your own "Maſter, but owe yourſelf to us: We have a "Right over your Life, ſince ours depends on "it; and we dare take the Freedom to conjure "you, as being your Subjects, and your Chil- "dren, to be more careful of ſo precious a Life, "if not for your own Sake, at leaſt for ours, and "for the Felicity of the Univerſe."

The King was ſtrongly touch'd with theſe Teſtimonies of their Affection, and having embrac'd them ſeverally, with inexpreſſible Tenderneſs, he anſwer'd as follows: *I cannot enough thank you all preſent, who are the Flower of my Citizens and Friends, not only for your having, this Day, preferr'd my Safety to your own, but alſo for the ſtrong Proofs you have given me of your Zeal and Affection, ever ſince I firſt ſet out upon my Campaign; and, if any Thing is capable of making me wiſh for a longer Life, it is the Pleaſure of enjoying, for Years to come, ſuch valuable Friends as you. But give me Leave to obſerve, that, in ſome Caſes, we differ very much in Opinion. You wiſh to enjoy me long; and even, if it were poſſible, for ever; but, as to myſelf, I compute the Length of my Exiſtence, not by Years, but by Glory. I might have confin'd my Ambition within the narrow Limits of* Macedonia; *and, contented with the Kingdom my Anceſtors left me, have waited, in the Midſt of Pleaſures and Indolence, for an inglorious Old Age. I own, that, if my Victories, not my Years, are computed, I ſhall ſeem to have liv'd long; but, can you imagine that, after having made* Europe *and* Aſia *but one Empire; after having conquer'd the two nobleſt Parts of the World, in the Tenth Year of my Reign, and the Thirtieth of my Age, that it will become me to ſtop in the midſt of ſo noble a Career, and diſcontinue the Purſuit of Glory, to which I have entirely devoted myſelf? Know, that this Glory ennobles all Things, and gives a true and ſolid Grandeur to whatever appears inſignificant. In what Place ſoever I may fight, I ſhall fancy myſelf upon the Stage of the World, and in Preſence of all Mankind. I confeſs that I have atchiev'd mighty Things hitherto; but the Country we are now in, reproaches me that a Woman has done ſtill greater. 'Tis* Semiramis *I mean. How many Nations did ſhe conquer! How many Cities were built by her! What magnificent and ſtupendous Works did ſhe finiſh! How ſhameful is it that I ſhould have not yet riſen to ſo exalted a Pitch of Glory! Do but correſpond with my Ardour, and I ſhall ſoon ſurpaſs her. Defend me only from ſecret Cabals, and domeſtick Treaſons, by which moſt Princes loſe their Lives, I take the Reſt upon myſelf, and will be anſwerable to you for the Events of the War.*

This Speech gives us a perfect Idea of *Alexander*'s Character; he had no Notion of true Glory; he did not know either the Principle, Rule, or End of it; he certainly plac'd it where it was not; he was ſtrongly perſuaded of the vulgar Error, and cheriſh'd it; he fancy'd himſelf born meerly for Glory; and that none could be acquir'd but by ſuch Conqueſts as were unbounded, unjuſt, and irregular. In the impetuous Tranſports with which a miſtaken Glory fir'd him, he follow'd neither Reaſon, Virtue, nor Humanity; and, as though his ambitious Caprices ought to have been a Rule and Standard to all other Men, he was ſurpriz'd that neither his Officers nor his Soldiers would enter into his Views; and aſſiſted, but very unwillingly, his ridiculous Enterprizes.

After having ended his Speech, *Alexander* diſmiſs'd the Aſſembly, and continu'd encamp'd for ſeveral Days in that Place: He afterwards went upon the River, and his Army march'd after him upon the Banks. He then came among the *Sabracæ*, a powerful Nation of *Indians*; who had levy'd ſixty Thouſand Foot, and ſix Thouſand Horſe, and reinforc'd them with five Hundred Chariots: However, the Arrival of *Alexander* ſpread a Terror through the whole Country, and accordingly they ſent Embaſſadors to ſurrender themſelves. After having built another City, which he alſo call'd *Alexandria*, he arriv'd in the Territories of *Muſicanus*, a very rich Prince, and afterwards in thoſe of King *Samus*. 'Twas there that *Ptolomy* was dangerouſly wounded; for the *Indians* had poiſon'd all their Arrows and Swords, ſo that the Wounds they made were mortal. *Alexander*, who had the higheſt Love and Eſteem for *Ptolomy*, was very much afflicted, and caus'd him to be brought in his Bed near him, that he himſelf might have an Eye to his Cure. He was his near Relation, and, according to ſome Writers, a natural Son of *Philip*: He was one of the braveſt Men in the Army, was highly eſteem'd in War, and had greater Talents for Peace. He was averſe to Luxury, vaſtly generous, eaſy of Acceſs, and did not imitate the Pomp, which Wealth and Proſperity had made the reſt of the *Macedonian* Noblemen indulge themſelves in: In a Word, 'tis hard to ſay, whether he was moſt eſteem'd by his Sovereign or his Countrymen. We are told, there appear'd to him, in a Dream, a Dragon, which preſented him an Herb, as an effectual Remedy: And that, upon his waking, he order'd it to be ſent for, when laying it upon the Wound, it was heal'd

heal'd in a few Days, which fill'd the Army with univerſal Joy.

The King continuing his Voyage, arriv'd at *Patala*, about the Beginning of the *Dog-Days*, that is, about the End of *July*; ſo that the Fleet was employ'd nine Months, at leaſt, from its ſetting out, till its Arrival at *Patala*. There the River *Indus* divides into two large Arms, and forms an Iſland, but much larger, like the *Delta* of the *File*; and hence the City abovemention'd receiv'd its Name, *Patala*, according to *Arrian*, ſignifying in the *Indian* Tongue, the ſame as *Delta* in the *Greek*. *Alexander* caus'd a Citadel to be built in *Patala*, as alſo a Harbour, and an Arſenal for the Shipping: This being done, he embark'd on the Right Arm of the River, in order to ſail as far as the *Ocean*, expoſing, in this Manner, ſo many brave Men, to the Mercy of a River, with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only Conſolation they had, in this raſh Enterprize, was, *Alexander*'s uninterrupted Succeſs. By that Time he had ſail'd twenty Leagues, the Pilots told him they felt the Sea-Air, and therefore believ'd the *Ocean* could not be far off. Upon this News, leaping for Joy, he beſought the Sailors to row with all their Strength, and told the Soldiers; *That they, at laſt, were come to the End of their Toils, which they had ſo earneſtly deſir'd; that now, nothing could oppoſe their Valour, nor add to their Glory; that without fighting any more, or ſpilling of Blood, they were Maſters of the Univerſe; that their Exploits had the ſame Boundaries with Nature; and that they would be Spectators of Things known only to the immortal Gods.*

Being come nearer the Sea, an Incident, that was new and unheard of, with Regard to the *Macedonians*, threw them into the utmoſt Confuſion, and expos'd the Fleet to the greateſt Danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the *Ocean*. Forming a Judgment of this wide extended Sea, from that of the *Mediterranean*, which only was known to them, and whoſe Ebbings are imperceptible, they were very much aſtoniſh'd when they ſaw it ſwell to a great Height, and overflow the Country; and look'd upon it as a Mark of the Anger of the Gods, to puniſh their Raſhneſs. They were no leſs ſurpriz'd and terrify'd ſome Hours after, when they ſaw the ebbing of the Sea, which now withdrew, as it had before advanc'd, leaving thoſe Lands uncover'd it had ſo lately overflow'd. The Fleet was very much ſhatter'd, and the Ships being upon dry Land, the Fields were cover'd with Cloaths, with broken Oars and Planks, as after a great Storm.

At laſt *Alexander*, after having ſail'd full nine Months in Rivers, arriv'd at the *Ocean*, where gazing with the utmoſt Eagerneſs upon that vaſt Expanſe of Waters, he imagin'd that this Sight, worthy ſo great a Conqueror as himſelf, greatly overpaid all the Toils he had undergone, and the many Thouſand Men he had loſt, to arrive at it. He then offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, and particularly to *Neptune*; threw into the Sea the Bulls he had ſlaughter'd, and a great Number of Golden Cups; and beſought the Gods, not to ſuffer any Mortal after him, to exceed the Bounds of his Expedition. Finding he had extended his Conqueſts to the Extremities of the Earth, on that Side, he imagin'd he had compleated his mighty Deſign; and, highly delighted with himſelf, he went and join'd the reſt of his Fleet and Army, which waited for him in *Patala*, or the Neighbourhood thereof.

Being return'd to *Patala*, *Alexander* prepar'd all Things for the Departure of his Fleet; and appointed *Nearchus* Admiral of it, the only Officer, who had the Courage to accept of this Commiſſion, which was a very hazardous one, becauſe they were to ſail over a Sea quite unknown to them. The King was very much pleas'd at his accepting it; and, after teſtifying his Acknowledgment upon that Account, in the moſt obliging Terms, commanded him to take the beſt Ships in the Fleet, and ſound the Sea-Coaſt, extending from *Indus* to the Bottom of the *Perſian* Gulph: And, after having given theſe Orders, he ſet out by Land for *Babylon*.

However, *Nearchus* did not leave the *Indus* at the ſame Time with *Alexander*; it was not then the Seaſon proper for Sailing. 'Twas Summer, when the *Southern* Sea-Winds riſe; and the Seaſon of the *North*-Winds, which blow in Winter, was not yet come. He, therefore, did not ſet Sail till about the End of *September*, which was too ſoon; and accordingly, he was incommoded by Winds ſome Days after his Departure, and oblig'd to ſhelter himſelf for twenty-four Days. We are beholden for theſe Particulars to *Arrian*; who has given us an exact Journal of this Voyage, copy'd from that of *Nearchus* the Admiral.

After having left *Patala*, *Alexander* march'd through the Country of the *Oritæ*, the Capital whereof was call'd *Ora* or *Rhambacis*; where he was in ſuch Want of Proviſions, that he loſt a great Number of Soldiers; and brought back from *India* ſcarce the fourth Part of his Army, which had conſiſted of an Hundred and Twenty Thouſand Foot, and Fifteen Thouſand Horſe Sickneſs, bad Food, and the exceſſive Heats had ſwept away a numberleſs Multitude; but Famine made a ſtill greater Havock in this barren Country, which was neither plough'd nor ſow'd; its Inhabitants being Savages, who far'd very hard, and led a moſt uncomfortable Life. After they had eaten all the Palm-Tree Roots that could be met with, they were oblig'd to feed upon the Beaſts of Burthen, and next upon their War-Horſes: And after they had no Beaſts left to carry their Baggage, they were forc'd to burn thoſe rich Spoils, for the Sake of which the *Macedonians* had run through the Extremities of the Earth. The Plague, a Diſeaſe, which generally accompanies Famine, compleated the Calamity of the Soldiers, and deſtroy'd great Numbers of them.

However, after marching ſixty Days, *Alexander* arriv'd on the Confines of *Gedroſia*, where he found Plenty of all Things: For the Soil was not only fruitful, but the Kings, and Great Men who lay neareſt that Country, ſent him all Kind of Proviſions. He continued ſome Time there, in order to refreſh his Army. The Governors of *India* having ſent, by his Order, a great Number of Horſes, and all Kinds of Beaſts of Burthen, from the ſeveral Kingdoms ſubject to him, he remounted his Troops; equipp'd thoſe who had loſt every Thing; and ſoon after preſented all of them with Arms, as beautiful as thoſe they had before; which it was very eaſy for him to do, as they were upon the Confines of *Perſia*, at that Time in Peace, and in a very flouriſhing Condition.

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He arriv'd in *Carmania*, now call'd *Kerman*, and went through it, not with the Air and Equipage of a Warrior and a Conqueror, but in a Kind of Maſquerade, and *Bacchanalian* Feſtivity; committing the moſt riotous and extravagant Actions. He was drawn by eight Horſes, himſelf being ſeated on a magnificent Chariot, above which a Scaffold was rais'd, ſhap'd like a ſquare Stage, where he paſs'd the Days and Nights in Feaſts and Carouſing. This Chariot was preceded, and follow'd, by a numberleſs Multitude of others, ſome of which, in the Shape of Tents, were cover'd with rich Carpets, and Purple Coverlets; and others, ſhap'd like Cradles, were overſhadow'd with Branches of Trees. On the Sides of the Roads, and at the Doors of Houſes, a great Number of ſtav'd Casks were plac'd, whence the Soldiers drew Wine in large Flaggons, Cups and Goblets, got ready for that Purpoſe. The whole Country round echo'd with the Sound of Inſtruments, and the Howling of the *Bacchantes*, who, with their Hair diſhevel'd, and, like ſo many frantick Creatures, ran up and down, indulging themſelves in licentious Acts of every Kind. Theſe ſeveral Things he did, in Imitation of the Triumph of *Bacchus*; who, as we are told, croſs'd all *Aſia* in this intemperate Manner, after he had conquer'd *India*. This riotous, diſſolute March laſted ſeven Days, during all which Time the Army was never ſober. 'Twas very happy (ſays *Quintus Curtius*) for them, that the conquer'd Nations did not think of attacking them in this Conditon; for a Thouſand reſolute Men, well arm'd, might, with great Eaſe, have defeated theſe Victors of the World, when thus immers'd in Wine and Exceſs.

Mean While, *Nearchus* ſtill going along the Sea-Coaſt, from the Mouth of the *Indus*, came at laſt into the *Perſian* Gulph, and arriv'd at the Iſland of *Harmuſia*, now call'd *Ormus*; where he was inform'd *Alexander* was not above five Days Journey from him. Having left the Fleet, therefore, in a ſecure Place, he went to meet *Alexander*, accompany'd only by four Perſons. The King was very anxious about his Navy, and when News was brought him *Nearchus* was come almoſt alone, he imagin'd it had been intirely deſtroy'd; and that the Admiral had been ſo very happy, as to eſcape from the general Defeat. His Arrival confirm'd him ſtill more in his Opinion, when he beheld a Company of pale, lean Creatures, whoſe Countenances were ſo much chang'd, it was ſcarce poſſible to know them again. Wherefore, taking *Nearchus* aſide, he told him, he was overjoy'd at his Return, but at the ſame Time was inconſolable for the Loſs of his Fleet. *Your Fleet, Royal Sir,* cry'd he immediately, *Thanks to the Gods, is not loſt*: Upon which he told him the Condition in which he left it; at which *Alexander* could not refrain from Tears, and confeſs'd, this happy News gave him greater Pleaſure than the Conqueſt of all *Aſia*. He heard, with uncommon Delight, the Account *Nearchus* gave of his Voyage, and the Diſcoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the *Euphrates* as far as *Babylon*, purſuant to the firſt Orders he had given him.

In *Carmania*, many Complaints were made to *Alexander*, concerning Governors, and other Officers, who had grievouſly oppreſs'd the People of various Provinces, during his Abſence; for, fully perſuaded he would never turn back, they had exercis'd every Kind of Rapine, Tyranny, Cruelty and Injuſtice. But *Alexander*, ſtrongly affected with their Grievances, and pierc'd to the very Soul with their juſt Complaints, put to Death as many as were guilty of Male-Adminiſtration, and with them, ſix hundred Soldiers, who had been the Inſtruments of their Exactions, and other Crimes. He even afterwards treated with the ſame Severity, all ſuch of his Officers, as were convicted of the like Guilt; ſo that his Government was belov'd by all the conquer'd Nations. He was of Opinion, a Prince owes this ſhining Example to his Equity, which ought to check every Kind of Irregularity; to his Glory, to prove he does not connive, or ſhare in the Injuſtice committed under his Name; to the Conſolation of his Subjects, whom he arms with a Vengeance they themſelves ought never to exerciſe; in ſhort, to the Safety of his Dominions, which, by ſo equitable an Adminiſtration, is ſecur'd from many Dangers, and very often from Inſurrections. 'Tis a great Unhappineſs to a Kingdom, when every Part of it echoes with Exactions, Vexations, Oppreſſions, and Bribery, and not ſo much as a ſingle Man is puniſh'd, as a Terror to the Reſt; and that the whole Weight of the publick Authority falls only upon the People, and never on thoſe who plunder them.

The great Pleaſure *Alexander* took, in the Account which *Nearchus* gave him of his fortunate Voyage, made that Prince have a great Inclination to ſail upon the *Ocean*. He propos'd no leſs than to proceed from the *Perſian* Gulf, round *Arabia* and *Africa*, and return into the *Mediterranean*, by the Streights of *Gibraltar*, call'd at that Time the *Pillars* of *Hercules*; a Voyage, which had been ſeveral times attempted, and once perform'd, by Order of a King of *Egypt*, call'd *Nechao*, as we obſerv'd upon another Occaſion. 'Twas afterwards his Deſign, when he ſhould have check'd the Pride of *Carthage*, againſt which he was greatly exaſperated, to croſs into *Spain*, called, by the *Greeks*, *Iberia*, from the River *Iberus*: He next, was to march over the *Alps*, and coaſt along *Italy*, where he would have had but a ſhort Paſſage into *Epirus*, and from thence into *Macedonia*. For this Purpoſe, he ſent Orders to the Vice-Roys of *Meſopotamia* and *Syria*, to build in ſeveral Parts of the *Euphrates*, and particularly at *Thapſacus*, Ships ſufficient for that Enterprize; and he caus'd to be fell'd, on Mount *Libanus*, a great Number of Trees, which were to be carry'd to the above-mention'd City. But this Deſign, as well as a great many more he meditated, were all defeated by his immature Death.

Continuing his March, he went to *Paſſargadæ*, a City of *Perſia*; *Orſines* was Governor of the County, and the greateſt Nobleman in it. He deſcended from *Cyrus*; and, beſides the Wealth he inherited from his Anceſtors, he himſelf had amaſs'd great Treaſures, having, for many Years preſided over a large Country. He had done the King a ſignal Piece of Service: The *Perſian*, who commanded over the Provinces during *Alexander*'s Expedition into *India*, happen'd to die; when *Orſines* obſerving, that, for Want of a Governor, all Things were running to Confuſion, took the Adminiſtration upon himſelf; compos'd Matters

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very happily; and preserved them in the utmost Tranquillity till the King's Arrival. He went to meet him, with Presents of all kinds for himself, as well as his Officers; consisting of a great Number of fine manag'd Horses, Chariots enrich'd with Gold and Silver, precious Moveables, Jewels, golden Vessels of prodigious Weight, purple Robes, and four thousand Talents of Silver in *Specie*. However, this generous Magnificence proved fatal to him; for he presented such Gifts to the principal Grandees of the Court, as infinitely exceeded their Expectations, but gave nothing to the Eunuch *Bagoas*, the King's Favourite; and this not from Forgetfulness, but out of Contempt; for some Persons telling him how much the King loved *Bagoas*, he answer'd, *I honour the King's Friends, but not an infamous Eunuch.* These Words being told *Bagoas*, he employ'd all his Credit to ruin this Prince, sprung from the noblest Blood in the *East*, and irreproachable in his Conduct. He even brib'd some of his Attendants, giving them Instructions how to impeach him at a proper Season; and in the mean Time, whenever he was alone with the King, he fill'd his Mind with Suspicions and Distrust, letting drop ambiguous Words against that Nobleman, as though it were by Chance; and dissembling very artfully the Motives of his Discontent. Nevertheless, the King suspended his Judgment for the present, but discover'd less Esteem than before for *Orsines*; who knew nothing of what was plotting against him, so secretly the Affair was carry'd on; whilst the Eunuch, in his private Discourses with *Alexander*, was perpetually charging him either with Exactions or Treason.

The great Danger to which Princes are expos'd, is the suffering themselves to be thus prejudiced and over-reach'd by their Favourites; a Danger so common, that St. *Bernard*, writing to Pope *Eugenius*, assured him, he if were exempt from that Weakness, he might boast himself to be the only Man in the World that was so. What is here spoken of Princes, is aplicable to all who represent them: Great Men generally listen with Pleasure to the Slanderer, and for this Reason, because he generally puts on the Mask of Affection and Zeal, which sooths their Pride. Slander always makes some Impression on the most equitable Minds; and leaves behind it such dark and melancholly Traces, as raise Suspicions, Jealousies, and Distrusts. The artful Slanderer is bold and indefatigable, because he is sure to escape unpunish'd; and is sensible, that he runs but very little Danger, in greatly prejudicing others. As to the Great, they seldom enquire into secret Calumnies, either from Indolence or Giddiness; their Shame to appear suspicious, fearful, or diffident; in short, from their Unwillingness to own, that they were impos'd upon, and had abandon'd themselves to a rash Credulity. In this Manner, the most unsully'd Virtue, and the most irreproachable Fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable Ruin.

Of this we have a sad Example, on this Occasion; *Bagoas*, after having taken his Measures from far, at last gave Birth to his dark Design: *Alexander*, having caused the Monument of *Cyrus* to be opened, in order to perform funeral Honours to the Ashes of that great Prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten Shield, two *Scythian* Bows, and a Scimetar; whereas he hop'd to have found it full of Gold and Silver, as the *Persians* had reported. Upon this, the King laid a golden Crown on his Urn, and cover'd it with his Cloak; vastly surpriz'd, that so powerful and renown'd a Prince had not been buried with greater Pomp than a private Man. *Bagoas*, thinking this a proper Time for him to speak, "Are we to wonder, says he, "to find the Tombs of Kings so empty, since the "Houses of the Governors of Provinces are fill'd "with the Gold they drew from them? I, indeed, "have never seen this Monument; but I have "heard *Darius* say, that immense Treasures were "buried in it: Hence flow'd the unbounded Li"berality and Profusion of *Orsines*, who, by be"stowing what he could not keep, without ruin"ing himself, thought to make a Merit thereof "to you." This Charge was without the least Foundation; and yet the *Magi*, who guarded the Sepulchre, were put to the Torture, but all to no Purpose; and nothing was discover'd relating to the pretended Theft. Their Silence, on this Occasion, ought reasonably to have clear'd *Orsines*; but the artful, insinuating Discourses of *Bagoas*, had made a deep Impression on the Mind of *Alexander*, and by that Means given Calumny an easy Access to it. The Accusers, whom *Bagoas* had suborn'd, having made Choice of a favourable Moment, came and impeach'd *Orsines*, charging him with the Commission of several odious Crimes, and among the rest, with stealing the Treasures of the Monument. At this Charge, the Matter appear'd no longer doubtful, and the Indications were thought sufficient; so that this Prince was loaded with Chains, before he so much as suspected that any Accusation had been brought against him; and was put to death, without being so much as heard, or confronted with his Accusers. Too unhappy Fate of such Kings, as do not personally listen to, and examine Things; and who still continue infatuated, notwithstanding the numberless Examples they read in History of Princes, who have fallen into the like Snare.

We have already said, that there had follow'd the King an *Indian*, call'd *Calanus*, reputed the wisest Man of his Country; who, though he profes's'd the Practice of the most severe Philosophy, had yet been persuaded, in his extreme old Age, to attend upon the Court. This Man, having lived fourscore and three Years, without having been once afflicted with Sickness; and having a very severe Fit of the Cholick, upon his Arrival at *Passagardæ*, resolved to put himself to death: Resolutely determin'd, not to let the perfect Health, he had always enjoy'd, be injur'd by lingring Pains; and being also assur'd of falling into the Hands of Physicians, and of being tortur'd with Loads of Medicines, he besought the King to order the erecting of a funeral Pile for him; and desir'd, that after he had ascended it, Fire might be set to it. *Alexander* imagin'd *Calanus* might eaily be dissuaded from so dreadful a Design; but finding, in Spite of all the Arguments he could use, that *Calanus* was still inflexible, he was, at last, obliged to acquiesce with it. *Calanus* then rode on Horseback to the Foot of the funeral Pile; offer'd up his Prayers to the Gods; caused Libations to be perform'd upon himself, and the rest of the Ceremonies to be observed, which are practised at Funerals; cut off a Tuft of his Hair, in Imitation of Victims; embraced such of his Friends as were present; intreated them to be merry that Day,

and to feaſt and carouſe with *Alexander*; aſſuring them, at the ſame Time, that he would ſoon ſee that Prince in *Babylon*. After ſaying theſe Words, he aſcended, with the utmoſt Chearfulneſs, the funeral Pile, laid himſelf down upon it, and cover'd his Face; and, when the Flame reach'd him, he did not make the leaſt Motion; but, with a Patience and Conſtancy that ſurpriz'd the whole Army, continued in the Poſture in which he at firſt had laid himſelf; and compleated his Sacrifice, by dying purſuant to the Cuſtom practiſed by the Sages of his Country.

Hiſtorians inform us, that People differ'd very much in their Opinion of this Action: Some condemn'd it, as ſuiting only a frantick, ſenſeleſs Wretch; others imagin'd, he was prompted to it out of Vain-glory, merely for the Sake of being gazed at, and to paſs for a Miracle in Conſtancy, (and theſe were not miſtaken;) others again, applauded this falſe Heroiſm, which had thus enabled him to triumph over Sorrow and Death.

Alexander, being return'd into his Tent, after this dreadful Ceremony, invited ſeveral of his Friends and General-Officers to Supper; and, in Compliance with the Requeſt of *Calanus*, and to do him Honour, he propoſed a Crown, as a Reward for him who ſhould quaff moſt. He, who who conquer'd on this Occaſion, was *Promachus*, who ſwallow'd four Meaſures of Wine, that is, eighteen or twenty Quarts. After receiving the Prize, which was a Crown worth a Talent, he ſurvived his Victory but three Days. Of theſe Gueſts, Forty-one were kill'd by their Intemperance: A Scene, worthy of cloſing that which *Calanus* had acted a little before!

From *Paſſagardæ*, *Alexander* came to *Perſepolis*; and, ſurveying the Remains of the Conflagration, was exaſperated againſt himſelf, for his Folly in ſetting Fire to it: From thence he advanced towards *Suſa*: Mean while, *Nearchus*, in Compliance with his Orders, had begun to ſail up the *Euphrates* with his Fleet; but, upon Advice that *Alexander* was going to *Suſa*, he came down again to the Mouth of the *Paſi-tigris*, and ſail'd up that River to a Bridge, which *Alexander* was to croſs; and there the Naval and Land-armies join'd: Hereupon, the King offer'd to his Gods Sacrifices, by Way of Thanks for his happy Return, and great Rejoycings were made in the Camp; and *Nearchus* received the Honours due to him, for the Care he had taken of the Fleet; and for having conducted it ſo far ſafe, through numberleſs Dangers.

In *Suſa*, *Alexander* found all the Captives of Quality he had left there; whereupon, he marryied *Statira*, the eldeſt Daughter of *Darius*, and gave the youngeſt to his dear *Hephæſtion*: And in order that, by making theſe Marriages more common, his own might not be cenſur'd, he perſuaded the greateſt Noblemen of his Court, and his principal Favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they choſe, from among the nobleſt Families of *Perſia*, about fourſcore young Maidens, whom they marry'd. His Deſign was, by theſe Alliances, to cement ſo ſtrongly the Union of the two Nations, that they ſhould thenceforward form but one, under his Empire: The Nuptials were ſolemnized after the *Perſian* Manner. He likewiſe feaſted all the reſt of the *Macedonians*, who had marry'd before in that Countay; and it is ſaid, that there were nine thouſand Gueſts at this Feaſt, and that he gave each of them a golden Cup, for the Libations.

Not ſatisfy'd with this Bounty, he would alſo pay his Soldiers Debts: But finding that ſeveral would not declare the Sum they ow'd, for fear of its being an Artifice, merely to diſcover thoſe among them who were too laviſh of their Money, he appointed, in his Camp, Offices, where all Debts were paid, without asking the Name either of the Debtor or Creditor. His Liberality was very great on this Occaſion, and gave prodigious Satisfaction; we are told, that it amounted to near ten thouſand Talents; but his Indulgence, in permitting every Perſon to conceal his Name, was a ſtill more agreeable Circumſtance. This done, he reproach'd the Soldiers, for their ſeeming to ſuſpect the Truth of his Promiſe; and ſaid to them, That *a King ought never to forfeit his Word with his Subjects; nor his Subjects ſuſpect that he could be guilty of ſo ſhameful a Prevarication.* A truly royal Maxim! as it forms the Security of a People, and the moſt ſolid Glory of a Prince; which, at the ſame Time, may be infring'd for ever, by the Violation of a ſingle Promiſe; and this, in Affairs of Government, is the moſt fatal of all Errors.

At this Time, there arrived at *Suſa*, Thirty thouſand *Perſian* young Men, moſt being of the ſame Age, and call'd *Epigones*, that is, *Succeſſors*; as coming to relieve the old Soldiers in their Duty and long Fatigues. Such only had been made Choice of, as were the ſtrongeſt, and beſt ſhap'd in all *Perſia*; and had been ſent to the Governors of ſuch Cities, as were either founded or conquer'd by *Alexander*; who had inſtructed them in military Diſcipline, and in all Things relating to the Science of War. They were all very neatly dreſs'd, and arm'd after the *Macedonian* Manner, and came and encamp'd before the City, where, drawing up in Battle-array, they were review'd; and perform'd their Exerciſes before the King, who was extremely well pleaſed, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the *Macedonians* took great Umbrage. And indeed, *Alexander* obſerving the latter were harraſs'd and tir'd out with the Length of the War, and often murmur'd in the Aſſemblies; for that Reaſon was deſirous of training up theſe new Forces, purpoſely to check the Licentiouſneſs of the Veterans: However, 'tis dangerous to diſguſt a whole Nation, and to favour Foreigners too openly.

In the mean Time, *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander*, during his Expedition into *India*, had appointed Governor of *Babylon*, left his Service: Flattering himſelf with the Hopes, that this young Prince would never return from his Wars in that Country, he had given a Looſe to all kinds of Diſſoluteneſs, and conſum'd, in his infamous Revelling, Part of the Wealth with which he had been entruſted: Wherefore, as ſoon as he was inform'd that *Alexander*, in his Return from *India*, puniſh'd very ſeverely ſuch of his Governors as had abus'd their Power, he meditated how he might beſt ſecure himſelf; and for this Purpoſe, he amaſs'd five thouſand Talents, that is, fifteen Millions; aſſembled ſix thouſand Soldiers, withdrew into *Attica*, and landed at *Athens*. Immediately all ſuch Orators as made a Trade of Eloquence, ran to him in Crowds, ready to take a Bribe, and corrupted

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by Hope: *Harpalus* distributed a little Portion of his Wealth among these Orators, to gain them over to his Interest, but he sent *Phocion* seven hundred Talents, and even put his Person, under his Protection, well knowing the prodigious Authority he had over the People.

The Fame of his Probity, and particularly of his Disinterestedness, had gain'd him this Credit: *Philip*'s Deputies having offer'd him great Sums of Money in that Prince's Name; and intreating him to accept them, if not for himself, at least, for his Children; who were so poor, that it would be impossible for them to support the Glory of his Name: *If they resemble me* (reply'd *Phocion*) *the little Spot of Ground, on the Produce of which I have hitherto liv'd, and which has rais'd me to the Glory you mention, will be sufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I don't intent to leave them Wealth, meerly to enourage and heighten their Luxury.* *Alexander* having likewise sent him an hundred Talents, *Phocion* ask'd those who brought them, with what Design *Alexander* sent him so great a Sum, but did not remit any to the Rest of the *Athenians*? *'Tis* (reply'd they) *because* Alexander *looks upon you as the only just and virtuous Man: Then* (says *Phocion*) *let him suffer me still to enjoy that Character, and be really what I am taken for.*

This premis'd, the Reader will suppose, he did not give a more favourable Reception to the Persons sent by *Harpalus:* And, indeed, he spoke to them in very harsh Terms, declaring, he should immediately take such Measures, as would be very disagreeable to the Person on whose Errand they came, in Case he did not leave off bribing the City; so that *Harpalus* lost all Hopes from that Quarter.

Demosthenes did not, at first, shew more Favour to *Harpalus:* He even advis'd the *Athenians* to drive him out from their City, and not involve it in a War, upon a very unjust Account, and at the same Time, without the least Necessity. But, some Days after, *Harpalus*, as an Inventory was making of his Goods, having observ'd *Demosthenes* took a particular Pleasure, in viewing one of the King's Cups of solid Gold; and that he admir'd the Fashion, and the Beauty of the Workmanship; desir'd him to poise it in his Hand, and tell him *the Weight of it.* *Demosthenes* taking the Cup, was surpriz'd at its Heaviness, and accordingly ask'd him how much it weigh'd? *Harpalus* answer'd with a Smile, *Twenty Talents, I believe*; and that very Evening he sent him that Sum with the Cup; for so great was the Penetration of *Harpalus*, he could discover, by the Air, and certain Glances, the *Foible* of a Man who was smitten with the Charms of Gold. *Demosthenes* could not resist its Power; but, overcome by this Present, and being no longer Master of himself, he join'd on a sudden, with the Party of *Harpalus*; and the very next Morning, wrapping his Neck round several times with Woollen Cloth, which was ty'd very close, he went to the Assembly. The People then order'd him to rise, and make a Speech, but he refus'd, making Signs as though his Voice was lost; upon which, some Wags cry'd aloud, their Orator had been seiz'd in the Night, not with a *Squincy*, but an *Argyrancy*; giving thereby to understand, the Money of *Harpalus* had suppres's'd his Speech.

However, the People, being told next Day of the Gift which had been sent to *Demosthenes*, were highly exasperated, and refus'd to hear his Justification. *Harpalus* was, thereupon, drove from the City; and, in order to discover the Persons who had taken Bribes, the Magistrates commanded a strict Search to be made in all the Houses; that of *Caricles* excepted, who, having marry'd but a little before, was exempt from this Enquiry, in Respect to his Bride. The Politeness shewn, on this Occasion, does Honour to *Athens*, and is not always exercis'd where it is due.

Demosthenes, to prove his Innocence, propos'd a Decree, by which the Senate of the *Areopagus* was empower'd to take Cognizance of this Matter: Accordingly, he was first judg'd in it, and fin'd, upon his being convicted, fifty Talents, which not paying, he was thrown into Prison; however, he found Means to escape, and left his Country. He did not behave with Resolution and Magnanimity in his Banishment; he residing generally at *Ægina*, or *Træzene*; nay, every time he cast his Eyes on *Attica*, his Face would be cover'd with Tears; and he suffer'd such Words to drop from him, as were unworthy a brave Man; Words, which by no Means correspond with the bold, generous Actions, perform'd by him during his Administration. *Cicero* was reproach'd with the same Weakness, during his Exile; which shews great Men are not such at all Times, and on all Occasions.

'Twere to be wish'd, for the Honour of Eloquence, what *Pausanias* relates, in Justification of *Demosthenes*, were true; and it is very probable it was so. According to this Author, *Harpalus*, after his flying from *Athens*, was seiz'd by *Philoxenus*, the *Macedonian*; and being rack'd, to extort from him the Names of such *Athenians*, as had been brib'd by him, he did not once mention *Demosthenes*; whose Name, had he been guilty, he would not have suppres's'd before *Philoxenus*, as that Orator was his Enemy.

Upon the first Report of this Fugitive's flying to *Athens*; *Alexander*, fully determin'd to go in Person to punish *Harpalus*, and the *Athenians*, had commanded a Fleet to be equipp'd: But, after News was brought, that the People had assembled together, and order'd him to depart their City, he laid aside all Thoughts of returning into *Europe*.

In the mean While, *Alexander* having still a Curiosity to see the *Ocean*, came down, from *Susa*, upon the River *Eulæus*; and, after having coasted the *Persian* Gulph to the Mouth of the *Tigris*, he went up the latter River, towards the Army, which was encamp'd on the Banks of it, near the City of *Opis*, under the Command of *Hephæstion*.

Upon his Arrival there, he publish'd a Declaration in the Camp, by which all *Macedonians*, who, by Reason of their Age, Wounds, or any other Infirmity, were unable to support the Fatigues of their Service any longer, might return into *Greece*; declaring, his Design was to discharge them, to be bountiful to them, and send them back to their native Country, in a safe and honourable Manner. His Intention in making this Declaration, was to oblige, and, at the same Time, give them the strongest Proof how much they

they were in his Eſteem. However, the very contrary happen'd: For, being already diſguſted upon ſome other Accounts, eſpecially. becauſe of the viſible Preference which *Alexander* gave to Foreigners; they imagin'd, his Reſolution was to make *Aſia* the Seat of his Empire, and to diſengage himſelf from the *Macedonians*; and that the only Motive of his doing this, was, that they might make Room for the new Troops, he had levy'd in the Conquer'd Countries. This alone was ſufficient to ſwell them to Fury: Upon which, without obſerving the leaſt Order or Diſcipline, or regarding the Remonſtrances of their Officers, they went to the King with an Air of Inſolence, which they had never aſſum'd till then, and with ſeditious Cries, requir'd unanimouſly to be diſcharg'd; ſaying farther, that ſince he deſpis'd the Soldiers, who had gain'd him all his Victories, he and his Father *Ammon* might carry on the War againſt whomſoever, and in what Manner they pleas'd: But, as for themſelves, they were fully determin'd not to ſerve him any longer.

The King, no Way ſurpriz'd, and, without once heſitating, jump'd from the Tribunal; caus'd the principal Mutineers, whom he himſelf poinred out to his Guards, to be immediately ſeiz'd, and order'd Thirteen to be puniſh'd. This bold and vigorous Action, which ſtruck the *Macedonians* as with a Thunder-Bolt, ſuppreſs'd all their Courage in an Inſtant. Then, quite loſt to themſelves, and ſcarce daring to look at one another, they ſtood with down-caſt Eyes; were ſo diſpirited, and trembled ſo prodigiouſly, that they were unable either to ſpeak, or even to think. Seeing them in this Condition, he reaſcended his Tribunal, where, after telling them, with a ſevere Countenance, and menacing Tone of Voice, the various Favours which *Philip* his Father had beſtow'd upon them, and all the Marks of Kindneſs and Friendſhip, by which he himſelf had diſtinguiſh'd them, he concluded, with theſe Words: *You all deſire a Diſcharge; I grant it you: Go now, and publiſh to the whole World, that you have left your Prince to the Mercy of the Nations he had conquer'd; who were more affectionate to him than you.* After ſpeaking this, he return'd ſuddenly into his Tent; caſhier'd his old Guard; appoints another in its Place, all compos'd of *Perſian* Soldiers; ſhuts himſelf up for ſome Days, and would not ſee any Perſon all the Time.

Had the *Macedonians* been ſentenc'd to die, it could not have ſurpriz'd them more, than when News was brought them, that the King had truſted the Guard of his Perſon, to the *Aſiaticks* abovemention'd: 'Twas then impoſſible for them to ſuppreſs their Grief any longer, ſo that nothing was heard but Cries, Groans, and Complaints. Soon after, they all ran together to the King's Tent, threw down their Arms, confeſſing their Guilt; acknowledging their Fault with Tears and Sighs; declaring, the Loſs of Life would not be ſo grievous as the Loſs of Honour; proteſting, they would not leave the Place till the King has pardon'd them. At laſt, *Alexander* could no longer reſiſt the tender Teſtimonies they gave of their Sorrow and Repentance; ſo that when he himſelf, at his coming out of his Tent, ſaw them in this dejected Condition, he could not refrain from Tears: And, after ſome gentle Reproaches, which were ſoftned by an Air of Humanity and Kindneſs, he declar'd, loud enough to be heard by them all, that he reſtor'd them to his Friendſhip: This was reſtoring them to Life, as was manifeſt from their Shouts.

He afterwards diſcharg'd ſuch *Macedonians*, as were no longer able to carry Arms, and ſent them back to their native Country, with rich Preſents. He commanded, that at ſolemnizing of the publick Games, they ſhould be allow'd the chief Places in the Theatre, and there ſit with Crowns on their Heads; and he gave Orders, that the Children of thoſe who had loſt their Lives in his Service, ſhould receive, during their Minority, the ſame Pay which had been given their Fathers. Such Favours and Honours indulg'd to Veterans, muſt neceſſarily ennoble, in a very conſpicuous Manner, the military Profeſſion! 'Tis not poſſible for a Government to inrich every Soldier in particular; but then it may animate and conſole him by Marks of Diſtinction, which inſpire him with a ſtronger Ardor for Conqueſt, a greater Perſeverance in the Service, and with nobler Sentiments and Impulſes.

Alexander appointed as Leader over theſe Soldiers, *Craterus*, whom he rais'd to the Government of *Macedonia*, *Theſſaly* and *Thrace*, which *Antipater* had enjoy'd; and the latter was commanded to bring the Recruits, inſtead of *Craterus*. The King had long ſince been quite tir'd with the Complaints of his Mother and *Antipater*, who could not agree: She charg'd *Antipater* with aiming at the ſovereign Power, and the latter complain'd of her moroſe Temper; and had often declar'd in his Letters, that ſhe did not behave in a Manner ſuitable to her Dignity. 'Twas with ſome Reluctance *Antipater* reſign'd his Government.

From *Opis* *Alexander* arriv'd at *Ecbatana* in *Media*, where, after having diſpatch'd the moſt urgent Affairs of the Kingdom, he again ſolemniz'd Games and Feſtivals: There had come to him from *Greece* three thouſand Dancers, Flyers, *&c.* upon the Stage, and other Perſons skill'd in Diverſions of this Kind. It happen'd very unluckily, during the Celebration of theſe Feſtivals, that *Hephæſtion* dy'd, of a Diſeaſe which he brought upon himſelf: *Alexander* abandoning himſelf to immoderate Drinking, the whole Court follow'd his Example, and ſometimes ſpent whole Days and Nights in theſe Riotings: In one of theſe *Hephæſtion* loſt his Life. He was the moſt intimate Friend the King had, the Confident of all his Secrets; and, to ſay all in a Word, his ſecond Self: *Craterus* only ſeem'd to diſpute this Honour with him. A few Words, which, one Day, eſcap'd that Prince, ſhews the Difference he made between theſe two Courtiers: *Craterus* (ſays he) *loves the King, but* Hephæſtion *loves* Alexander. This Expreſſion ſignifies, if we miſtake not, that *Hephæſtion* had devoted himſelf, in a tender and affectionate Manner, to the Perſon of *Alexander*; but that *Craterus* lov'd him as a King, that is, was concern'd for his Reputation, and ſometimes was leſs obſequious to his Will, than he was zealous for his Glory and Intereſt. An excellent Character, but very rarely met with!

Hephæſtion was near as much belov'd by all the Courtiers, as by *Alexander* himſelf. Modeſt, even temper'd, beneficent; free from Pride, Avidity, and Jealouſy; he never abus'd his Credit,

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nor preferr'd himſelf to thoſe Officers, whoſe Merit made them neceſſary to his Sovereign. He was univerſally regretted; and his Death threw *Alexander* into ſuch exceſſive Sorrow, and he abandon'd himſelf in ſuch a Manner, as was unworthy ſo great a King. He ſeem'd to receive no Conſolation, but in the extrtordinary Funeral Honours he paid to his Friend on his Arrival at *Babylon*, whither he commanded *Perdiccas* to carry his Corpſe.

In order, therefore, to remove, by Buſineſs and Employment, the melancholy Ideas, which the Death of his Favourite raiſed perpetually in his Mind, *Alexander* march'd his Army againſt the *Coſſæi*, a warlike Nation inhabiting the Mountains of *Media*, whom not one of the *Perſian* Monarchs had ever been able to conquer: However, the King ſubdu'd them in forty Days, afterwards croſs'd the *Tigris*, and directed his March towards *Babylon*.

Being arriv'd within a League and a half of *Babylon*, the *Chaldeans*, who pretended to know Futurity by the Stars, deputed to him ſome of their old Sages, to acquaint him, that he would be in Danger of his Life, in caſe he enter'd that City; and were very urgent with him to go on farther. The *Babyloniſh* Aſtrologers were in ſuch great Reputation, that this Advice made a prodigious Impreſſion on his Mind, and fill'd him with Confuſion and Dread: Upon this, after ſending ſeveral Grandees of his Court to *Babylon*, he himſelf went another Way; and having march'd about ten Leagues, he ſtopp'd for ſome Time in the Place where he had incamp'd his Army. But the *Greek* Philoſophers, being told the Foundation of his Fear and Scruples, when ſetting, in the ſtrongeſt Light, the Principles of *Anaxagoras*, whoſe Tenets they follow'd, they demonſtrated to him, in the ſtrongeſt Manner, the Vanity of Aſtrology; and made him have ſo great a Contempt for Divination in general, and for that of the *Chaldeans* in particular, that he immediately return'd towards *Babylon* with his whole Army. He knew that there were arriv'd in that City, Embaſſadors from all Parts of the World, who waited for his Coming; the whole Earth ecchoing ſo much with the Terror of his Name, that the ſeveral Nations came, with inexpreſſible Ardor, to pay Homage to him, as to One who was to be their Sovereign. This Sight, which agreeably ſooth'd the ſtrongeſt of all his Paſſions, contributed very much to ſtifle every other Reflection, and make him careleſs of all Advice that might be given him; ſo that he ſet forward with all poſſible Diligence towards that great City, there to hold the States-General, as it were, of the World. After making a moſt magnificent Entry, he gave Audience to all the Embaſſadors, with the Grandeur and Dignity ſuitable to a great Monarch; and, at the ſame Time, with the Affability and Politeneſs of a Prince, who is deſirous of gaining the Affection of all. He loaded thoſe of *Epidaurus* with great Preſents, for the Deity who was the Guardian of their City, as well as of Health; but reproach'd him at the ſame Time: *Æſculapius* (ſays he) *has ſhewn me but very little Indulgence, in not ſaving the Life of a Friend, who was as dear to me as myſelf.* In private, he diſcover'd a great Friendſhip for ſuch of the Deputies of *Greece*, as came to congratulate him on his Victories, and happy Return; and he reſtor'd them all the Statues, and other Curioſities, which *Xerxes* had carry'd out of *Greece*, that were found in *Suſa*, *Babylon*, *Paſſagardæ*, and other Places. We are told, that among theſe were the Statues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, and that they were brought back to *Athens*.

But, the Embaſſadors from *Corinth* having offer'd him, in the Name of their City, the Freedom of it, he laugh'd at an Offer, which ſeem'd altogether unworthy of him, when he was raiſed to ſo exalted a Pitch of Grandeur and Power. However, when *Alexander* was told, that *Corinth* had granted this Privilege to *Hercules* only, he accepted it with Joy; being deſirous to tread in his Steps, and reſemble him in all Things. *But*, (cries *Seneca*) *in what did this frantick young Wretch, whoſe fortunate Raſhneſs ſtood him in the Stead of Courage, reſemble* Hercules? *The latter, free from all ſelf-intereſted Views, travell'd through the World, meerly to ſerve the ſeveral Nations he viſited, and to purge the World of ſuch Robbers as infeſted it; whereas* Alexander, *who is juſtly intitled the Plunderer of Nations, made his Glory conſiſt in carrying Deſolation into all Places, and in becoming the Terror of Mankind.*

At the ſame Time he wrote a Letter, which was to have been read publickly in the Aſſembly of the *Olympick* Games, whereby the ſeveral Cities of *Greece* were commanded to permit all Exiles to return into their native Country, thoſe excepted who had committed Sacrilege, or any other Crime deſerving Death; and order'd *Antipater* to employ an armed Force, againſt ſuch Cities as ſhould refuſe to obey; which Letter was read in the Aſſembly. But, as for the *Athenians* and *Ætolians*, they did not think themſelves oblig'd to put theſe Orders in Execution, they ſeeming to interfere with their Liberty.

CHAP. X.

Alexander *celebrates the Funeral of his Favourite* Hephæſtion, *with incredible Magnificence; He reſolves upon having him ador'd as a God; And alſo upon reſtoring* Babylon *to its former Splendor, and rebuilding the Temple of* Belus; *But is prevented in both thoſe Deſigns by an untimely Death; Obſervations thereupon; What Judgment we are to form of him; Reflections on the* Perſians, Greeks, *and* Macedonians.

AFTER having diſpatch'd theſe Affairs, *Alexander* finding himſelf at Leiſure, began to think of *Hephæſtion's* Burial; which he ſolemniz'd with a Magnificence, the like had never till then been ſeen. As he himſelf undertook the Management of this Funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring Cities to exert themſelves as much as poſſible, in order to heighten the Pomp of it. He likewiſe order'd all the Nations of *Aſia*, to extinguiſh what the *Perſians* call the *Sacred Fire*, till the Ceremony of the Interrment ſhould be ended; which was look'd upon as an ill Omen, it being never practis'd in *Perſia*, except at the Death of their Monarchs: Nay, all the Officers and Courtiers, to pleaſe *Alexander*, caus'd Images to be carv'd of that Favourite, of Gold, Ivory, and other precious Materials.

At the ſame Time the King, having procur'd a great Number of Architects, and skilful Workmen, firſt caus'd near ſix Furlongs of the Wall of *Babylon* to be beat down; and, having got together a great Number of Bricks, and levell'd the Spot deſign'd for the Funeral Pile, had a moſt magnificent Edifice built over it.

This Structure was divided into thirty Parts, in each whereof was rais'd an uniform Building, the Roof of which was cover'd with great Planks of Palm-Tree Wood. The Whole form'd a perfect Square, the Circumference of which was adorn'd with extraordinary Magnificence. Each Side was a Furlong, or two hundred Yards, in Length. At the Foot of it, and in the firſt Row, were ſet two hundred and forty-four Prows of Ships gilt, on the Buttreſſes or Supporters whereof the Statues of two Archers, four Cubits high, with one Knee on the Ground, were fix'd; and two other Statues, in an upright Poſture, compleatly arm'd, larger than the Life, they being five Cubits high. The Spaces between the Prows, were ſpread and adorn'd with Purple Cloth. Over theſe Prows, was a Colonnade of large Flambeaux, the Shafts of which were fifteen Cubits high, embelliſh'd with Crowns of Gold at the Part where they were held. The Flame of thoſe Flambeaux at the Top, terminated towards Eagles, which, with their Heads turn'd downward, and extended Wings, ſerv'd as Capitals. Dragons, fix'd near, or upon the Baſe, turn'd their Heads upwards towards the Eagles. Over this Colonnade, ſtood another, on the Baſe of which was repreſented, in Relievo, a Hunting-Match of Animals of every Kind. On the ſuperior Order, that is the fourth, the Combat of the *Centaurs* was repreſented in Gold. Laſtly, on the fifth, Golden Figures, repreſenting Lions and Bulls, were plac'd alternately. The whole Edifice terminated with military Trophies, after the *Macedonian* and *Barbarian* Faſhion, as ſo many Symbols of the Victories of the former, and Defeats of the latter. On the Entablatures and Roof were repreſented *Syrens*, the hollow Bodies of which were fill'd (but in an imperceptible Manner) with Muſicians, who ſung mournful Airs and Dirges in Honour of the Deceaſed. This Edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty Cubits high, that is, above one hundred and ninety-five Foot.

The Beauty of the Deſign of this Structure, the Singularity and Magnificence of the Decorations, and the ſeveral Ornaments of it, ſurpaſs'd the moſt wonderful Productions of Fancy, and were all of an exquiſite Taſte. *Alexander* had appointed to overſee the building of this Edifice, *Staſicrates*, a great Architect, and admirably well skill'd in Mechanicks, in all whoſe Inventions and Deſigns there appear'd, not only prodigious Magnificence, and a ſurprizing Boldneſs, but ſuch a Greatneſs, as is inexpreſſible.

'Twas this Artiſt, who, diſcourſing ſome Time before with *Alexander*, had told him, that of all the Mountaini he knew, none would ſo well admit of being cut into the Shape of a Man, as Mount *Athos* in *Thrace*: That, if he, therefore, pleas'd but to give Orders, he would make this Mountains the moſt durable of all Statues, and that which would lie moſt open to the View of the Univerſe. In its Left-hand it ſhould hold a City, conſiſting of ten thouſand Inhabitants; and from its Right ſhould pour a great River, whoſe Waters ſhould diſcharge themſelves in the Sea. One would have thought, this Deſign would have pleas'd *Alexander*, who ſought for the *great* and *marvellous* in all Things; nevertheleſs, he rejected it, and wiſely anſwer'd, *It was enough there was one Prince, whoſe Folly Mount* Athos *would eternize*. This was meant of *Xerxes*, who having endeavour'd to cut through the *Iſthmus* of Mount *Athos*, wrote, to this Mountain, a Letter, in the moſt ſtupidly-proud Terms. *As to Myſelf* (ſays Alexander) *Mount* Caucaſus, *the River* Tanais, *the* Caſpian *Sea, all which I paſs'd in Triumph, ſhall be my Monument.*

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The Expence of the ſplendid Monument which this Prince erected in Honour of *Hephaſtion*, together with that of the Funeral, amounted to upwards twelve thouſand Talents, that is, more than thirty-ſix Millions. But, what Man was ever ſo ridiculouſly and extravagantly profuſe? All this Gold, all this Silver, was no other than the Blood of Nations, and the Subſtance of Provinces, which were thus ſacrificed to a vain Oſtentation.

To crown the Affection which *Alexander* had for his deceaſed Friend, ſomething was ſtill wanting to the Honours he paid him, in order to raiſe him above Mortality. This was what he propoſed, and for that Purpoſe had ſent to the Temple of *Ammon*, a truſty Perſon, nam'd *Philip*, to enquire the Will of the God: It doubtleſs was the Eccho of *Alexander*; and the Anſwer was, that Sacrifices might be offer'd to *Hephæſtion*, as a Demy-God. Accordingly, they were not ſpar'd in any Manner; *Alexander* himſelf firſt ſetting the Example, and he made a grand Entertainment, to which upwards of ten thouſand Perſons were invited. At the ſame Time, he wrote to *Cleomenes*, Governor of *Egypt*, commanding him to build a Temple to *Hephæſtion* in *Alexandria*, and another in the Iſle of *Pharos*. In this Letter, (which is ſtill extant) to excite his Diligence, and haſten the Work, he grants the Governor, who was deſpiſed univerſally for his Injuſtice and Rapine, a general Pardon for all his Crimes, paſt, preſent, and future; provided that, at his Return, the Temple and City ſhould be compleated. This done, nothing was ſeen but new Altars, Temples and Feſtivals; no Oaths were adminiſtred, but in the Name of the new Deity: To doubt his Divinity was a capital Crime. An old Officer (a Friend of *Hephæſtion*'s) having bewail'd him as dead, in paſſing before his Tomb, had like to have been put to Death for it; nor would he have been pardon'd, had not *Alexander* been aſſur'd, that the Officer wept, merely from ſome Remains of Tenderneſs, and not as though he doubted of *Hephæſtion*'s Divinity. I cannot ſay, whether *Alexander* prevail'd ſo far, as to make any one give Credit to *Hephæſtion*'s Divinity; but he himſelf appear'd, or at leaſt endeavour'd to appear, firmly perſuaded of it; and glory'd, not only that he had a God for his Father, but that he himſelf could make Gods: How ridiculous was all this!

During almoſt a Year which *Alexander* continued in *Babylon*, he bent his Thoughts on a great Number of Deſigns; ſuch as to ſail round *Africa*; to make a compleat Diſcovery of all the Nations lying round the *Caſpian* Sea, and thoſe inhabiting the Coaſt thereof; to conquer *Arabia*; to make War with *Carthage*, and to ſubdue the reſt of *Europe*. The very Thoughts of ſitting ſtill fatigued him, and the great Vivacity of his Imagination and Ambition would never ſuffer him to be at reſt; nay, could he have conquer'd the whole World, he would have ſought a new one, to ſatiate the Avidity of his Deſires.

The embelliſhing of *Babylon* employ'd likewiſe a great many of his Thoughts: Finding it ſurpaſs'd in Extent, in Conveniency, and in whatever can be wiſh'd, either for the Neceſſities or Pleaſures of Life, all the other Cities of the *Eaſt*, he reſolv'd to make it the Seat of his Empire; and for that Purpoſe, was deſirous of adding to it all the Conveniencies and Ornaments poſſible.

This City, as well as the Country round about it, had ſuffer'd prodigiouſly by the breaking of the Bank or Dike of the *Euphrates*, at the Head of the Canal call'd *Pallacopa*. The River running out of its uſual Channel by this Breach, overflow'd the whole Country; and forcing its Way perpetually, the Breach grew at laſt ſo wide, that it would have coſt almoſt as much to repair the Bank, as the raiſing of it had done at firſt. So little Water was left in the Channel of the *Euphrates*, about *Babylon*, that there was ſcarce Depth enough for ſmall Boats, which conſequently was of great Prejudice to the City.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which Purpoſe he embark'd upon the *Euphrates*, in order to take a View of the Place. It was on this Occaſion that he reproach'd, in a ludicrous, inſulting Tone of Voice, the *Magi*, and *Chaldeans*, who accompany'd him, for the Vanity of their Predictions; ſince, notwithſtanding the ill Omens they had endeavour'd to terrify him with, (as tho' he had been a credulous Woman) he yet had enter'd *Babylon*, and was return'd from it very ſafe. Attentive to nothing but the Subject of his Voyage, he went and review'd the Breach, and gave the proper Orders for repairing, and reſtoring it to its former Condition.

This Deſign of *Alexander* merited the greateſt Applauſe: Such Works are truly worthy great Princes, and add immortal Honour to their Name, as not being the Effect of ridiculous Vanity, but entirely calculated for the publick Good. By the Execution of this Deſign, he would have recover'd a whole Province, which lay under Water; and have made the River more navigable, and conſequently of greater Service to the *Babylonians*, by turning it all again into its Channel as before.

This Work, after having been carry'd on the Length of thirty Furlongs (a League and a Half) was ſtopt by Difficulties owing to the Nature of the Soil; and the Death of this Prince, which happen'd ſoon after, put an End to this Deſign, and unto ſeveral others he had form'd: A ſupreme Cauſe, unknown to Men, prevented its Execution. The real Obſtacle to the Succeſs of it, was, the *Anathema* which *God* had prounced againſt this City; an *Anathema* which no human Power could divert or retard. *I will cut off from* Babylon *the Name and Remnant*, had the Lord of Hoſts ſworn above three hundred Years before: *I will alſo make it a Poſſeſſion for the Bittern, and Pools of Water: And I will ſweep it with the Beſom of Deſtruction——It ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be dwelt in from Generation to Generation——neither ſhall the Shepherds make their Fold there.* Heaven and Earth would ſooner have paſs'd away, than *Alexander*'s Deſign been put in Execution. No River was then to flow by *Babylon*; the Places round it were to be overflow'd and chang'd into uninhabitable Fens; it was to be render'd inacceſſible, by the prodigious Quantities of Mud and Dirt; and the City, as well as the Country about it, were to be cover'd with ſtagnated Waters, which ſhould make all Acceſs to it impracticable. Thus it now lies; and all Things were to conſpire to reduce it to this dejected State, in order that the Prophecy might be compleatly fulfilled; *For the Lord of Hoſts hath purpoſed, and who will diſannul it? and his Hand is ſtretched out, and who ſhall turn it back?* Nothing ſhews more

more evidently the Strength and Weight of this invincible Curſe, than the Efforts of the moſt powerful Prince that ever reign'd; a Prince, the moſt obſtinate that ever was, as to the carrying on his Deſigns; a Prince, none of whoſe Enterprizes had ever miſcarry'd; and who fail'd in this only, though it did not ſeem ſo difficult as the reſt.

Another Deſign which *Alexander* fix'd his Thoughts on, and had moſt at Heart, was the repairing the Temple of *Belus*: *Xerxes* had demoliſh'd it in his Return from *Greece*, and it had lain in Ruins ever ſince. But *Alexander* was reſolv'd, not only to rebuild it, but even to raiſe a much more magnificent Temple: Accordingly, he had cauſed all the Rubbiſh to be removed; and finding that the *Magi*, to whoſe Care he had left this, went on but ſlowly, he made Soldiers work. Nevertheleſs, though ten thouſand of them were daily employ'd at it, for two Months ſucceſſively, the Work was not finiſh'd at the Death of this Prince, ſo prodigious were its Ruins. When it came to the Turn of the *Jewiſh* Soldiers, who were in his Army, to work as the reſt had done, they could not be prevail'd upon to give their Aſſiſtance, but excus'd themſelves with ſaying, that as Idolatry was forbid by the Tenets of their Religion, they therefore were not allow'd to lend a Helping-hand to the building of a Temple, deſign'd for idolatrous Worſhip; and accordingly not one lent a Hand on this Occaſion. They were puniſh'd for Diſobedience, but all to no Purpoſe; ſo that, at laſt, *Alexander* admiring their Perſeverance, gave them a Diſcharge, and ſent them home. This ſcrupulous Reſolution of the *Jews*, is a Leſſon to many *Chriſtians*, as it teaches them, that they are not allow'd to join, or aſſiſt in the Commiſſion of an Action, that is contrary to the Law of *God*.

One cannot forbear admiring the Conduct of Providence on this Occaſion: *God* had broke to Pieces, by the Hand of his Servant *Cyrus*, the Idol *Belus*, the God who rival'd the Lord of *Iſrael*: He afterwards cauſed *Xerxes* to demoliſh his Temple. Theſe firſt Blows, which the Lord ſtruck at *Babylon*, were ſo many Omens of its total Ruin; and it was as impoſſible for *Alexander* to complete the re-building of this Temple, as for *Julian*, ſome Centuries after, to reſtore that of *Jeruſalem*.

Although *Alexander* employ'd himſelf in the Works above-mention'd, during his Stay in *Babylon*, he ſpent the greateſt Part of his Time in ſuch Pleaſures as that City afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief Aim, both of his Occupations and Diverſions, was to ſtupify himſelf; and to drive from his Mind the melancholy, ſhocking Ideas of an impending Death, with which he was threatned by all the Predictions of the *Magi* and other Soothſayers: For though, in certain Moments, he ſeem'd not to regard the various Notices which had been given him, he yet was ſeriouſly affected with them inwardly; and theſe gloomy Reflections were for ever returning to his Mind. They terrify'd him at laſt to ſuch a Degree, that whenever the moſt inſignificant Thing happen'd (if ever ſo little extraordinary and unuſual) his Imagination ſwell'd it immediately to a Prodigy, and drew an unhappy Omen from it. The Palace was then fill'd with Sacrifices; with Perſons whoſe Office was to perform Expiations and Purifications; and with others who pretended to Prophecy. 'Twas certainly a Sight worthy a philoſophick Eye, to behold a Prince, at whoſe Nod the World trembled, abandon'd to the ſtrongeſt Terrors; ſo true is it, ſays *Plutarch*, that if he be very unhappy, who is incredulous and deſpiſes the Gods, (a Principle, which prompts us neither to fear or believe any Thing) the ſuperſtitious Man, whoſe Soul is prey'd upon by the moſt abject Fears, and the moſt ridiculous Follies, is equally unhappy. 'Tis plain that *God*, by a juſt Judgment, took a Pleaſure in degrading, before all Ages and Nations, and in ſinking lower than the Condition of the Vulgar, the Man who had affected to ſoar above human Nature, and equal himſelf to the Deity. This Prince had fought, in all his Actions, that vain Glory of Conqueſts which Men moſt admire; and to which they reflix, more than to any Thing elſe, the Idea of Grandeur; and *God* delivers him up to a ridiculous Superſtition, which virtuous Men, of good Senſe, chiefly deſpiſe, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was, therefore, for ever ſolemnizing new Feſtivals, and perpetually at new Banquets; in which he quaff'd with his uſual Intemperance. After having ſpent a whole Night in carouſing, a ſecond was propoſed to him: He met accordingly, and there were twenty Gueſts at Table: He drank to the Health of every Perſon in Company, and then pledg'd them ſeverally. After this, calling for the Cup of *Hercules*, which held ſix Bottles, it was fill'd, when he pour'd it all down, drinking to a *Macedonian* in the Company, *Proteas* by Name; and afterwards pledg'd him again, in the ſame furious Bumper, which he had no ſooner ſwallow'd, than he fell upon the Floor. Here then, cries *Seneca*, (deſcribing the fatal Effects of Drunkenneſs) is this Hero; invincible to all the Toils of prodigious Marches, to the Dangers of Sieges and Combats, to the moſt violent Extremes of Heat and Cold; here he lies, conquer'd by his own Intemperance, and ſtruck to the Ground by this fatal Cup of *Hercules*.

In this indecent Condition, he was ſeiz'd with a violent Fever, and carry'd, half dead, to his Palace: The Fever did never quite leave him; but during the Intervals from it, he gave the neceſſary Orders for the ſailing of the Fleet, and the marching of his Land-Forces, being perſuaded he ſhould ſoon recover: But at laſt, finding himſelf paſt all Hopes, and his Voice beginning to fail, he drew his Ring from his Finger, and gave it to *Perdiccas*, with Orders to convey his Corpſe to the Temple of *Ammon*.

Notwithſtanding his great Weakneſs, he yet ſtruggled with Death, and raiſing himſelf upon his Elbow, preſented his Soldiers (to whom he could not refuſe this laſt Teſtimony of Friendſhip) his dying Hand to kiſs. After this, his principal Courtiers asking to whom he left the Empire; he anſwer'd, *To the moſt worthy*; adding, that he foreſaw, the Deciſion of this would give Occaſion to ſtrange funeral Games after his Deceaſe. And *Perdiccas*, enquiring farther, at what Time they ſhould pay him divine Honours? He reply'd, *When you are all happy*. Theſe were his laſt Words, and ſoon after he expir'd. He was Thirty-two Years and Eight Months old, of which he had reign'd

reign'd Twelve. He died in the Middle of the Spring, the firſt Year of the 114th *Olympiad*.

No one, ſays *Plutarch* and *Arrian*, ſuſpected, at that Time, that *Alexander* had been poiſon'd; and yet 'tis at theſe Seaſons that ſuch Reports generally prevail. But the State of his Body prov'd that he did not die that Way; for all his chief Officers falling at Variance, the Corpſe, though it lay quite neglected for ſeveral Days in *Babylon*, which ſtands in a hot Climate, did not ſhew the leaſt Symptoms of Putrefaction. The true Poiſon which brought him to his End, was Wine; which has kill'd many Thouſands beſides *Alexander*. 'Twas nevertheleſs believ'd afterwards, that this Prince had been poiſon'd, by the Treachery of *Antipater*'s Son; that *Caſſander*, the eldeſt of them, brought the Poiſon from *Greece*; that *Iolas*, his younger Brother, threw the fatal Draught into the Goblet of *Alexander*, he being Cup-bearer; and that he choſe the Time of the grand Carouſing above-mention'd, in order that the prodigious Quantity of Wine he then drank, might conceal the true Cauſe of his Death. The State of *Antipater*'s Affairs at that Time, gave ſome Grounds for this Suſpicion: He being perſuaded, that he had been recall'd with no other View, than to ruin him, becauſe of his Male-Adminiſtration during his Vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his Sons to commit a Crime, which would ſave his own life, by taking away that of his Sovereign. An undoubted Circumſtance is, that he could never waſh out this Stain; and that ſo long as he liv'd, the *Macedonians* deteſted him, as a Traitor who had poiſon'd their King: *Ariſtotle* was alſo ſuſpected, but with no great Foundation.

Whether *Alexander* loſt his Life by Poiſon, or by exceſſive Drinking, it is ſurprizing to ſee the Prediction of the *Magi* and Soothſayers, of his dying in *Babylon*, ſo exactly fulfill'd. 'Tis certain and indiſputable, that *God* has reſerv'd to himſelf, only, the Knowledge of Futurity; and if the Soothſayers and Oracles have ſometimes foretold Things which really came to paſs, they could do it no other Way than by their impious Correſpondence with Devils; who, by their Penetration and natural Sagacity, find out ſeveral Methods whereby they penetrate, ſometimes, into Futurity, and are enabled to foretell approaching Events; which though they appear above the Reach of human Underſtanding, are yet not above that of malicious gloomy Spirits. The Knowledge thoſe evil Spirits have of all the Circumſtances which precede and prepare an Event; the Part they frequently bear in it, by inſpiring ſuch of the Wicked as are given up to them, with the Thoughts and Deſire of doing certain Actions, and committing certain Crimes; an Inſpiration to which they are ſure theſe wicked Wretches will conſent: By theſe Things, Devils are enabled to foreſee and foretell certain Particulars. They, indeed, often miſtake in their Conjectures, but *God* alſo ſometimes permits them to ſucceed in them, in order to puniſh the Impiety of thoſe, who, in Spite of his Prohibitions, enquire their Fate of ſuch lying Spirits.

The Moment that the Death of *Alexander* was known, the whole Palace echo'd with Cries and Groans: The Vanquiſh'd bewail'd him with as many Tears as the Victors. The Grief which his Death occaſion'd recalling his many good Qualities, all his Faults were by that Means obliterated: The *Perſians* declar'd him to have been the moſt juſt, the kindeſt Sovereign that ever reign'd over them; the *Macedonians*, the beſt, the moſt valiant Man in the Univerſe; and all exclaim'd againſt the Gods, for having enviouſly bereav'd Mankind of him, in the Flower of his Age, and the Height of his Fortune. The *Macedonians* imagin'd they ſaw *Alexander*, with a firm and intrepid Air, ſtill lead them on to Battle, beſiege Cities, climb Walls, and reward ſuch as had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves. They then reproach'd themſelves for having refus'd him divine Honours; and confeſs'd they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a Name he ſo juſtly merited.

After paying him this Homage of Veneration and Tears, they turn'd their whole Thoughts and Reflections on themſelves, and on the ſad Condition to which they were reduced by the Death of *Alexander*. They conſider'd that they were on the fartheſt Side of the *Euphrates*, without a Leader to lead them; and ſurrounded with Enemies, who abhorr'd their new Yoke: And, as the King died without nominating his Succeſſor, a dreadful Futurity preſented itſelf to their Imagination; and ſet before their Eyes nothing but Diviſions, Civil Wars, and a fatal Neceſſity of ſtill ſhedding their Blood, and of opening their former Wounds, not to conquer *Aſia*, but only to give a King to it; and to raiſe to the Throne, perhaps, ſome mean Officer, or wicked Wretch.

This great Murmuring was not confin'd merely to *Babylon*, but ſpread over all the Provinces; and the News of it ſoon reach'd the Mother of *Darius*: One of her Daughters was then with her, who being ſtill inconſolable for the Death of *Hephæſtion* her Husband, the Sight of the publick Calamities recall'd all her private Woes; but *Syſigambis* bewail'd the ſeveral Misfortunes of her Family; and this new Affliction awak'd the Remembrance of all its former Sufferings. One would have thought that *Darius* had been but juſt dead, and that this unfortunate Mother ſolemniz'd the Funeral of two Sons at the ſame Time. She wept the Living no leſs than the Dead: *Who now*, would ſhe ſay, *will take Care of my Daughters? Where ſhall we find another* Alexander? She would fancy ſhe ſaw them again reduced to a State of Captivity, and that they had loſt their Kingdom a ſecond Time; but with this Difference, that, now *Alexander* was gone, they had no Refuge left. At laſt, ſhe ſunk under her Grief: This Princeſs, who had borne with Patience the Death of her Father, her Husband; of fourſcore of her Brothers, who were murder'd in one Day, by *Ochus*; and, to ſay all in one Word, that of *Darius* her Son, and the Ruin of her Family; though ſhe had ſubmitted patiently to all theſe Loſſes, ſhe yet had not Strength of Mind ſufficient to ſupport herſelf after the Death of *Alexander*: Wherefore, ſhe would not take any Suſtenance, and ſo quite ſtarv'd herſelf, to prevent her ſurviving this laſt Calamity.

After the Death of *Alexander*, great Contentions aroſe among the *Macedonians*, about appointing him a Succeſſor, of which we ſhall give an Account in the following Sheets: After ſeven Days ſpent in Confuſion and Diſputes, 'twas agreed that *Aridæus*, Baſtard-Brother to *Alexander*, ſhould be declar'd King; that in caſe *Roxana*, who was eight Months gone with Child, ſhould be deliver'd of a

Son, he ſhould ſhare the Throne in Conjunction with *Arideus*; and that *Perdiccas* ſhould have the Care of both; for *Arideus* was a weak Man, and wanted a Guardian as much as a Child.

The *Egyptians*, and *Chaldeans*, having embalm'd the Corpſe of the King after their Manner, *Arideus* was appointed to get it convey'd to the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*; and two whole Years were employ'd in preparing for this magnificent Funeral; which made *Olympias* bewail the Fate of her Son, who, having had the Ambition to rank himſelf among the Gods, was ſo long depriv'd of Burial; a Privilege allow'd to the meaneſt of Mortals.

The Publick would not be ſatisfy'd, if, after having given a Detail of the Actions of *Alexander*, we ſhould not take Notice of the Judgment we are to form of them; eſpecially as Authors have been of a quite different Opinion, with Regard to the Merits of this Prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of Extaſy, as the Model of a perfect Hero, which Opinion ſeems to have prevail'd: Others, on the contrary, have repreſented him in ſuch Colours, as, at leaſt, tarniſh, if they do not quite eclipſe, the Splendor of his Victories.

This Diverſity of Sentiments denotes that of the Qualities of *Alexander*; and it muſt be confeſs'd, that Good and Evil, Virtues and Vices, were never more equally blended, than in the Prince whoſe Hiſtory we have written. But this is not all; for *Alexander* appears very different, according to the Times or Seaſons in which we conſider him; as *Livy* has very juſtly obſerv'd. In the Enquiry he makes concerning the Fate of the Arms of *Alexander*, ſuppoſing he had turn'd them towards *Italy*, he diſcovers in him a double *Alexander*, as it were; the one wiſe, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid; but, at the ſame Time, prudent and circumſpect: The other, immers'd in all the Wantonneſs of a haughty Proſperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; ſoften'd by Delights, abandon'd to Intemperance and Riotings; in a Word, reſembling *Darius*, rather than *Alexander*; and having plunged the *Macedonians* into all the Vices of the *Perſians*, by the new Turn of Mind, and the new Manners he aſſum'd, after his Conqueſts.

We ſhall have an Eye to this Plan, in the Account we are now to give of the Character of *Alexander*; and ſhall conſider it in two Lights, and, as it were, under two *Æras*; firſt, from his Youth till the Battle of *Iſſus*, and the Siege of *Tyre* which follow'd ſoon after; and ſecondly, from this Victory to his Death. The former will exhibit to us great Qualities, with few Defects, (according to the Idea the *Heathens* had of theſe;) the ſecond will repreſent to us enormous Vices; and, notwithſtanding the Splendor of ſo many Victories, very little true and ſolid Merit, even with regard to warlike Actions; a few Battles excepted, in which he maintain'd his Reputation.

Firſt, then, we are to acknowledge and admire in *Alexander*, a happy Diſpoſition, cultivated and improv'd by an excellent Education: He had a great, noble, and generous Soul: He delighted in beſtowing, and doing Service. Qualities he had acquir'd in his infant Years. A young Lad, whoſe Buſineſs it was to gather up, and throw the Balls when he play'd at Tennis, taught him a good Leſſon on that Subject. As he always threw the Ball to the other Players, the King, with an angry Air, cry'd to him, *And am I then to have no Ball? No, Sir*, reply'd the Lad, *you don't pay me for it.* This witty Anſwer, ſo readily pronounc'd, gave great Satisfaction to the Prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no Occaſion to excite him to Acts of Generoſity; for he would be quite angry with ſuch as refuſed them at his Hands. Finding *Phocion* continue inflexible on this Head, he told him by Letter, *that he would no longer be his Friend, in caſe he refuſed to accept of his Favours.*

Alexander, as though he had been ſenſible of the mighty Things to which he was born, endeavour'd to ſhine on all Occaſions, and appear more conſpicuous than any other Perſon. No one was ever fir'd with ſo ſtrong a Love for Glory; and 'tis well known, that Ambition, which is conſider'd by *Chriſtians* as a great Vice, was look'd upon by the *Heathens* as a great Virtue. 'Twas that which made him ſupport with Courage, all the Toils and Fatigues neceſſary for thoſe who would diſtinguiſh themſelves in the Exerciſes both of Body and Mind. He was accuſtom'd very early to a ſober, hard, plain Way of Life, uncorrupted with Luxury, or Delicacy of any kind; a Way of Life highly advantageous to young Soldiers.

We don't know any Prince in the World who had a nobler Education than *Alexander*: He was very converſant in Eloquence, Poetry, the *Belles Lettres*, the whole Circle of Arts, and the moſt abſtracted and the moſt ſublime Sciences. How happy was he in meeting with ſo great a Preceptor! None but an *Ariſtotle* was fit for an *Alexander*. We are overjoy'd to find the Scholar pay ſo illuſtrious a Teſtimony to his Maſter, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one Senſe, than to his Father. A Man, who thinks and ſpeaks in that Manner, muſt be fully ſenſible of the great Advantages of a good Education.

The Effects of this were ſoon ſeen: Is it poſſible for us to admire too much the great Solidity and Judgment which this young Prince diſcover'd in his Converſation with the *Perſian* Embaſſadors? His early Wiſdom, where, in his Youth, he acted as Regent during his Father's Abſence, and pacify'd the Feuds which had broke out in *Macedonia*? His Courage and Bravery at the Battle of *Chæronea*, in which he ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſh'd himſelf?

At the ſame Time, 'tis a Pain to us to ſee him wanting in Reſpect to his Father at a Banquet, and employing ſevere, inſulting Expreſſions on that Occaſion: 'Tis true, indeed, that the Affront which *Philip* put upon *Olympias* his Mother, in divorcing her, tranſported him, as it were, out of himſelf; but ſtill no Pretence, no Injuſtice, or Violence, can either juſtify, or excuſe, ſuch Uſage to a Father and a King.

He afterwards diſcover'd more Moderation, when, on Occaſion of the inſolent and ſeditious Diſcourſes, held by his Soldiers in an Inſurrection, he ſaid, *that nothing was more royal, than for a Man to hear, with Calmneſs, himſelf ill ſpoken of, at the Time he is doing a good Action.* It has been obſerv'd, that the Great Prince of *Conde*, did not think any Thing more worthy of Admiration in this Conqueror, than the noble Haughtineſs with which he ſpoke to the rebellious Soldiers, who refuſed to follow him. *Go*, ſays he, *ungrateful, baſe*

baſe Wretches, and proclaim in your Country, that you have abandon'd your King among Nations, who will be more obedient to him than you: Alexander (ſays that Prince) *abandon'd by his own Troops among* Barbarians, *who were not yet compleatly conquer'd, thinks himſelf ſo worthy of commanding over others, that he did not think Men could refuſe to obey him: Whether in* Europe, *or in* Aſia, *among* Greeks *or* Perſians, *it was the ſame to him. He fancy'd, that wherever he met with Men, he there met with Subjects.* *Alexander*'s Patience and Moderation, which we took Notice of at firſt, are no leſs wonderful.

The firſt Years of his Reign are, perhaps, the moſt glorious of his Life: That at twenty Years of Age, he was able to appeaſe the inteſtine Feuds which rag'd in the Kingdom; that he either cruſh'd, or ſubjected foreign Enemies, and thoſe of the moſt formidable Kind; that he diſarm'd *Greece*, moſt of the Nations whereof had united againſt him; and that, in leſs than three Years, he ſhould have enabled himſelf to execute ſecurely thoſe Plans his Father had ſo wiſely laid down; all this ſuppoſes a Preſence of Mind, a Strength of Soul, a Courage, an Intrepidity; and, what is more than all, a conſummate Prudence; Qualities, which form the Character of the true Heroe.

This Character he ſupported in a wonderful Manner, during the whole Courſe of his Expedition againſt *Darius*, till the Time mention'd by us: *Plutarch* very juſtly admires the bare Plan of it, as the moſt heroick Act that ever was. He form'd it the very Inſtant he aſcended the Throne, looking upon this Deſign, in ſome meaſure, as a Part of what he inherited from his Father. When ſcarce twenty Years old, ſurrounded with Dangers both within and without his Kingdom; finding his Treaſury drein'd, and incumber'd with Debts, to the Amount of two hundred Talents, which his Father had contracted; having an Army, which was greatly inferior, in Number, to that of the *Perſians*; in this Condition, *Alexander* already turns his Eyes towards *Babylon* and *Suſa*; and propoſes no leſs a Conqueſt than that of ſo vaſt an Empire.

Was this the Effect of the Pride and Raſhneſs of Youth, ſays *Plutarch?* Certainly not, replies that Author. No Man ever form'd a warlike Enterprize with ſo great Preparations, and ſuch mighty Helps; by which I mean (continues *Plutarch*) Magnanimity, Prudence, Temperance and Courage; Preparations and Succours that were furniſh'd him by Philoſophy, which he thoroughly ſtudy'd; ſo that we may affirm, he was as much indebted for his Conqueſts to the Leſſons of *Ariſtotle* his Maſter, as to the Inſtructions of *Philip* his Father.

We may add, that, according to all the Maxims of War, *Alexander*'s Enterprize muſt, of Courſe, have been ſucceſsful: Such an Army as his, though not a very great one, conſiſting of *Macedonians* and *Greeks*, that is, of the beſt Troops at that Time in the World; and train'd up to War during a long Courſe of Years, inur'd to Toils and Dangers, form'd by an happy Experience to all the Exerciſes of Sieges and Combats, animated by the Remembrance of their paſt Victories, by the Hopes of an immenſe Booty; and more ſo, by their hereditary and irreconcilable Hatred to the *Perſians*; ſuch an Army headed by *Alexander*, was almoſt ſure of conquering an Army, compos'd, indeed, of a numberleſs Multitude of Men, but of few Soldiers.

The Swiftneſs of the Execution was anſwerable to the Wiſdom of the Deſign: After having gain'd the Affection of all his Generals and Officers, by an unparallel'd Liberality; and all his Soldiers by an Air of Goodneſs, Affability, and even Familiarity, which, ſo far from debaſing the Majeſty of a Prince, adds to the Reſpect which is paid him, ſuch a Zeal and Tenderneſs as is Proof againſt all Things: After this, the next Thing he intended, was, to aſtoniſh his Enemies by bold Enterprizes; to terrify them by Examples of Severity; and gain them by Acts of Humanity and Clemency. He ſucceeded wonderfully in all theſe: The Paſſage of the *Granicus*, follow'd by a famous Victory; the two celebrated Sieges of *Miletus* and *Halicarnaſſus*, ſhew'd *Aſia* a young Conqueror, who was Maſter of every Branch of the military Science. The razing of the laſt City to the very Foundations, ſpread an univerſal Terror; but the allowing all thoſe the Enjoyment of their Liberties, and ancient Laws, who ſubmitted cheerfully, made the World believe, the Conqueror had no other View than to make Nations happy; and procure them an eaſy and laſting Peace.

His Impatience to bathe himſelf, when cover'd with Sweat, in the River *Cydnus*, might be look'd upon as a gay, juvenile Action, unworthy of his Dignity; but we muſt not judge of it, from the Manners of the preſent Age. The Ancients, all whoſe Exerciſes had a Retroſpect to War, accuſtom'd themſelves early to bathing and ſwimming. 'Tis well known, that, in *Rome*, the Sons of the Nobility, after having heated themſelves in the *Campus Martius*, with Running, Wreſtling, and hurling the Javelin, us'd to plunge into the *Tyber*, which runs by that City. By theſe Exerciſes, they enabled themſelves to paſs Rivers and Lakes in an Enemy's Country; for thoſe are never croſs'd, but after painful Marches, and having been long expos'd to the Sun-Beams, which, with the Weight of the Soldiers Arms, muſt neceſſarily throw them into a Sweat. Hence we may apologize for *Alexander*'s bathing himſelf in a River, which had like to have been ſo fatal to him, eſpecially, as he might not know the Waters of it were ſo exceſſively cold.

The two Battles of *Iſſus* and *Arbela*, with the Siege of *Tyre*, one of the moſt famous of Antiquity, compleated to prove, that *Alexander* poſſeſs'd all the Qualities which form the conſummate General; as Skill in making Choice of a Spot of Ground fit for Battle; ſuch a Preſence of Mind in the Heat of Action, as is neceſſary for the giving out proper Orders; a Courage and Bravery, which the moſt evident Dangers only animated; an impetuous Activity, temper'd and conducted by ſuch a prudent Reſervedneſs, as will not ſuffer the Hero to be carry'd away by an indiſcreet Ardor; laſtly, ſuch a Reſolution and Conſtancy, as is neither diſconcerted by unforeſeen Obſtacles, nor diſheartned by Difficulties, though ſeeming unſurmountable, and which knows no other Bounds or Iſſue than Victory.

Hiſtorians have obſerv'd a great Difference between *Alexander* and his Father, in their Manner of making War: Stratagem, and even Knavery, were the prevailing Arts of *Philip*, who always acted

acted secretly, and in the dark; but his Son pursu'd his Schemes with more Candor, and without Disguise. The one endeavour'd to deceive his Enemies by Address, the other to subdue them by Force of Arms: The former discover'd more Art, the latter had a greater Soul. *Philip* did not look upon any Methods, which give Conquest, as ignominious; but *Alexander* could never prevail with himself to employ Treachery. He, indeed, endeavour'd to draw over the ablest of all the Generals of *Darius*; but then he employ'd honourable Means. His Army marching near *Memnon*'s Lands, he commanded his Soldiers, upon the severest Penalties, not to make the least Havock in them. His Design, by this Conduct, was either to gain him over to his Side, or make the *Persians* suspect his Fidelity: *Memnon* also delighted in behaving with Generosity towards *Alexander*; and hearing a Soldier speak ill of that Prince: *I did not hire thee* (says that General, striking him with his Javelin) *to speak injuriously of that Prince, but to fight against him.*

The Circumstance which raises *Alexander* above most Conquerors, and, as it were, above himself, is the Use he made of the Victory after the Battle of *Issus*. This is the most beautiful Incident in his Life; The Point of Sight in which it will be for his Interest to be consider'd; and it is impossible for him not to appear truly great in this View. By the Victory of *Issus*, he had possess'd himself, not only of the Person of *Darius*, but also of his Empire. Not only *Sysigambis*, that King's Mother, was his Captive; but also his Wife and Daughters, Princesses, whose Beauty was not to be parallel'd in all *Asia*. *Alexander* was in the Bloom of Life, a Conqueror, free, and not yet bound by the Hymeneal Bands, as an Author observes of the first *Scipio Africanus*, on a like Occasion. Nevertheless, his Camp was, to those Princesses, a sacred Asylum, or rather a Temple, in which their Chastity was secur'd, as under the Guard of Virtue itself; that *Darius*, in his expiring Moments, hearing the kind Treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying Hands towards Heaven; and wish Success to so wise and generous a Conqueror, who govern'd his Passions so absolutely.

In the Enumeration of *Alexander*'s good Qualities, we must not omit one, that is rarely found among the Great; and which, nevertheless, does Honour to human Nature, and makes Life happy: This is, his being inform'd with a Soul, that was capable of a tender Friendship; his Openness, Truth, Perseverance and Humility in so exalted a Fortune, which generally considers itself only; makes its Grandeur consist in subjecting all Things round it; and is better pleas'd with servile Wretches, than with free, sincere Friends.

Alexander endear'd himself to his Officers and Soldiers; indulg'd them in the greatest Familiarity; admitted them to his Table, in his Exercises and Conversations; was deeply troubled for them, when involv'd in any Calamity; griev'd for them when sick; rejoic'd at their Recovery, and shar'd in whatever befel them. We have Examples of this in *Hephæstion*, *Ptolomy*, *Craterus*, and many others. A Prince of real Merit, does no Ways debase his Dignity, by such a Familiarity and Condescension; but, on the contrary, is more belov'd and respected upon that very Account. Every Man of a tall Stature, does not scruple to put himself upon a Level with the rest of Mankind, well knowing that he shall overtop them all. It is the Interest of truly diminutive Persons only, not to vie in Stature with the Tall, nor to appear in a Croud.

Alexander was dear to others, because they were sensible he was beforehand with them in Affection. This Circumstance made the Soldiers strongly desirous to please him, and fir'd them with Intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his Orders, though attended with the greatest Difficulties and Dangers: This made them submit patiently to the heaviest Calamities, and threw them into the deepest Affliction, whenever they happen'd to give him any Room for Discontent.

In this Character that has been given of *Alexander*, what was wanting to compleat his Glory? Military Virtue has been display'd in its utmost Splendor: Goodness, Clemency, Moderation, and Wisdom, have crown'd, and added such a Lustre, as greatly inhances its Value. Let us suppose, that *Alexander*, to secure his Glory, and his Victories, stops short in his Career; that he himself checks his Ambition, and raises *Darius* to the Throne, with the same Hand that had dispossess'd him of it; makes *Asia Minor*, inhabited chiefly by *Greeks*, free and independent of *Persia*; that he declares himself Protector of all the Cities and States of *Greece*, in no other View than to secure their Liberties, and the Enjoyment of their respective Laws and Customs; that he afterwards returns to *Macedon*, and there, contented with the lawful Bounds of his Empire, makes all his Glory and Delight consist in rendring his People happy; in procuring it an Abundance of all Things; in seeing the Laws put in Execution, and making Justice to flourish; in causing Virtue to be had in Honour, and in endearing himself to his Subjects: In short, that now become, by the Terror of his Arms, and much more so by the Fame of his Virtues, the Admiration of the whole World; he sees himself, in some measure, the Arbiter of all Nations; and exercises, over the Minds of Men, such an Empire, as is infinitely more lasting and honourable than that which is founded on Fear only: Supposing all this to have happen'd, *Alexander* would have been as great, as glorious, and as good a Prince, as ever bless'd Mankind.

To the forming so great a Character, a Greatness of Soul, and a most refin'd Taste for true Glory, are requir'd; such as is seldom met with in History. Men seldom consider, that the Glory which attends the most shining Conquests, is greatly inferior to the Reputation of a Prince, who has despis'd and trampled upon Ambition, and check'd a Power that was boundless: But *Alexander* was far from possessing these happy Qualities. His uninterrupted Felicity not being mix'd with adverse Fortune, intoxicated, and chang'd him to such a Degree, that he no longer appear'd the same Man; and we don't remember, that the Poison of Prosperity ever work'd swifter, or more effectually deprav'd the Mind.

For, *Secondly*, From the Siege of *Tyre*, which was soon after the Battle of *Issus*, and in which *Alexander* display'd all the Courage and Abilities of a great Warrior; we see the Virtues and noble Qualities of this Prince degenerate, on a sudden,

and

and make Way for the greateſt Vices and moſt brutal Paſſions. If we ſometimes, through the gloomy Exceſs to which he abandons himſelf, perceive ſome bright Rays of Humanity, Gentleneſs, and Moderation, theſe are the Effects of a happy Diſpoſition, which, not being quite extinquiſh'd by Vice, is not govern'd arbitrarily by it.

Was ever Enterprize more ſilly and ridiculous, than that of croſſing the ſandy Deſart of *Libya*; of expoſing his Army to the Danger of periſhing with Thirſt and Fatigue; of interrupting the Courſe of his Victories, and giving his Enemy Time to raiſe a new Army, merely for the Sake of marching ſo far, in order to get himſelf nam'd the Son of *Jupiter Ammon*; and purchaſe, at ſo dear a Rate, a Title, which could only render him contemptible?

How mean was it in *Alexander*, to omit always in his Letters, after the Defeat of *Darius*, the *Greek* Word which ſignifies *Health*, except in thoſe he wrote to *Phocion*, and *Antipater!* As though this Title, becauſe employ'd by other Men, could have degraded a King, who is oblig'd by his Office to procure, at leaſt to wiſh, all his Subjects, the Enjoyment of the Felicity imply'd by that Word.

Of all Vices, none is ſo groveling, none ſo unworthy, not only of a Prince, but of a Man of Honour, as Drunkenneſs; its bare Name is intolerable, and ſtrikes us with Horror. How infamous a Pleaſure is it, to ſpend whole Days and Nights in Carouſing; to continue theſe Exceſſes for Weeks together; to pride one's ſelf in overcoming other Men in Intemperance, and to endanger one's Life, in no other View, than to gain ſuch a Victory! Not to mention the enormous Actions which accompany theſe Carouſings, how greatly ſhocking is it to hear the frantick Diſcourſes of a Son, who, being intoxicated with the Fumes of Wine, ſtrives aſſiduouſly to defame his Father, to ſully his Glory; and, loſt to all Shame, prefers himſelf to him? Drunkenneſs is only the Occaſion, not the Cauſe, of theſe Exceſſes: It betrays the Sentiments of the Heart, but does not fix them there. *Alexander*, puff'd up by his Victories, greedy and inſatiable of Praiſe, intoxicated with the mighty Idea he entertain'd of his own Merit, jealous of, and deſpiſing all Mankind; has the Power, in his ſober Moments, to conceal his Sentiments; but no ſooner is he intoxicated, than he ſhews himſelf to be what he really is.

What ſhall we ſay of his barbarouſly murdering an old Friend; who, though indiſcreet and raſh, was yet his Friend? Of the Death of the moſt honeſt Man in all the Court of that Prince, whoſe only Crime was his refuſing to pay him divine Homage? Of the Execution of two of his principal Officers, who were condemn'd, though nothing could be prov'd againſt them, and on the ſlighteſt Suſpicions?

We paſs over a great many other Vices, which *Alexander*, according to moſt Hiſtorians, gave into, and which are not to be juſtify'd. To ſpeak of him, therefore, only as a Warrior, and a Conqueror; Qualities in which he is generally conſider'd, and which have gain'd him the Eſteem of all Ages and Nations; all we have now to do is to examine, whether this Eſteem be ſo well grounded as is generally ſuppoſed.

We have already obſerv'd, that, to the Battle of *Iſſus*, and the Siege of *Tyre* incluſively, it cannot be denied but that *Alexander* was a great Warrior and an illuſtrious Chieftain. But yet we doubt very much, whether, during theſe firſt Years of his Exploits, he ought to be conſider'd in a more conſpicuous Light than his Father; whoſe Actions, though not ſo ſhinning, are yet as much applauded by good Judges, and thoſe of the military Profeſſion. *Philip*, at his Acceſſion to the Throne, found all Things unſettled: He himſelf was obliged to lay the Foundations of his own Fortune, and was not indulg'd the leaſt foreign Aſſiſtance. He raiſed himſelf to the Power and Grandeur to which he afterwards attain'd: He was obliged to train up, not only his Soldiers, but his Officers; to inſtruct them in all the military Exerciſes; to inure them to the Fatigues of War; and, to his Care and Abilities, *Macedonia* ow'd the Riſe of the celebrated *Phalanx*, that is, the beſt Troops the World had then ever ſeen, and to which *Alexander* ow'd all his Conqueſts. How many Obſtacles ſtood in the Way of *Philip*, before he could poſſeſs himſelf of the Power, which *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Thebes* had ſucceſſively exerciſed over *Greece!* The *Greeks*, who were the braveſt and moſt ſagacious People of the Univerſe, would not acknowledge him for their Chief, till he won that Title by wading through Seas of Blood, and by gaining numberleſs Conqueſts over them. Thus we ſee, that the Way was prepar'd for *Alexander* to execute the great Deſign, the Plan whereof, and the moſt excellent Inſtructions relating thereto, had been laid down to him by his Father: Now, will it not appear a much eaſier Task, to ſubdue *Aſia* with *Grecian* Armies, than to ſubject the *Greeks*, who had ſo often triumph'd over *Aſia!*

But, without carrying farther the Parallel of *Alexander* with *Philip*, which all, who do not conſider Heroes according to the Number of Provinces they have conquer'd, but by the intrinſick Value of their Actions, muſt pronounce in Favour of the Latter: What Judgment are we to form of *Alexander*, after his Triumph over *Darius*; and, is it poſſible to propoſe him, during the latter Part of his Life, as a Pattern worthy the Imitation of thoſe who aſpire to the Character of great Soldiers and illuſtrious Conquerors?

In this Enquiry, we ſhall begin with that which is unanimouſly agreed by all the Writers on this Subject, to be the Foundation of a ſolid Glory of a Hero; we mean, the Juſtice of the War in which he engages, without which he is not a Conqueror and a Hero, but an Uſurper and a Robber. *Alexander*, in making *Aſia* the Seat of War, and turning his Arms againſt *Darius*, had a plauſible Pretence for it; becauſe the *Perſians* had been in all Ages, and were at that Time, profeſs'd Enemies to the *Greeks*, over whom he had been appointed Generaliſſimo, and whoſe Injuries he therefore might think himſelf juſtly entitled to revenge. But then, what Right had *Alexander* over a numberleſs Multitude of People, who did not know even the Name of *Greece*, and had never done him the leaſt Injury? The *Scythian* Embaſſador ſpoke very judiciouſly, when he addreſs'd him in theſe Words: *What have we to do with thee? We never once ſet our Feet in thy Country. Are not thoſe who live in Woods, allow'd to be ignorant of thee, and the Place from whence thou came? Thou boaſteſt that the only Deſign of thy marching, is to extirpate Robbers:*

Robbers: Thou thyſelf art the greateſt Robber in the World. This is the exact Character of *Alexander*, from which nothing ought to be retracted.

A Pirate ſpake to him to the ſame Effect, and in ſtronger Terms: *Alexander* ask'd him, what Right he had to infeſt the Seas? *The ſame thou haſt*, (reply'd the Pirate, with a proud Liberty) *to infeſt the Univerſe: But becauſe I do this in a ſmall Ship, I am call'd a Robber; and becauſe thou actſt the ſame Part with a great Fleet, thou art entitled Conqueror.* This was a witty and juſt Anſwer, ſays St. *Auſtin*, who has preſerv'd this little Fragment of *Cicero*.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a Maxim, and no reaſonable Man can doubt of its being ſo, that every War undertaken merely in an ambitious View, is unjuſt; and that the Prince, who begins it, is guilty of all the ſad Conſequences, and all the Blood ſhed on that Occaſion; what Idea ought we to form of the laſt Conqueſts of *Alexander?* Was ever Ambition more extravagant, or rather, more furious, than that of this Prince? Come from a little Spot of Ground; and forgetting the narrow Limits of his paternal Dominions, after he has far extended his Conqueſts; has ſubdued, not only the *Perſians*, but alſo the *Bactrians* and *Indians*; has alſo added Kingdom to Kingdom: After all this, he yet thinks himſelf pent up; and determin'd to force, if poſſible, the Barriers of Nature; he endeavours to diſcover a new World, and does not ſcruple to ſacrifice Millions of Men to his Ambition or Curioſity. 'Tis ſaid that *Alexander*, upon *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher's telling him, that there were a numberleſs Multitude of Worlds, wept, to think that it would be impoſſible for him to conquer them all, ſince he had not yet conquer'd one. Is it wrong in *Seneca*, to compare theſe pretended Heroes, who have gain'd Renown no otherwiſe than by the Ruin of Nations, to a Conflagration and a Flood, which lay waſte and deſtroy all Things; or to wild Beaſts, who live merely by Blood and Slaughter?

But, leaving this firſt Conſideration, which repreſent Conquerors to us, as ſo many Scourges ſent by the Wrath of Heaven into the World, to puniſh the Sins of it; let us proceed to examine the laſt Conqueſts, abſtractedly in themſelves, of *Alexander*; in order to ſee what Judgment we are to form of them.

It muſt be confeſs'd, that the Actions of this Prince diffuſe a Splendor, that dazzles and aſtoniſhes the Imagination, which is ever fond of the Great and Marvellous. His enthuſiaſtick Courage raiſes and tranſports all who read his Hiſtory; as he himſelf was tranſported. But ought we to give the Name of Bravery and Valour, to a Boldneſs that is equally blind, raſh, and impetuous; a Boldneſs that is unconfin'd by Laws; will never liſten to the Voice of Reaſon, and has no other Guide than a ſenſeleſs Ardor of falſe Glory, and a wild Deſire of diſtinguiſhing itſelf, be the Methods ever ſo unlawful? This Character ſuits only a military Robber, who has no Attendants; whoſe Life only is expoſed; and who, for that Reaſon, may be employ'd in ſome deſperate Action: But 'tis far otherwiſe with regard to a King, for he owes his Life to all his Army, and his whole Kingdom. If we except ſome very rare Occaſions, on which a Prince is obliged to venture his Perſon, and ſhare the Danger with his Troops, in order to preſerve them; he ought to call to Mind, that there is a great Difference between a General and a private Soldier. True Valour is not deſirous of diſplaying itſelf; is no-ways anxious about its own Reputation, but bends its whole Care to the ſaving of the Army. It ſteers equally between a fearful Wiſdom, that foreſees and dreads all Difficulties; and a brutal Ardour, which ſpontaneouſly ſearches for, and runs into Dangers of every kind. In a Word, to form an accompliſh'd General, Prudence muſt ſoften and direct the ſtubborn Wildneſs of Valour; as this latter muſt animate, and warm, the cold Dilatorineſs of Prudence.

Do any of theſe Characteriſticks ſuit *Alexander?* When we peruſe Hiſtory, and follow him to Sieges and Battles, we are perpetually alarm'd for his Safety, and that of his Army; and conclude, every Moment, that they are upon the Point of being deſtroy'd. Here, we ſee a rapid Flood, which is going to drag in, and ſwallow up, this Conqueror; there, we behold a ſteep Rock, up which he climbs, and perceives round him Soldiers, either transfix'd by the Enemy's Darts; or thrown headlong, by huge Stones, into Precipices. We tremble, when in a Battle, we perceive the Ax juſt ready to cleave his Head; and much more, when we find him alone, in a Fortreſs, whither his Raſhneſs had drawn him, expoſed to all the Javelins of the Enemy. *Alexander* was ever perſuaded, that Miracles would be wrought in his Favour, than which nothing could be more unreaſonable, as *Plutarch* obſerves; for Miracles do not always happen; and the Gods, at laſt, are weary of guiding and preſerving raſh Mortals, who abuſe the Aſſiſtance they indulge them.

However, *Plutarch*, in a Treatiſe where he writes the Panagyrick of *Alexander*, and repreſents him as an accompliſh'd Hero, gives a long Detail of the ſeveral Wounds he has receiv'd in every Part of his Body; and pretends, that the only Deſign of Fortune, in thus piercing him with Wounds, was to make his Courage more conſpicuous. A renown'd Warrior, whoſe Elogium *Plutarch* has drawn, in another Part of his Writings, did not judge in this Manner: Some Perſons applauding him for a Wound he had receiv'd in Battle, the General himſelf declar'd, that 'twas a Fault which could be excuſed only in a young Man, and juſtly deſerv'd Cenſure. It has been obſerved in *Hannibal*'s Praiſe, and we have taken Notice of it elſewhere, that he was but once wounded in all his Battles: We cannot ſay, whether *Cæſar* ever was.

The laſt Obſervation, which relates in general to all the Expeditions of *Alexander* in *Aſia*, muſt neceſſarily leſſen very much the Merit of his Victories, and the Splendor of his Reputation; and this is, the Genius and Character of the Nations againſt whom he fought. *Livy*, in a Digreſſion, where he enquires what would have been the Fate of the Arms of *Alexander*, in caſe he had turn'd them towards *Italy*; and where he ſhews that *Rome* would certainly have check'd his Conqueſts, inſiſts ſtrongly on this Point. He oppoſes to this Prince, in the Article of Courage, a great Number of illuſtrious *Romans*, who would have reſiſted him on all Occaſions; and, in the Article of Prudence, that auguſt Senate, which *Cyneas*, to give a more noble Idea of it to *Pyrrhus* his Sovereign, ſaid, was compos'd of ſo many Kings. *Had he march'd*, (ſays *Livy*) *againſt the* Romans, *he would ſoon have found*,

found, that was no longer warring against a Darius, *who, encumber'd with Gold and Purple, the vain Equipage of his Grandeur; and dragging after him a Multitude of Women and Eunuchs, came as a Prey, rather than as an Enemy: And that* Alexander *conquer'd without ſhedding much Blood; and without wanting any other Merit, than that of daring to deſpiſe what was really contemptible. He would have found* Italy *very different from* India, *through which he march'd in a riotous Manner, his Army quite ſtupify'd with Wine; particularly when he ſhould have ſeen the Foreſts of* Apulia, *the Mountains of* Lucania, *and the ſtill recent Footſteps of the Defeat of* Alexander *his Uncle, King of* Epirus, *who there loſt his Life.* The Hiſtorian adds, that he ſpeaks of *Alexander*, not yet deprav'd and corrupted by Proſperity, whoſe ſubtle Poiſon work'd as ſtrongly upon him, as upon any Man that ever liv'd; and he concludes, that being thus transform'd, he would have appear'd very different in *Italy*, from what he had ſeem'd hitherto.

Theſe Reflections of *Livy* ſhew, that *Alexander* partly ow'd his Victories to the Weakneſs of his Enemies; and that had he met with Nations, as courageous, and as well inur'd to all the Hardſhips of War, as the *Romans*; and commanded by as able, experienc'd Generals as thoſe of that Republick; that then, his Victories would not have been either ſo rapid, or ſo uninterrupted: Nevertheleſs, 'tis from hence we are to judge of the Merits of a Conqueror. *Hannibal*, and *Scipio* are look'd upon as two of the greateſt Generals that ever liv'd; and for this Reaſon: Both of them not only underſtood perfectly the military Science, but their Experience, their Abilities, their Reſolution and Courage, were put to the Trial, and ſet in the ſtrongeſt Light. Now, ſhould we give to either of them, an unequal Antagoniſt; one whoſe Reputation is not anſwerable to theirs, we ſhall no longer have the ſame Idea of them; and their Victories, though ſuppoſed alike, appear no longer with the ſame Luſtre, nor deſerve the ſame Applauſe.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by ſhinning Actions; a pompous Outſide; and blindly abandon themſelves to Prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that *Alexander* was endued with very great Qualities; but if we throw into the other Scale, his Errors and Vices; the preſumptuous Idea he entertain'd of his Merit; the high Contempt he had for other Men, not excepting his own Father; his eager Thirſt of Praiſe and Flattery; his ridiculous Notion of fancying himſelf the Son of *Jupiter*, of aſcribing Divinity to himſelf; of requiring a free, victorious People, to pay him a ſervile Homage, and proſtrate themſelves ignominiouſly before him; his abandoning himſelf ſo ſhamefully to Wine; his ungovern'd Anger, which riſes to a brutal Ferocity; the unjuſt and barbarous Execution of his braveſt and moſt faithful Officers, and the Murder of his moſt worthy Friends, in the Midſt of Feaſts and Carouzals: Can any one, ſays *Livy*, believe, that all theſe Imperfections do not greatly tarniſh the Reputation of a Conqueror? But the frantick Ambition of *Alexander*, which knows neither Law nor Limits; the raſh Intrepidity with which he braves Dangers, without the leaſt Reaſon or Neceſſity; the Weakneſs and Ignorance of the Nations (totally unskill'd in War) againſt whom he fought; do not theſe weaken the Reaſons, for which he is thought to have merited the Sirname of *Great*, and the Title of *Hero*? This however, we leave to the Prudence and Equity of our Readers: As to ourſelves, we are ſurpriz'd to find that all Orators, who applaud a Prince, never fail to compare him to *Alexander*: They fancy, that when he is once equall'd to this King, 'tis impoſſible for Panegyrick to ſoar higher: They cannot image to themſelves any Thing more auguſt; and think they have omitted the Stroke which finiſhes the Glory of a Hero, ſhould they not exalt him by this Compariſon. In our Opinion, this argues a falſe Taſte, a wrong Turn of Thinking; and, if we might be allow'd to ſay it, a Want of Judgment, which muſt naturally ſhock a reaſonable Mind. For, as *Alexander* was inveſted with the regal Character, he ought to have fulfill'd the ſeveral Duties of it: We don't find that he was endued with the firſt, the moſt eſſential and moſt excellent Virtues of a great Prince; which are, to be the Father, the Guardian, and Shepherd of his People; to govern them by good Laws; to make their Trade flouriſh, to encourage and protect Arts and Sciences; to ſecure Peace and Plenty, and not ſuffer his Subjects to be in any Manner aggriev'd or injur'd; to maintain an agreeable Harmony between the ſeveral Orders of the State, and make them concure, in a due Proportion, to the publick Welfare; to employ himſelf in doing Juſtice to all his Subjects, to hear their Diſputes, and reconcile them; to conſider himſelf as the Father of his People, conſequently, as oblig'd to provide for all their Neceſſities, and to procure them the ſeveral Enjoyments of Life. Now *Alexander*, who almoſt a Moment after he aſcended the Throne, left *Macedonia*, and never return'd back into it, did not endeavour at any of theſe Things; which yet are the chief, and moſt ſubſtantial Parts of the kingly Office.

He ſeems poſſeſs'd of ſuch Qualities only as are of the ſecond Rank; we mean thoſe of War, and theſe are all forc'd; carry'd to the raſheſt and moſt odious Exceſs; and to the Extremes of Folly and Fury; and at the ſame Time left his Kingdom, a Prey to the Rapine and Exactions of *Antipater*; and abandon'd all the conquer'd Provinces to the inſatiable Avarice of the Governors; who carry'd their Oppreſſion ſo far, that *Alexander* was forc'd to put them to Death. Nor do his Soldiers appear in a more advantageous Light; for theſe, after having plunder'd the Wealth of the *Eaſt*, and after the Prince had given them the higheſt Marks of his Beneficence; grew ſo licentious, ſuch great Debauchees, ſo imerſed in Vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their Debts, amounting to thirty Millions. What ſtrange Men were theſe! how deprav'd their School! how pernicious the Fruit of their Victories! Is it adding a Luſtre to his Panegyrick, to view him in ſuch a Light?

The *Romans*, indeed, ſeem to have held the Memory of *Alexander* in great Veneration; but we very much Queſtion, whether, in the virtuous Ages of the Commonwealth, he would have been look'd upon as ſo great Man. *Cæſar*, ſeeing his Statue, in a Temple in *Spain*, during his Government of it, after his Prætorſhip, could not forbear ſighing, when he compar'd the few glorious Actions atchiev'd by himſelf, to the mighty Exploits of this Conqueror. 'Twas ſaid, that *Pompey*, in

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one of his Triumphs, appear'd dreſs'd in that King's Surtout: *Auguſtus* pardon'd the *Alexandrians*, for the Sake of their Founder: *Caligula*, in a Ceremony, in which he aſſum'd the Character of a mighty Conqueror, wore the Coat of Mail of *Alexander*. But no one carry'd his Veneration for this Monarch ſo far as *Caracalla*: He uſed the ſame kind of Arms and Cups as that Prince; he had a *Macedonian Phalanx* in his Army; he perſecuted the *Peripateticks*, and would have burnt all the Books of *Ariſtotle* their Founder, becauſe he was ſuſpected of conſpiring with thoſe who poiſon'd *Alexander*.

We believe, we may juſtly aſſert, that if an impartial Perſon, of good Senſe, reads *Plutarch*'s Lives of illuſtrious Men, ſuch a deep Impreſſion will be left upon his Mind, as will make him conſider *Alexander* as one of the leaſt valuable among them. But how ſtrong would the Contraſt be found, had we the Lives of *Epaminondas*, of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, the Loſs of which can never be too much regretted! How little would *Alexander* appear, though emblazon'd with all his Titles, and ſurrounded by all his Conqueſts, even if conſider'd in a military Light, when compar'd to thoſe Heroes who were truly great, and worthy their exalted Reputation!

Our Readers, we hope, will not be diſpleaſed with our inſerting here, Part of the admirable Reflections of the celebrated Biſhop of *Meaux*, on the Character and Government of the *Perſians*, *Greeks*, and *Macedonians*, whoſe Hiſtory we have been writing.

The *Greek* Nations, ſeveral of whom had at firſt lived under a monarchical Form of Government, having ſtudied the Arts of civil Polity, imagin'd they were able to govern themſelves, and moſt of their Cities eſtabliſh'd themſelves as Common wealths: But the wiſe Legiſlators, who aroſe in every Country, as *Thales*, *Pythagoras*, *Pittacus*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and many others mention'd in Hiſtory, prevented Liberty from degenerating into Licentiouſneſs. Laws drawn up with great Simplicity, and few in Number, aw'd the People, kept them to their Duty, and made them all concur to the general Good of their Country.

The Idea of Liberty which ſuch a Conduct inſpir'd, was wonderful: For the Liberty, of which the *Greeks* had form'd an Idea within themſelves, was ſubject to the Law, that is, to Reaſon itſelf; and acknowledg'd as ſuch by the whole Nation. They would not let Men riſe to Power among them, without Deſert; Magiſtrates, who were fear'd during their Office, became afterwards private Men; and had no Authority but what their Experience gave them. The Law was look'd upon as their Queen; 'twas ſhe appointed Magiſtrates, preſcrib'd the Limits of their Power, and puniſh'd their Male-Adminiſtration. The Advantage of this Government was, the Citizens bore ſo much the greater Love to their Country, as all ſhar'd in the Government of it; and as every Individual had an Opportunity, of attaining the chief Honours of it.

The Advantage which accrued to *Greece* from Philoſophy, with Regard to the Preſervation of its Form of Government, is incredible. The greater Freedom theſe Nations enjoy'd, the greater Neceſſity there was to ſettle the Laws relating to Manners, and thoſe of Society, agreeable to Reaſon and good Senſe: From *Pythagoras*, *Thales*, *Anaxagoras*, *Socrates*, *Archytas*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Ariſtotle*, and a Multitude more, the *Greeks* receiv'd their noble Precepts.

But why ſhould we mention Philoſophers only? The Writings even of the Poets, which were in the Hands of every Body, diverted them very much, but inſtructed them ſtill more. The moſt renown'd of Conquerors, look'd upon *Homer* as a Maſter, who taught him to govern wiſely: This great Poet, inſtructed People, no leſs happily, in Obedience, and form'd as many virtuous Subjects as Princes.

When the *Greeks*, thus educated, view'd the Delicacy of the *Aſiaticks*; their Dreſs and Beauty, emulating that of Women, they held them in the utmoſt Contempt. But their Form of Government, that had no other Rule than their Prince's Will, which was above all Laws, not excepting the moſt ſacred, inſpir'd them with Horror; and the *Barbarians* were the moſt ſhocking Object that *Greece* had.

The *Greeks* had imbib'd this Hatred in the moſt early Times, inſomuch that it was become almoſt natural to them: A Circumſtance which made thoſe Nations delight ſo much in *Homer*'s Poems, was, his celebrating the Advantages and Victories of *Greece* over *Aſia*. On the Side of *Aſia* was *Venus*, that is to ſay, Pleaſures, the *ſilly*, *idle*, *little Loves*, and Effeminacy: On that of *Greece*, was *Juno*, or in other Words, Gravity join'd to conjugal Affection, *Mercury* or Eloquence, and *Jupiter* or wiſe Policy. With the *Aſiaticks* was *Mars*, an impetuous and brutal Deity, that is to ſay, War carry'd on with Fury: With the *Greeks* was *Pallas*, or, in other Words, the Science of War and Courage, directed by good Senſe. The *Grecians*, from that Time, had ever imagin'd, that Underſtanding, and true Bravery, were natural, as well as peculiar to them: They could not bear the Thoughts of the *Aſiaticks* aiming to conquer them; and in bowing to their Yoke, they would have thought they had ſubjected Virtue to Pleaſure; the Mind to the Body; and true Courage to frantick Strength, which conſiſted merely in Numbers.

The *Greeks* were ſtrongly inſpir'd with theſe Sentiments, when *Darius*, Son of *Hyſtaſpes*, and *Xerxes* invaded them, with Armies ſo prodigiouſly numerous, as paſſes all Belief; and the *Perſians* found often, to their Coſt, the great Advantage which Diſcipline has over Multitude and Confuſion; and how greatly ſuperior, Courage, when conducted by Art, is to a blind Impetuoſity.

Perſia, after having been ſo often ſo often conquer'd by the *Greeks*, had nothing to do but to ſow Diviſions among them; and the Height to which Conqueſt had rais'd the latter, made this Enterprize eaſy. As Fear held them in the Bands of Union, Victory and Security diſſolv'd it: Having always been uſed to fight and conquer, they no ſooner believ'd that the Power of the *Perſians* could not annoy them, but they turn'd their Arms againſt themſelves.

Among the ſeveral Republicks of which *Greece* was compos'd, *Athens* and *Lacedæmon* were undoubtedly the Chief: Theſe two great Commonwealths, whoſe Manners and Conduct were directly oppoſite, perplex'd and incommoded one another, in the common Deſign they had of ſubjecting all *Greece*,

Greece; ſo that they were eternally at Variance; and this more from a Contrariety of Intereſts, than an Oppoſition of Tempers and Diſpoſitions.

The *Grecian* Cities would not ſubject themſelves to either: For beſides that, every one of them deſir'd to live free and independent, they were not pleas'd with the Government of either of thoſe two Common-Wealths. We have ſhewn, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that the *Peliponneſian*, and other Wars, were either owing to, or maintain'd by, the reciprocal Jealouſy of *Lacedæmon* and *Athens*. But, at the ſame Time that this Jealouſy diſturb'd *Greece*, it ſupported that whole Country, in ſome meaſure; and kept it from being dependent on either of thoſe Republicks.

The *Perſians* ſoon obſerv'd this State and Condition of *Greece*; after which, the whole Secret of their Politicks was, to keep up theſe Jealouſies, and foment theſe Diviſions. *Lacedæmon*, being the moſt ambitious, was the firſt that made them engage in the *Grecian* Quarrels: The *Perſians* took Part in them, with the View of ſubjecting the whole Nation; and aſſiduous to make the *Greeks* weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable Inſtant, to cruſh them all together. After this, the Cities of *Greece* conſider'd, in their Wars, none but the King of *Perſia*; whom they call'd the *Great King*, or the *King*, by Way of Eminence, as though they already thought themſelves his Subjects. However, as *Greece* was upon the Brink of Slavery, and ready to fall into the Hands of the *Barbarians*, it was impoſſible for the Genius, the ancient Spirit of the Country, not to rouze on this Occaſion. *Ageſilaus*, King of *Lacedæmon*, made the *Perſians* tremble in *Aſia Minor*, and ſhew'd that they might be humbled: Their Weakneſs was ſtill more evident, by the glorious Retreat of the *Ten Thouſand Greeks*, who had follow'd the younger *Cyrus*. 'Twas then all *Greece* ſaw, more plainly than ever, that it poſſeſs'd an invincible Body of Soldiery, which was able to ſubdue all Nations; and, that nothing but its Feuds and Diviſions could ſubject it to an Enemy, who was too weak to reſiſt it when united.

Philip of *Macedon*, a Prince, whoſe Abilities were equal to his Valour, took ſo great Advantage of the Diviſions which reign'd between the various Cities and Common-Wealths, that though his Kingdom was but ſmall, yet, as it was united, and his Power abſolute; he, at laſt, partly by Artifice, and partly by Strength, roſe to greater Power than any of the *Grecian* States; and oblig'd them all to march under his Standard againſt the common Enemy. During theſe Tranſactions, *Philip* loſt his Life, and *Alexander*, his Son, ſucceeded to his Kingdom, and to the Deſigns he had projected.

The *Macedonians*, at his Acceſſion, were not only well diſciplin'd, and inur'd to Toils, but triumphant; and become, by ſo many Succeſſes, almoſt as much ſuperior to the other *Greeks* in Valour, and in Diſcipline, as the Reſt of the *Greeks* were ſuperior to the *Perſians*, and to ſuch Nations as reſembled them.

Darius, who reign'd over *Perſia*, in *Alexander*'s Time, was a juſt, brave, and generous Prince; was belov'd by his Subjects, and wanted neither good Senſe, nor the Vigour, requiſite for the Execution of his Deſigns: But, if we compare them; if we oppoſe the Genius of *Darius*, to the penetrating, ſublime one of *Alexander*; the Valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible Courage (which Obſtacles animated) of the latter; with that boundleſs Deſire of *Alexander*, to ſpread perpetually his Fame and Reputation, where he was intimately perſuaded, that all Things ought to bow the Neck to him, as being form'd by Providence ſuperior to the reſt of Mortals; a Confidence with which he inſpir'd, not only his Generals, but the meaneſt of his Soldiers; who, by this Means, were rais'd above Difficulties, and even above themſelves. Hence it is eaſy for the Reader to judge, which of the Monarchs was to be victorious.

If, to theſe Conſiderations we add the Advantages which the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* had over their Enemies, it muſt be confeſs'd, it was impoſſible for the *Perſian* Empire to ſubſiſt any longer, when invaded by ſo great a Hero, and by ſuch invincible Armies. By this we diſcover, at one and the ſame Time, the Circumſtances which ruin'd the Empire of the *Perſians*, and rais'd that of *Alexander*.

To ſmooth his Way to Victory, the *Perſians* happen'd to loſe the only General who was able to make Head againſt the *Greeks*; and this was *Memnon* of *Rhodes*. As long as *Alexander* fought againſt this illuſtrious Warrior, he might glory in having vanquiſh'd an Enemy worthy of himſelf: But in the very Infancy of a Diverſion, which began already to divide *Greece*, *Memnon* dy'd; after which *Alexander* oblig'd all Things to fall proſtrate before him.

This Prince made his Entrance into *Babylon*, with a Splendor and Magnificence, the like of which had never been ſeen; and, after having reveng'd *Greece*; after ſubduing, with incredible Swiftneſs, all the Nations ſubject to *Perſia*; to ſecure his new Empire on every Side, or rather, to ſatiate his Ambition, and render his Name more famous than that of *Bacchus*, he march'd into *India*, and there extended his Conqueſts farther than that celebrated Conqueror had done. But the Monarch, whoſe impetuous Career, neither Deſarts, Rivers, nor Mountains could ſtop, was oblig'd to yield to the Murmurs of his Soldiers, who call'd aloud for Eaſe and Repoſe.

Alexander return'd to *Babylon*, dreaded and reſpected, not as a Conqueror, but a God. Nevertheleſs, the formidable Empire he had gain'd, laſted no longer than his Life, which was but ſhort. At Thirty-three Years of Age, in the midſt of the grandeſt Deſigns that ever Man form'd, and fluſh'd with the ſureſt Hopes of Succeſs, he dy'd, before he had Leiſure to ſettle his Affairs on a ſolid Foundation; leaving behind him a weak Brother, and Children very young, who were all incapable of ſupporting the Weight of ſo much Royalty.

But the Circumſtance, which prov'd moſt fatal to his Family, and his Empire, was, his having taught the Generals, who ſurviv'd him, to breathe nothing but Ambition and War: He foreſaw the prodigious Lengths they would go, after his Death. To curb their ambitious Views, and for Fear of miſtaking in his Conjectures, he did not dare to name his Succeſſor, or the Guardian to his Children: He only foretold, his Friends would ſolemnize his Obſequies with bloody Battles; and

he expir'd in the Flower of his Age, disturb'd with the melancholy Images of the Confusion which would follow his Death.

And indeed, *Macedon*, the Kingdom he inherited, which his Ancestors had govern'd, during so many Ages, was invaded on all Sides, as a Succession that was become vacant; and, after being expos'd a Prey, was, at last, possess'd by another Family: Thus this great Conqueror, the most renown'd the World ever saw, was the last King of his Family. Had he liv'd peaceably in *Macedon*, the vast Bounds of his Empire would not have prov'd a Temptation to his Generals; and he would have left to his Children the Kingdom he inherited from his Ancestors: But, rising to too exalted an Height of Power, he prov'd the Destruction of his Posterity; and such was the glorious Fruit of so many Conquests.

To a superficial Reader, who runs over Books, only for Amusement, this History of *Alexander*, perhaps, may convey no useful Instruction; nay, in all Probability, such a One will not think it so entertaining as *Pharamond*, or any other Work of the same Nature: To such Persons, the Romance of *Artamenes*, or the *Grand Cyrus*, is preferrable to *Xenophon*'s authentick History of that famous Conqueror; we shall leave them, therefore, as incorrigible, to their vitious Taste; and direct our Discourse to Readers of another Stamp, who study History, for the Improvement of their Minds, and Understandings Such Persons will find, in the foregoing Sheets, sufficient Matter for many excellent moral Reflexions; in Effect, they afford admirable Lessons, for Readers of almost all Stations.

To Sovereign-Princes, they may serve as an useful Lesson, not to be dazzled with the false Glory of being styl'd Conquerors of the Earth; or rather (to give them their true Name) Ravagers of the World, and Scourges of Mankind: For, where is the Monarch, who can ever hope, to come in Competition with *Alexander*, in this Respect? And yet, what real Advantage, did either that Prince himself, his Family, or his Kingdom, reap from thence? He was himself either poison'd, or, which is worse, and more scandalous, dy'd drunk in a Debauch: His Family all came to violent Ends, not one excepted; and some with the most shocking Circumstances: And his Kingdom was left desolate, and a Prey to the first Invader. This alone, One would think, should be enough to surfeit any One of Ambition: But, when we come to view him in another Light, and think what he had to answer, for those Seas of Blood he shed, how terrible the Scene?

To Ministers of State, Courtiers, and Generals, they afford this useful Lesson, that there is no Dependance on any Monarch, who does not make Virtue the Rule of all his Actions. If Services had been of any Weight, or Friendship, or Gratitude, *Parmenio*, and *Philotas*, to whom *Alexander*, in a great Measure, ow'd all his Success, had never been condemn'd, on the slightest Suspicions; nor *Clitus* (to whom he ow'd his Life) murther'd, for a rash Word, in a drunken Quarrel; nor *Antipater* reduc'd to the Necessity, of saving his own Life, at the Expence of his Sovereign's.

To such Persons, who ought to be the Guardians of Religion, the Death of *Callisthenes* (whose only Crime was, his refusing to pay those Honours to *Alexander*, which were due only to a Divine Being) may serve as a Warning, that a Court is not their proper Sphere; and that no-body must expect to maintain himself long in Favour there, but at the Expence of his Honesty.

To all Privy-Councellors, they may serve as a *Memento*, that, if ever they advise their Prince to any Thing contrary to Honour, and Probity, for the Sake of any private Advantage, they may, at last, happen to fall, themselves, a Sacrifice, to the same pernicious Maxims; and that there is no Happiness lasting, but what is founded upon Virtue.

In short, to Persons in any Station whatever, they afford this useful Caution, not to be too much puff'd up, and forget themselves in Prosperity; since Insolence, and an Oblivion of what they were formerly, in People (when rais'd suddenly to an exalted Rank, even beyond their utmost Hopes) is generally the Fore-runner of a most sudden and shocking Downfal; Providence so ordering it, that they should be deaf to all good Counsel, and blinded, and infatuated to their own Ruin: This *Philotas* wofully experienc'd; as did, afterwards, *Alexander* himself, to his Destruction.

FINIS

BIBL CANT